



Edmund Ludlow Esq.
Lieut. Genl.

MEMOIRS OF EDMUND LUDLOW.
WITH A COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL PAPERS,
AND THE CASE OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.
LONDON, PRINTED FOR T. BECKET AND P. A. DE
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MDCCLXXI.



I DO NOT THINK ONE MAN WISE ENOUGH TO GOVERN US ALL.

HENRY MARTEN TO EDWARD HYDE.

THE TRAPPINGS OF A MONARCHY WILL SET UP A COMMONWEALTH.

JOHN MILTON TO ROBERT HOWARD.

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T O
THEIR EXCELLENCIES
The LORDS of the COUNCIL
FOR THE
CANTON of BERN.

YOUR Excellencies having been the protectors of the author of these MEMOIRS, during the many years of his exile, are justly intitled to whatever acknowledgment can be made for those noble favours, which you extended so seasonably and so constantly to him and his fellow-sufferers.

'Tis well known to your Lordships, that the Lieutenant-General would have accounted himself happy to lay down that life for your service, which you had preserved by your generosity. But since he lived not to have so glorious an occasion of expressing

A 2

pressing his gratitude, (no prince, how powerful soever, being hardy enough to attack that liberty which is so well secured by the bravery and good discipline of your own people) nothing now remains to be a monument of his duty, and your bounty, but these papers; and therefore, as a just debt, they are most humbly presented to your Excellencies.



THE
P R E F A C E.

NO history can furnish us with the example of a man whose life and actions have been universally applauded: malice, or a different interest, being always ready to wound the noblest integrity. The virtues of Scipio and Cato, the best and greatest of the Romans, could not preserve them from the assaults of envy and calumny; of which, the groundless accusations of the former to the people, and the volumes of aspersions published against the latter by the usurper Julius, are a sufficient testimony. 'Tis therefore no wonder that men who endeavour to imitate those great examples, and make the service of their country the principal care of their lives, should meet with the same hard usage. What the author of these papers did and suffered on that account, the ensuing relation will in part witness; wherein it will appear, that he contended not against persons, but things: that he was an enemy to all arbitrary government, though gilded over with the most specious pretences; and that he not only disapproved the usurpation of Cromwell, but would have opposed him with as much vigour as he had done the king, if all occasions of that nature had not been cut off by the extraordinary jealousy and vigilance of the usurper.

Concerning

Concerning his extraction, if that be any thing, it may be justly said, he was descended of an ancient and worthy family, originally known in Shropshire, and from thence transplanted into the county of Wilts, where his ancestors possessed such an estate as placed them in the first rank of gentlemen; and their personal merits usually concurring with their fortune, gave them just pretences to stand candidates to represent the county in parliament as knights of the shire, which honour they seldom failed to attain. His father Sir Henry Ludlow being chosen by his country to serve in that parliament which began on the 3d of November, 1640, was one of those who strenuously asserted the rights and liberties of the people against the invasions made upon them by the pretended prerogatives of the crown. The example of his father, together with a particular encouragement from him, joined to a full persuasion of the necessity of arming in defence of his country, mounted our author, then very young, on horseback. His first essay was at the battle of Edgehill, where he fought as voluntier in the life-guard of the earl of Essex. His father dying some time after the eruption of our troubles, he went down to Wiltshire, and was unanimously chosen by that county to be one of their knights of the shire to represent them in parliament; where his integrity and firmness to the true interest of his country soon became so remarkable, that he was thought worthy to be intrusted with the command of an independent regiment of horse, to defend the county for which he served from the incursions of the enemy's army. And how great a progress he made afterwards in the science of war, the military honours he received in a time when rewards were not blindly bestowed, may sufficiently manifest.

After the death of king Charles the first, he was sent into Ireland by the parliament in the quality of lieutenant-general of the horse. This employment he discharged with diligence and success till the death of the lord deputy Ireton, and then acted for some time as
general,

general, though without that title; the growing power of Oliver Cromwell, who knew him to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, always finding out some pretext to hinder the conferring that character upon him. The finishing part was only wanting to the complete suppression of the Irish rebellion, and the last stroke had been given by this gentleman, if the usurpation of Cromwell had not prevented him. Under that power he never acted: and though the usurper employed all his arts to gain him, he remained immovable, and would not be persuaded to give the least colour or countenance to his ambition. After the death of Cromwell some endeavours were made to cause the public affairs to revert to their former channel, in which attempts our author was not an idle spectator. But Oliver had so choaked the springs, that the torrent took another course; and all the efforts that were made to restore the commonwealth proving vain and fruitless, Charles the second was permitted to act his part. Thereupon this gentleman, who had gone through innumerable hazards for the liberties of England, was stripped of his estate, and, under the odious name of traitor, forced to abandon his native country. That he escaped the searches made after him in England, and safely arrived in Switzerland, was almost a miracle. The preservation of his life, which was in the utmost hazard, by reason of the prejudices then reigning, obliged him to confine himself to the deepest privacy, and for a short time kept him unknown, till his exemplary life made him not only to be observed, but admired. This stranger for more than thirty years was the care of that country; and it may be justly said, that, by their vigilance rather than his own, the frequent designs that were formed against his life, were defeated, and some of them exemplarily punished on the heads of their authors.

During his exile he wrote the following memoirs, conjecturing, and I think he was not mistaken, that some of the family of Charles the martyr might act such things as would make his country relish the relation, and regret the usage he had found.

But

But it can never be expected that all men should be of the same mind. And therefore, when the whole kingdom of Ireland, Londonderry only excepted, was unhappily fallen into the hands of the Irish papists, and the lieutenant-general, I hope I may say it without offence, was sent for, as a fit person to be employed to recover it from them: when the British refugees were glad to hear him named for that service; and he in an extasy to serve his country anywhere, was arrived in England; the reception he found there was such, as ought rather to be forgotten, than transmitted to posterity, with any remarks upon that conjecture. Thus being denied the honour of dying for his country, he returned to the more hospitable place from whence he came. But England had not one good wish the less from him on the account of her last unkindness. For at the very article of death some of his last words were wishes for the prosperity, peace and glory of his country; and that religion and liberty might be established there on so sure and solid a foundation, that the designs of ill men might never bring them into danger for the time to come.

PREFACE TO THIS EDITION.

THE author of these Memoirs was a man of such excellent spirit, such generous principles, and performed such great services to his country, that his name and memory will ever be dear and precious to all the lovers of liberty. He descended from a family of considerable rank, and had a learned education; for his father sent him to Oxford, where he went through the course of studies usual at that time: but his genius led him rather to action than contemplation; and the state of publick affairs soon gave him an opportunity for the exercise of it. King Charles I. having set up prerogative against law, and our author's father appearing very early against that king, his son also joined the same party, and vigorously opposed the court-measures. In the course of the civil wars, he distinguished himself with so much zeal for the parliament, and shewed such a bold and intrepid spirit, that when the royal party was defeated, and the king brought to a trial, he was appointed one of his judges; which he mentions in this history in such terms, as plainly shew he was far from being ashamed of the part he acted.

Our author appears to have been a man of serious thought and consideration, who weighed things well before he engaged, but was afterwards inflexible. His enemies have allowed, that he was sincerely in the interest of the commonwealth, without any private views or sinister designs: and the disorders which followed on the death of the king, cannot justly be charged on those who honestly engaged in the defence of publick liberty. When Cromwell, who first fought for the parliament, afterwards set up for himself, our author opposed his usurpation, refusing to act by commission from him; and was indefatigable in his endeavours to restore the publick cause, and to establish a free government. But all means to this purpose being ineffectual, and the royal family at length restored,

the safety of his person obliged him to leave his native country. He went into Switzerland; where, after some time, he made choice of Vevay for the place of his residence. The difficulties he suffered, the dangers he was exposed to from assassins, and the generous protection he received from the magistrates of that country, are all largely related in the course of these Memoirs.

The accession of king James to the throne, is said to have thrown him into a deep melancholy, as he thought the protestant religion and the liberties of these nations were then at an end: but he lived to see the ruin of that tyranny, by the glorious revolution under the prince of Orange. When the crown of these kingdoms was settled upon that prince, our author came over into England, in order to be employed in Ireland against king James II. but he no sooner appeared publicly in London, than a motion was made in the house of commons, by Sir Edward Seymour, to address king William, to order a proclamation for apprehending general Ludlow. This prevented his generous intention of serving his country, and forced him to return into Switzerland, where he spent the rest of his days in peace; thoroughly satisfied in his own mind of the justice of his principles, and the integrity of his conduct, and rejoicing in the liberty and happiness of his native country, though he was not permitted to partake of it.

We are not capable of giving the reader a farther account of this excellent man, than from a passage in Mr. Addison's travels. That author, mentioning the place where general Ludlow resided, tells us *, That the house he lived in has this inscription over the door;

Omne solum forti patria
quia patris.

And that he was buried in the best of the churches, with the following epitaph:

Siste gradum & respice.

Hic jacet Edmond Ludlow, Anglus natione, provinciæ Wiltoni-
nensis, filius Henrici equestris ordinis, senatorisque parlamenti,

* Mr. Addison's Remarks on several Parts of Italy, &c. Edit. 1745, page 264.

cujus quoque fuit ipse membrum; patrum stemmate clarus & nobilis, virtute propriâ nobilior; religione protestans & insigni pietate coruscus; ætatis anno 23 tribunus militum, paulo post exercitus prætor primarius: Tunc Hibernorum domitor, in pugna intrepidus & vitæ prodigus, in victoria clemens & mansuetus, patriæ libertatis defensor, & potestatis arbitrariæ propugnator acerrimus; cujus causâ ab eadem patria 32 annis extorris, meliorique fortuna dignus apud Helvetios se recepit, ibique ætatis anno 73 moriens sui desiderium relinquens sedes æternas lætus advolavit.

Hocce monumentum, in perpetuam veræ & sinceræ pietatis erga maritum defunctum memoriam, dicat & vovet domina Elizabeth de Thomas, ejus strenua & mœstissima, tam in infortuniis quam in matrimonio consors dilectissima, quæ animi magnitudine & vi amoris conjugalis mota, eum in exilium ad obitum usque constanter secuta est. Anno Domini 1693.

In English thus:

Here lies Edmund Ludlow, by birth an Englishman, of the county of Wilts; son of Sir Henry Ludlow; a member of parliament, as his father had likewise been; more distinguished by his virtue than his family, though an ancient and good one; by religion a protestant, and remarkable for his eminent piety. In the twenty-third year of his age he had the command of a regiment, and, soon after, the post of lieutenant-general: in which quality he subdued the Irish, being intrepid in fight, and exposing himself to the greatest dangers; but in victory merciful and humane: a defender of the liberty of his country, and a strenuous opposer of arbitrary power: upon which account being banished thirty-two years from his native country, and worthy of a better fortune, he retired into Switzerland, where he died, universally regretted, in the seventy-third year of his age.

This monument was erected, in perpetual memory of her true and sincere affection towards her deceased husband, by dame Elizabeth Thomas, his beloved wife, and afflicted, but constant partner, as well in misfortunes as in wedlock; who, excited by her own greatness

greatness of mind, and the force of conjugal love, followed him into banishment, and constantly bore him company to his death. A. D. 1693.

Mr. Addison tells us, that our author was a constant frequenter of sermons and prayers, but would never communicate with them either of Geneva or Vevay: the reason for his declining which we are not acquainted with.

There are no where, that we know of, any particulars relating to this author, but what the reader will find in his own memoirs, which are now published in this neat and beautiful manner; the original edition being very mean, of a bad letter, and worse paper. And the editor assures the publick, that he has taken great care of this impression, and that it is much more correct than books of this size usually are.

The tract in the appendix is now first added to these memoirs. The author was an intimate friend of general Ludlow's, and is mentioned by him with great respect. From this the reader may see on what principles those men acted, who passed sentence on king Charles I. it being then published as a justification of their conduct in that particular *.

The editor concludes with wishing, that men of all ranks and orders would endeavour to understand the principles of true liberty, and the just rights of mankind; this being the best, and indeed the only means to dissolve all parties, to heal all divisions, and to unite us all in one common cause; viz. in the promoting the prosperity and happiness of Great Britain, and transmitting down to future ages the blessings we now enjoy.

* And for a farther satisfaction with respect to that king's conduct and character, the reader is referred to a curious book, intitled, "AN INQUIRY into the share which KING CHARLES I. had in the TRANSACTIONS of the EARL of GLAMORGAN, afterwards marquis of WORCESTER; for bringing over a body of IRISH REBELS to assist that KING in the years 1645 and 1646; in which Mr. Carte's imperfect account of that affair, and his use of the manuscript memoirs of the pope's nuncio, RIMUCCINI, are impartially considered. The whole drawn from the BEST AUTHORITIES, printed and manuscript."



M E M O I R S

O F

EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;

HAVING seen our cause betrayed, and the most solemn promises that could be made to the asserters of it, openly violated, I departed from my native country. And hoping that my retirement may protect me from the rage and malice of my enemies, I cannot think it a mispending of some part of my leisure, to employ it in setting down the most remarkable counsels and actions of the parties engaged in the late civil war, which spread it self through the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; wherein I shall not strictly confine myself to a relation of such things only in which I was personally concerned, but also give the best account I can of such other memorable occurrences of those times as I have learn'd from persons well inform'd, and of unsuspected fidelity.

THOSE who make any enquiry into the history of K. James's reign, will find, that though his inclinations were strongly bent to render himself absolute, yet he chose rather to carry on that design by fraud than violence. But K. Charles having taken a nearer view of despotic government in his journey to France and Spain, tempted with the glittering shew and imaginary pleasures of that empty pageantry, immediately after his ascent to the throne pulled off the mask, and openly discovered his intentions to make the crown absolute and independent.

IN the beginning of his reign he married a daughter of France, who was not wanting on her part to press him, upon all occasions, to pursue the design of enlarging his power, not omitting to solicit him also to mould the church of England to a nearer compliance with the see of Rome: wherein she was but too well seconded by corrupt ministers of state, of whom some were professed papists; and an ambitious clergy, whose influence upon the king was always greater than could well consist with the peace and happiness of England. 'Tis true, he called some parliaments in the first years of his reign; but the people soon became sensible he did it rather to empty their purses than

to redress their grievances. The Petition of Right, as it was called, passed in one of them; yet by the manner of passing it, and more by the way of keeping, or rather breaking it in almost every particular, they clearly saw what they were to expect from him. And though by the votes passed in the house of commons, (after a message from the king to require their attendance in order to a dissolution, thereby to prevent their enquiry into his father's death) complaining of the grievances of the nation, and asserting the liberties thereof, declaring it treason for any to pay custom or other taxes without the authority of parliament, locking the door of the house of commons, and compelling the speaker to continue in the chair till it pass'd, he might have observed the pulse of the nation beating high towards liberty; yet, contrary to his promise to preserve the privileges of parliament, he caused the studies of their members to be searched, their papers to be seiz'd, and their persons to be imprisoned in the tower, where Sir John Elliot, who was one of them, lost his life. Divers others suffered in their health and estates, being prosecuted with all severity at the common law, for discharging their duty in parliament. After the dissolution of which, a proclamation was published, whereby it was made criminal in the people to speak any more of parliaments.

THE king having assumed this extraordinary power, resolved to make war against France, not upon the account of those of the reformed religion, as was pretended, but grounded upon personal discontents, and to gratify the revenge and lust of his favourite.

THE Rochellers, who once before, upon encouragement from England, had endeavoured to defend their just rights against the encroachments of the French king, till being deserted by the king of England, they were necessitated to accept terms from their king very disadvantageous to their affairs, were again, by frequent importunities and fair promises, prevailed with (though very unwillingly) to assist the English with provisions, and such other things as they wanted, in their expedition against the isle of Rhee: From whence our forces being repulsed, the French king sent his army against the protestants of Rochelle, whose provisions being before exhausted by the English, they applied to the king of England for succours, according to his promise: who, as if he intended to assist them effectually, caused a certain number of ships to be fitted out, under the conduct of Sir John Pennington. But private differences being soon after composed, Sir John received a letter from the king, signed Charles Rex, which was afterwards found by the parliament amongst his papers, requiring him to dispose of those ships as he should be directed by the French king; and if any should refuse to obey those orders, to sink or fire them. The king's command was put in execution accordingly, and by the help of those ships the French became masters of the sea, and thereby enabled to raise a work composed of earth, stones and piles, with which they entirely shut up the mouth of the harbour, and so prevented them from any relief that way. Being thus straitened on all sides, they were forced to yield to the pleasure of their king; and that strong town of Rochelle, wherein the security of the protestants of France chiefly consisted, by this horrible treachery was delivered

delivered up to the papists, and those of the reformed religion in all parts of that kingdom exposed to the rage of their bloody and cruel enemies.

ABOUT this time the most profitable preferments in the English church were given to those of the clergy who were most forward to promote the imposition of new ceremonies and superstitions: An oath was enjoined by them with an &c. several new holy-days introduced, and required to be observed by the people with all possible solemnity, at the same time that they were encouraged to profane the Lord's day, by a book commonly called, the Book of Sports, printed and published by the king's special command.

BUT this was not the only work of which the clergy were judged capable, and therefore divers of them entered the lists as champions of the prerogative, asserting that the possessions and estates of the subject did of right belong to the king, and that he might dispose of them at his pleasure; thereby vacating and annulling, as much as in them lay, all the laws of England that secure a propriety to the people. Arbitrary courts were erected, and the power of others enlarged; such were the high commission court, the star-chamber, the court of honour, the court of wards, the court of requests, &c. Patents and monopolies of almost every thing were granted to private men, to the great damage of the public. Knight-hood, coat and conduct-money, and many other illegal methods, were revived and put in execution, to rob the people, in order to support the profusion of the court. And that our liberties might be extirpated at once, and we become tenants at will to the king, that rare invention of ship-money was found out by Finch, whose solicitation and importunities prevailed with the major part of the judges of Westminster-hall to declare for law, that "for the supply of shipping to defend the nation, the king might impose a tax upon the people: that he was to be judge of the necessity of such supply, and of the quantity to be imposed for it; and that he might imprison as well as restrain in case of refusal." Some there were who, out of a hearty affection to the service of their country, and a true English spirit, opposed these illegal proceedings: amongst whom Mr. John Hampden of Buckingham-shire, judge Croke, and judge Hutton, were of the most eminent.

PREROGATIVE being wound up to this height in England, and the affairs of the church tending to a conjunction with the see of Rome; before any farther progress should be made therein here, it was thought expedient, that the pulse of Scotland should be felt, and they persuaded or compelled to the like conformity. To this end a form of public prayer was sent to Scotland, more nearly approaching the Roman office than that used in England. The reading of this new service-book at Edinburgh was first interrupted by a poor woman; but the people were so generally discontented with the book it self, as well as the manner of imposing it, that she was soon seconded by the generality of them; those who officiated hardly escaping with their lives. This produced divers meetings of many of the nobility, clergy and gentry, who entered into an agreement or covenant to root out episcopacy, heresy, and superstition.

THOSE of the clergy of England, who had been the chief advisers and promoters of this violence, prevailed with the king to cause all such as should persist in their opposition after a certain time, to be proclaimed traitors. But the Scots not at all affrighted with these menaces, resolved to make good their former undertaking. Which the king perceiving, and that this violent way took not effect, began to incline to more moderate counsels; and by commission empowered the marquis of Hamilton to treat them into a submission, consenting to the suppression of the liturgy, high commission court, and articles of Perth. But the Scots insisting upon the abolition of episcopacy, and the king refusing his consent to it, they did it themselves in an assembly held at Glasgow: and being informed that the king was preparing an army to compel them to obedience, agreed upon the raising of some forces to defend themselves.

THE clergy in England were not wanting to promote the new levies against the Scots, contributing largely thereunto; which was but reasonable, it being manifest to all, that they were the principal authors and fomenters of these troubles. The nobility and gentry were likewise required to further this expedition; in which, tho' divers of them did appear, yet was it rather out of compliment than affection to the design, being sensible of the oppressions they themselves lay under, and how dangerous to the people of England a thorough success against the Scots might prove.

THE king perceiving an universal dislike to this war, as well in the people as in the officers and soldiers of his army, concluded an agreement with the Scots at Berwick, the 17th of June, 1639. But upon his return to London, under colour that many false copies of the said articles were published and dispersed by the Scots, to the great dishonour of the king, the said agreement was disowned, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman.

THEREUPON hoping that a parliament would espouse his quarrel, and furnish him with money for the carrying on of his design, he summoned one to meet at Westminster on the 3d of April, 1640. which, sitting but a little time, thereby obtained the name of "the short parliament." The king by his agents earnestly pressed them to grant him present supplies for the use of his army; but they, sensible of former usage, after they had gratified him in that particular, and of the insupportable burdens and oppressions they lay under, refused to grant any subsidies till their grievances should be redressed: whereupon the king put a period to their sitting the fifth of May following; the earl of Strafford, and others of his council, advising him so to do, and to make use of other means for his supply; as appeared to the ensuing parliament, by the minutes of the secretary of state, taken at that cabal, and produced at the trial of the said earl: The sum of whose advice was to this effect. "Sir, you have now tried your people, and are denied by them, therefore you are clear before God and man, if you make use of other means for your supply: You have an army in Ireland, &c." This counsel was prosecuted, and new preparations made for the carrying on of the war against the Scots; all imaginable ways used to raise supplies, privy seals sent throughout the nation

nation for the loan of money; ship-money, coat and conduct-money pressed to the height; commodities taken up on credit, and sold for ready money; warrants also were delivered out to press men to serve in the army; brasse-money was propounded, and some prepared, but that project took no effect. The clergy being permitted and encouraged by the king to sit in convocation after the dissolution of the parliament, took upon them not only to frame canons and oaths, but also to impose four shillings in the pound upon ecclesiastical benefices throughout the kingdom. The king, to give life to the advance of his army, marched with them in person; the earl of Northumberland, as most popular, wearing the name of general, whilst Strafford with the title of lieutenant general had the principal management of all.

THE city of London had refused to pay some of the illegal taxes before-mentioned; whereupon divers of their chief officers were imprisoned, and an order issued forth to take away the sword from the lord mayor. Whereupon the people rose, and beset the house of the arch-bishop of Canterbury, who, in conjunction with the earl of Strafford, was supposed to put the king upon these violent and unwarrantable courses; but he made his escape by water for that time; and one of the most active of the people was seized and executed, which served only to exasperate the rest.

UPON the near approach of the English and Scots army, a considerable party of each side encountered; and the English, contrary to their wonted custom, retired in disorder, not without shame and some loss. Of such force and consequence is a belief and full persuasion of the justice of an undertaking, though managed by an enemy, in other respects inconsiderable.

THE king, startled at the unsuccessfulness of his first attempt, upon the petition of a considerable number of the well-affected nobility, requesting him, that to avoid the effusion of more blood, he would call an assembly of the nobility, consented thereunto. This council accordingly met at York, and advised the king to a cessation of arms, and the calling of a parliament to compose differences; which, to the great trouble of the clergy and other incendiaries, he promised to do; assuring the Scots of the payment of twenty thousand pounds a month to maintain their army, till the pleasure of the parliament should be known. In order to which, writs were issued out for the meeting of a parliament on the third of November, 1640.

THE time prefix'd for their assembling being come, they met accordingly: and as they were very sensible that nothing but an absolute necessity permitted their coming together, so they resolved to improve this happy opportunity to free the people from their burdens, and to punish the authors of the late disorders. To this end they declared against Monopolies, and expelled the authors of them out of the house. The opinions of the judges concerning ship-money they voted unjust and illegal, fining and imprisoning those that had warranted the lawfulness thereof. And that the offenders against the publick might not escape, they ordered the sea ports to be diligently guarded, and all passengers to be strictly examined.

THIS being done, they impeached the lord keeper Finch, the earl of Strafford, and the arch-bishop of Canterbury, of high treason, in endeavouring to
subvert

subvert the laws, and to erect an arbitrary and tyrannical power. They declared, that they would pay the English and Scots armies to the end of May, 1641. and assist the prince Palatine with men and money to recover his country. And now having the charge of two armies to pay, and all men suspecting they might be abruptly dissolved, as had often happened before, and therefore refusing to credit them with such sums as were necessary, unless an act might pass to secure their sitting till they should think fit to dissolve themselves by act of parliament; the king gave his assent to one drawn up and passed to that purpose. Another act likewise passed to assert, that according to the antient fundamental laws of England, a parliament ought to be held every year, and directing, that in case one was not called in three years, the lord chancellor or keeper of the great seal should issue out writs, as is therein expressed; and if he fail in his duty, he is declared guilty of high treason, and a certain number of lords impowered to summon the said parliament: and if they should neglect so to do, the sheriffs and constables are vested with the same authority. But if it should happen that all the forementioned powers should be wanting in their duty, the people of England are thereby authorized to put the said act in execution, by meeting and electing members to serve in parliament, tho' not summoned by any officers appointed to that end.

THE parliament then proceeded to correct the abuses that had been introduced in the preceding years: whereupon the star-chamber, the high-commission-court, the court of honour, with some others, were taken away by act of parliament; and the power of the council-table restrained. The commissioners of the custom-house, who had collected customs contrary to law, were fined; and such as had been imprisoned by any of the above-mentioned arbitrary courts, were set at liberty.

A protestation was also agreed upon by the lords and commons, which they took, and presented to others to take; whereby all those that took it, obliged themselves to defend and maintain the power and privileges of parliament, the rights and liberties of the people, to use their utmost endeavours to bring to condign punishment all those who should by force or otherwise, do any thing to the contrary, and to stand by and justify all such as should do any thing in prosecution of the said protestation.

THE day prefix'd for the earl of Strafford's Trial being come, he was brought before the house of peers; where the charge against him was managed by members of the house of commons appointed to that end. The chief heads of the accusation were; That he had governed the kingdom of Ireland in an arbitrary manner: That he had retained the revenues of the crown without rendering a due account of them: That he had encouraged and promoted the Romish religion: That he had endeavoured to create feuds and quarrels between England and Scotland: That he had laboured to render the parliament suspected and odious to the king: That he was the author of that advice, "That since the parliament had denied to grant the king such supplies as he demanded, he was at liberty to raise them by such means as he thought fit; and that he had an Irish army that would assist him to that end." It being the custom

custom that a lord high steward should be made to preside at the trial of a peer, that honour was conferred upon the earl of Arundel. The king, the queen, the house of commons, the deputies of Scotland and Ireland, with many other persons of quality of both sexes, were there present. I remember the earl of Strafford in his defence objected against the evidence of the earl of Cork, denying him to be a competent witness, because his enemy. To which George lord Digby, who was appointed one of the managers of the charge against him, replied; That if that objection should be of any weight with the court, the earl of Strafford had found out a certain way to secure himself from any farther prosecution. Yet this man who then spoke with so much vigour, soon after altered his language, and made a speech to the house in his favour, which he caused to be printed; and also surreptitiously withdrew a paper from the committee, containing the principal evidence against the said earl. The parliament resenting this prevarication, ordered his speech to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

THE house of commons having passed a bill for the condemnation of the earl, it was carried to the lords for their concurrence, which they gave. The king, not satisfied therewith, consulted with the privy council, some judges, and four bishops. And all of them, except one, advise the throwing of Jonas over-board for the appeasing of the storm. Upon which the earl of Arundel, the lord privy seal, and two more, were commissioned by the king to sign the warrant for his execution: which they did upon the twelfth of May following; and the twenty-second of the same month, the earl of Strafford was beheaded accordingly.

AT this time a treacherous design was set on foot, not without the participation of the king, as appeared under his own hand, to bring up the English army, and by force to dissolve the parliament; the plunder of London being promised to the officers and soldiers as a reward for that service: this was confessed by the lord Goring, Mr. Piercy, and others. The Scots army was also tried, and the four northern counties offered to be given to them, in case they will undertake the same design. And tho' neither of these attempts did succeed, yet the king pleased himself with hopes, that a seasonable time for dissolving the parliament would come; and then all power reverting into his own hands, he would deal with their new-enacted laws as he had done before with the Petition of Right, and with their members as he had done with those of the former parliaments. And that he might not long languish in this expectation, he sent to the house, desiring that at once they would make their full demands, and prepare bills accordingly for his assent, assuring them of his readiness to comply with their desires. But they perceiving the design, returned for answer: That they could not suddenly resolve on so weighty a work, but would do it with all possible speed. In the mean time, to improve the present opportunity, they prevail with the king to pass an act for the exclusion of the bishops out of the house of lords; for tho' he was unwilling to grant the parliament any thing, yet the state of his affairs was such, that he durst deny them no reasonable thing. And now having paid to the Scots and English
armies.

armies what was due to them, they dismissed them to their respective homes.

THE king having laid his designs in Ireland, as will afterwards appear, was, not without great difficulty, prevailed with by the parliament, to consent to the disbanding of those eight thousand Irish papists that had been raised there by the earl of Strafford. Soon after which he resolved upon a journey to Scotland; and tho' the parliament endeavoured to dissuade him from it, or at least to defer it to a fitter opportunity, he refused to hearken unto them, under pretence that the affairs of that kingdom necessarily required his presence: but in truth his great business was, to leave no means unattempted to take off that nation from their adherence to the parliament of England. Before his departure he signed a commission to certain persons, empowering them to pass the bills that should be tendered in his absence.

WHILST he was about this work in Scotland, the news of the Irish rebellion was brought to him; that the papists throughout that kingdom were in arms; that their design to surprize and seize the castle of Dublin had not succeeded, being discovered by one O Connelly, a servant of Sir John Clotworthy's; and that the lord Macquire and Mac-mahon, who were appointed to that end, were taken, and sent into England, where they were soon after executed for the same. The news of this rebellion (as I have heard from persons of undoubted credit) was not displeasing to the king, though it was attended with the massacre of many thousands of the protestants there.

HAVING made what progress he could in Scotland, confirming by act of parliament not only what he had formerly granted them, but also what they had done in their assembly at Glasgow, and in effect whatsoever they desired of him, he returned to London; where being received with acclamations, and treated at the expence of the city, he became elevated to that degree, that in his first speech to the commons he sharply reproved them, for that instead of thanking him for what he had done, they continued to multiply their demands and dissatisfactions: whereupon the parliament were confirmed in their suspicions, that he designed to break what he had already granted, so soon as he had opportunity and power in his hands, to plead that he was under a force, as some of his predecessors had done, and so reverse what had been enacted for the good of the people; revenge himself on those who had been instruments in compelling him thereto, and fortify himself against the like for the future. These apprehensions made them earnestly insist upon settling the militia of the nation in such hands as both houses of parliament should recommend to him, particularly representing the great dissatisfaction of the city of London, that Sir William Balfour, for refusing to permit the earl of Strafford to escape, was dismissed from his charge of lieutenant of the tower, and the government of it put into the hands of one Lunsford, a soldier of fortune, of a profligate conversation, and fit for any wicked design. With much difficulty this Lunsford was removed, and Sir John Conyers put into his place: but the parliament and city not satisfied with this choice, and having discovered that Sir John Suckling, under pretence of raising a regiment for Portugal, was bringing together

together a number of men to seize the tower for the king, it was at last entrusted to the custody of the lord mayor of London.

ABOUT this time great numbers of English protestants flying from the bloody hands of the Irish rebels, arrived in England, filling all places with sad complaints of their cruelties to the protestants of that kingdom. Whereupon the parliament earnestly pressed the king to proclaim them rebels, but could not obtain it to be done till after many weeks; and then but forty of those proclamations were printed, and not above half of them published: which was the more observed and resented, by reason of the different treatment that the Scots had met with, who no sooner appeared in a much better cause, but they were forthwith declared rebels in every parish-church within the kingdom of England. The rebels in Ireland pretended a commission from the king for what they did, which so alarmed the people of England, that the king thought himself necessitated to do something therein; and therefore, to carry on his design, he acquainted the parliament, that when an army was raised, he would go in person to reduce them: but they apprehending this pretended resolution to be only in order to put himself at the head of an army, that he might reduce the parliament to his will, refused to consent; and procured an act to pass, for the leaving of that war to the management of the two houses; the king obliging himself not to give terms to any of the rebels, or to make peace with them without the parliament's consent. In this act provision was made for the satisfying of such as should advance money for the reduction of Ireland, out of the rebels lands, in several provinces, according to the rates therein mentioned: upon which considerable sums of money were soon brought in. The parliament neglecting no opportunity to carry on this necessary work, procured some forces to be sent from Scotland into the north of Ireland, and put into their hands the town and castle of Carrickfergus: they also dispatched several regiments of English thither, who were blessed with wonderful success against the rebels, particularly about Dublin, where the earl of Ormond commanded. Those of the English pale by fair pretences procured arms to be delivered to them, yet basely cut off a party of five or six hundred men sent to relieve Sir Richard Titchburn, then besieged at Drogheda, who finding no hopes of relief, made his retreat to Dublin by sea. The lord Forbes, a Scotsman, was sent with a party into Munster, where he greatly annoyed the enemy; and being furnished with some ships, sailed up the Shannon, and secured several places upon that river, particularly Bonratte, the residence of the earl of Thomond, where he found about threescore horse fit for service. Major Adams was made governor of that house: but the enemy frequently resorting to a place called Six-Miles-Bridge, about two or three miles from thence, the English pressed the earl to assist them to fall upon the Irish; who unwilling to oppose the English interest, and no less to make the rebels his enemies, endeavoured to excuse himself; yet upon second thoughts resolved to comply, if some care might be taken to spare his kindred: whereupon some of the English officers proposing to him that his relations should distinguish themselves by some mark, and he concluding it to be in order to secure them to the

English interest, chose rather to withdraw himself into England, and to leave his house to the soldiers, where, (though he pretended he had no money to lend them to supply their wants) they found two thousand pounds buried in the walls, which they made use of for the payment of their forces.

THE king finding that nothing less would satisfy the parliament than a thorough correction of what was amiss, and full security of their rights from any violation for the future, considered how to put a stop to their proceedings; and to that end encouraged a great number of loose debauched fellows about the town to repair to Whitehall, where a constant table was provided for their entertainment. Many gentlemen of the inns of court were tampered with to assist him in his design, and things brought to that pass, that one of them said publickly in my hearing, "What, shall we suffer these fellows at Westminster to domineer thus? Let us go into the country, and bring up our tenants to pull them out." Which words not being able to bear, I questioned him for them; and he, either out of fear of the publick justice, or of my resentment, came to me the next morning, and asked pardon for the same; which by reason of his youth, and want of experience, I passed by. By these actions of the king the suspicions of the parliament were justly increased, and therefore they desired leave to provide a guard to secure themselves from violence; which the king refused to grant, unless it might be of his own appointment, alledging that their fears were groundless: but they thought otherwise, being convinced that neither what had been already done was sufficiently secured, unless the militia might be placed in such hands as they could trust; nor themselves safe, unless attended by a guard of their own nomination.

THE king's violent ways not succeeding, he fell upon other measures in appearance more moderate, yet continued his resolution to subdue the parliament: and to colour his proceedings with a form of law, he sent Sir Edward Herbert his attorney-general, and a member of the house of commons, to accuse of high-treason, in the name of his majesty, Mr. William Stroud, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Mr. Denzil Hollis, members of that house; and the lord Kimbolton of the house of lords: acquainting them, that he intended to proceed against them according to law, upon the following articles:

1. THAT they intended to change the government of the state, and to dispossess the king of his sovereign and lawful power, and to attribute to subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power.

2. THAT by false reports and calumnies sown against his majesty, they had endeavoured to alienate from him the affections of his people.

3. THAT they had done their utmost to debauch the troops of his majesty, and to engage them in their perfidious designs.

4. THAT they had traiterously sought to overthrow the rights and true form of parliaments.

5. THAT they had used force and terror to constrain the parliament to engage in their pernicious designs; and to that end had stirred up tumults against the king and parliament.

6. THAT

6. THAT they had by a great treason resolved to raise arms, and had actually raised arms against the king.

7. THAT they had endeavoured to procure a foreign power to invade England.

UPON this the house made answer to the attorney-general, that they were the proper judges of their own members: that upon his producing the articles that he had to accuse their members with, and the consideration of them, if they found cause, they would leave them to be proceeded against according to law; but commanded him at his peril not to proceed any farther against them, or any other member, without their consent. After which they published a declaration, forbidding the seizing of any of their members without their order; authorizing them to stand upon their guard; and requiring all justices of the peace, constables, and other officers and people, to be assisting to them; and sent the attorney-general to prison, for his proceedings in this matter.

THE king finding his instruments thus discouraged, and being resolved to remove all obstructions in his way, went in person to the house of commons, attended not only with his ordinary guard of pensioners, but also with those desperadoes that for some time he had entertained at Whitehall, to the number of three or four hundred, armed with partizans, sword and pistol. At the door of the house he left his guard commanded by the lord Roxberry, entering, accompanied only by the prince Palatine; where taking possession of the speaker's chair, and not seeing those that he looked for, he said, "The birds are flown." For, upon notice given by a lady of the court of the king's intention, they were retired into the city. The king then demanded of the speaker where such and such were, naming the five members: to which he answered in these words; "I have neither eyes to see, ears to hear, nor tongue to speak in this place, save what this house gives me." The king replied, "I think you are in the right:" and then addressing himself to the house, said; "That he was sorry he had been necessitated to come thither: That no king of England had been more careful to preserve the privileges of parliament than he desired to be; but that those five members being dangerous persons, he had been obliged to pursue them, not by force, but by the ordinary forms of justice: That he hoped the parliament would send them to him, to justify themselves, if they could; if not, he knew how to find them:" which said, he retired. The parliament sensible of this violation of their privileges, and fearing they might be further intrenched upon, ordered a committee of the house to sit in the city of London, whither their five members were gone before for protection. The king followed them thither with a slender, or rather no guard, (so far was he from fearing either parliament or city) designing to engage the citizens to deliver up the five members to him, and to stand by him in this horrid enterprise; but they would not be persuaded to comply with his desires in that matter. This violent attempt proving unsuccessful, the parliament, to assert their just rights, voted it to be a breach of their privileges; and that the like might be prevented for the future, after the committee had sat a few days in the city, they returned to Westminster, accompanied with guards from the

city both by land and water. Which the king being informed of, and finding that the design which he had laid had highly provoked the parliament and people, he retired to Hampton-court, whither those that he had formerly entertained at Whitehall soon repaired; and at Kingston upon Thames appeared in a military posture, with the lord Digby and colonel Lunsford at the head of them. The two houses having notice thereof, desired the king to disperse the said troops, and to return to the parliament. The lord Digby was also required to attend his duty in the house: but he being conscious of his own guilt, and knowing that the king's affairs were not yet in a posture to bid open defiance to the parliament, chose rather to betake himself to flight; as the queen did soon after, upon notice that the two houses were about to accuse her of high-treason: both of them designing not only to withdraw themselves from the prosecution of the parliament, but also to make what preparations they could for the raising of an army against them: in order to which the queen carried with her the jewels of the crown, and pawned them in Holland for arms and money. The parliament having discovered that the lord Digby had by a letter advised the king to retire to some place of strength, and there to declare against them, they caused him to be proclaimed a traitor: notwithstanding which, the king, instead of returning to London at the earnest desire of both houses, in prosecution of the lord Digby's counsel, went farther from them. During his absence many papers passed between him and the parliament. The chief aim of those of the latter was to persuade the king to return to London, and to settle the militia in such hands as the parliament should advise; that so all jealousies between him and his people might be removed. Those from the king were to let them know, that he could not part with the militia, esteeming it to be the best jewel of his crown; nor return to London with safety to his person. The declarations on both sides proving ineffectual, and the king's designs both at home and abroad being grown ripe, he expressed his dissatisfactions more openly, and withdrew to York, where several lords and others affected to his interest, resorted to him with plate, money, men, horses and arms: amongst whom were many papists; who, though to cover the king's designs from the people, they were forbidden to come into the court, were yet privately encouraged, and daily listed and armed. And as the distance of York from the parliament was one reason why the king went thither, so its nearness to Hull was another. This town he endeavoured to possess himself of, being a place of strength, where great quantities of arms and ammunition had been laid up, upon disbanding the army which was lately on foot in those parts, and very convenient for the landing of men from Holland. But the parliament suspecting the design, had sent Sir John Hotham thither to keep and defend it for their use. Notwithstanding which the king persisted in his resolution, and endeavoured, by sending divers persons of quality into the town, to surprize it; but that way not taking effect, he appeared in person before it, demanding entrance of Sir John Hotham, which he absolutely refused to permit; alledging, that he was entrusted with the place by the parliament for the service of his majesty and
the

the nation, and that he could not surrender it without their order. The king finding that he could not prevail either by promises or threatnings, caused Sir John Hotham to be proclaimed a traitor, and returned to York; from whence he complained to the parliament of the affront he had received at Hull; who, to manifest their approbation of Sir John Hotham's conduct, declared that he had done his duty in denying the king admittance into the town, asserting that the command of the militia was entrusted with the king to be employed for the good of the nation; of which the two houses of parliament sitting are the proper judges.

THE parliament began now to provide for the security of all places, and sent a committee of four of their members to invite the king to return to Westminster, and to endeavour to promote their interest in the northern parts: and being informed that there was laid up in the town of Leicester a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition provided for the county; and that Mr. Hastings, then sheriff, under pretence of bringing with him a guard to attend the judges at the assizes, resolved to secure the said magazine for the king's use; they made choice of officers for three companies of foot, empowering them to raise the said companies for the defence of the said magazine. The captains nominated to this employment were one major Grey, Dr. Bastwick, and one of my brothers, who having been for some time in the service of the states of Holland, was newly returned to England. These three having received their commissions from the parliament, went to Leicester, in order to raise their companies; which they had not fully effected, when the king with all his cavalry, consisting of about two thousand horse, arrived at Leicester; against whom three companies being no way sufficient to defend the town, they resolved only to secure that place where the magazine lay: but that not being large enough to receive more than one company, the three captains cast lots whose part it should be to defend it; which falling upon major Grey, the other two dispersed their men, and set forward for London, but had not rode many miles when they were seized by a party of horse, which the king commanded the sheriff to send after them, who brought them back to Leicester, from whence they were removed to York, where they were kept in the common gaol, and very cruelly treated. These were the first prisoners taken on either side. The magazine by capitulation was dispersed into several parts of the county, as properly belonging to them.

THE parliament, that they might leave no means unattempted to persuade the king to return to them, sent down propositions, directing their commissioners at York to deliver them to him: and because much of the intentions of the parliament appear in the said proposals, and for that they were in effect the principal foundation of the ensuing war, I conceive it will not be amiss to recite them in this place, as they were agreed on by both houses the second of June, 1642. with the title of, "Their humble petition and advice in nineteen propositions sent to the king."

The

The most humble and most faithful subjects of your majesty, the lords and commons assembled in parliament,

“ **H**AVING nothing in their thoughts and desires more precious, and
 “ of higher esteem, after the honour and immediate service of God,
 “ than the just and faithful discharge of their duty towards your majesty and
 “ this kingdom; and being most sensible of the destruction and disorders, and
 “ of the imminent dangers and miseries which threaten your majesty and
 “ subjects, the which have proceeded from the subtile informations, malicious
 “ practices, and wicked counsels of persons ill-affected to the true religion of
 “ God, to the peace and honour of your majesty, and to the good of the
 “ common-wealth; after a serious consideration of the causes of these mis-
 “ chiefs, in all humility and sincerity they present to your majesty this peti-
 “ tion and advice, full of duty; to the end that your royal prudence, for
 “ the establishment of your honour and safety, and by a tender sense of the
 “ good and safety of your subjects, and your estates, you may please to con-
 “ sent and agree unto these humble desires and propositions, as the most
 “ necessary and most effectual means, by the blessing of the Lord, to remove
 “ the jealousies and differences that are unhappily begot between you and
 “ your people, and to procure to you and them a constant current of honour,
 “ peace and happiness.

Proposition I. “ **T**HAT the lords and all others of your majesty’s privy
 “ council, and such other chief officers of state, as well within the kingdom
 “ as on the other side of the sea, be put out of all offices and employments,
 “ except such as the two houses of parliament shall approve; and that those
 “ who shall be put into their place shall be approved by parliament; and that
 “ those of the council shall take an oath for the due execution of their charge
 “ in such form as the parliament shall agree.

“ 2. **T**HAT the great affairs of the kingdom shall not be concluded nor passed
 “ by the advice of private persons, nor by any counsellors unknown, or that
 “ shall not have taken oath; but that such matters as concern the public, and
 “ are proper for the high court of parliament, that is your majesty’s great and
 “ supreme council, shall be debated, resolved, and passed in parliament, and
 “ there only; and those who shall presume to do any thing to the contrary,
 “ shall be subject to the censure and judgment of the parliament: And other
 “ matters of state that are proper for the privy council of your majesty, shall
 “ be debated and concluded by the nobles, and others who shall be chosen for
 “ that end, from time to time, by the two houses of parliament; and that
 “ every public act that concerns the affairs of the kingdom, and shall be
 “ agreed by the council, shall be esteemed of no force, and as not proceeding
 “ from the royal authority, if at least the greatest part of your council have
 “ not consented thereunto, and signed the same; and that your council shall
 “ be brought to a certain number that shall not exceed twenty-five, nor be
 “ under fifteen; and if it happen that any counsellor’s place becomes void
 “ during

“ during the intervals of parliament, it shall be supplied by the plurality of
“ voices of those of your council, which shall be either confirmed or voided
“ at the first sessions of parliament.

“ 3. THAT the lord high steward of England, the great constable, the
“ chancellor, the keepers of the seals, the great treasurer, the keeper of the
“ privy seal, the earl marshal, the admiral, the governor of the cinque-
“ ports, the lieutenant of Ireland, the chancellor of the exchequer, the
“ master of the court of wards, the secretaries of state, the two chief justices,
“ and the chief baron, shall be chosen with the approbation of the two
“ houses of parliament, and in the intervals of parliament by the major part
“ of the privy council, with the condition above mentioned in the choice of
“ the counsellors of state.

“ 4. THAT the governor of the children of the king shall be chosen with
“ the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals of parliament in the
“ manner before-mentioned; and of the servants that are already about them,
“ the parliament shall change such as they think fit.

“ 5. THAT the children of the king shall not marry without the advice of
“ the parliament; and those who shall be employed therein without their
“ knowledge, shall be punished by the parliament.

“ 6. THAT the laws against popish recusants shall be put in effectual exe-
“ cution, and that those of them who are prisoners, shall not be set at liberty
“ without giving good security.

“ 7. THAT papists shall have no vote in councils, and that their children
“ shall be brought up in the protestant religion.

“ 8. THAT the parliament shall reform the liturgy and the government of
“ the church, as they shall think fit, with the advice of divines: That your
“ majesty shall assist to put a stop to innovations, to expel suspicious and
“ scandalous ministers, and for the countenancing of a godly and preach-
“ ing ministry throughout the nation.

“ 9. THAT it will please your majesty to content yourself with the order
“ that the parliament hath established in the militia, until an act be agreed on
“ for that purpose; and that your majesty will recal the declarations and pro-
“ clamations against the orders given therein by the parliament.

“ 10. THAT every member of parliament that hath been put out of
“ his employment or office, shall be re-established, or satisfaction given him.

“ 11. THAT the privy counsellors and judges shall take such oath as shall
“ be agreed on by parliament, for the doing of justice, and observing the
“ statutes that shall be agreed on by this parliament; and that report be made
“ every session of parliament, of the evil administration of justice.

“ 12. THAT all officers shall enjoy their places so long, and no longer than
“ they behave themselves well therein.

“ 13. THAT all persons shall be subject to the justice of the parliament,
“ even although they remove themselves beyond the seas.

“ 14. THAT the amnesty accorded by your majesty shall have such excep-
“ tions therein as the parliament shall think fit.

“ 15. THAT

“ 15. THAT the fortresses of the kingdom shall have governours of the choice of your majesty, yet of the approbation of the parliament, and in the intervals of parliament as is aforesaid.

“ 16. THAT the extraordinary guard that your majesty hath at present about you, may be discharged, and that for the time to come you will raise no such extraordinary guards, but according to law, in case of actual rebellion or invasion.

“ 17. THAT it will please your majesty to confirm your leagues with the United Provinces, and other princes of the protestant religion, that you may be the more capable to defend it against popish attempts; which will bring much reputation to your majesty, and encourage your subjects to endeavour in a parliamentary way to re-establish your sister and her children, and other princes, oppressed for the same cause.

“ 18. THAT it will please your majesty to clear, by an act of parliament, the lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the house of commons, so that future parliaments may be secured against the consequence of such ill examples.

“ 19. THAT it will please your majesty of your grace to pass an act, that the peers created hereafter shall have no place nor voice in parliament, at least unless they are admitted thereunto by the parliament.

“ THESE humble requests being granted unto us by your majesty, we shall endeavour, as we ought, to regulate the revenue of your majesty, and to increase it more and more, in such sort, that it shall support the dignity royal with honour and abundance, beyond whatever the subjects of this kingdom have allowed to their kings your majesty's predecessors. We will put also the town of Hull into such hands as your majesty shall please, with the approbation of the parliament, and will give a good account of the munitions of war, and of the magazine. And to conclude, we shall cheerfully do our endeavours to give unto your majesty testimony of our affection, duty and faithfulness, to preserve and maintain your royal honour, the greatness and safety of your majesty, and of your posterity.”

THESE propositions were delivered to the king by the commissioners of the parliament, but without success, he being resolved to steer another course, presuming he might obtain as good terms as these, if reduced to the last extremity; and that if his arms succeeded according to his hopes, his will might pass for a law, pursuant to the opinion of those who thought no way so likely to render his authority absolute, as the making of a war upon his people. And now the fire began to break out in the west: Sir John Stawell and others drawing a party together in Somersetshire for the king, where captain Preston and others opposed them; and about Martials Elm on Polden-Hill, some of those who declared for the parliament were killed. Whereupon the parliament ordered some horse to be raised, which they sent down under the command of the earl of Bedford, to protect their friends in those parts. By which means the enemy being forced to quit the field, betook themselves to the castle of Sherburn in Dorsetshire, which
after

after a short siege was surrendered to the parliament. Portsmouth was also secured for the parliament by the young lord Goring, then governour thereof; but he afterwards declaring for the king, it was besieged and reduced by their forces, and the government of it entrusted to Sir William Lewis.

THE king having set up his standard at Nottingham the 24th of August, 1642. the parliament thought themselves obliged to make some preparations to defend themselves, having discovered that he had sent abroad to procure what assistance he could against his people, particularly applying himself to the king of Denmark, acquainting him, that the two houses, to make their work sure against him, were endeavouring to prove queen Anne a whore, and thereby illegitimate all her issue; earnestly pressing him in vindication of his injured sister, as well as in consideration of his own relation to him, to send him succours. This letter was intercepted and brought to the parliament, who by a declaration protested that no such thing had ever entered into their thoughts. The king also endeavoured, under pretence of law, to take away the lives of Dr. Bastwick and captain Robert Ludlow, for acting in obedience to the commands of the parliament; and had proceeded to their execution, had not the parliament, by a message sent to judge Heath, and delivered unto him on the bench, threatened a retaliation, by executing two for one in case they went on, which put a stop to that design.

THE parliament having passed the following votes,

1. THAT the king, seduced by evil counsel, intends to levy war against the parliament;
2. THAT when the king doth levy war against the parliament, he breaks his trust, and doth that which tends to the dissolution of the parliament;
3. THAT whosoever shall assist him in such a war, are traitors, and shall be proceeded against accordingly;

prepared for the raising of an army, and published several declarations, inviting the good people of England to assist them with their prayers, persons, and purses to carry on this war, which they were necessitated to enter into for the defence of the religion, laws, liberties, and parliament of England. The protestation taken by both houses, and by them proposed to the people, to stand by each other in their just and necessary undertaking, was readily and chearfully taken by many in London and elsewhere; and divers hundreds on horseback from the counties of Buckingham, Hartford, and Essex, came up with their several petitions, acknowledging the care and faithfulness of the parliament in the discharge of their trust, and promising to stand by them in the carrying on of what they had declared for.

DECLARATIONS were also set forth by the two houses, encouraging the people to provide horses and arms, and to bring in plate and money for their necessary defence, engaging the credit of the public for the reimbursement of what should be so advanced. Which contributions arising to the value of a

great sum, they declared their intentions of raising a certain number of horse and foot, with a proportionable train of artillery, and voted the earl of Essex to be their general; whom the king (to take him off from the public interest) had lately made chamberlain of his household. Upon the same account he had also preferred the lord Say to be master of the court of wards, and Mr. Oliver St. Johns to be his solicitor general. But this could not corrupt the earl of Essex, nor hinder him from discharging vigorously that trust which the parliament had reposed in him. Divers of the lords and commons engaged their lives with him, and under him: of the lords, the earl of Bedford, who was general of the horse, the lord Peterborough, the lord Willoughby of Parham, the lord Denbigh, the lord St. John, the lord Rochford; and of the commons, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Hollis, who raised regiments; Sir Philip Stapylton, who commanded the earl of Essex's guard, and Mr. Oliver Cromwell, who commanded a troop of horse, and divers others. The earl of Northumberland, who was high admiral, staid with the parliament. The earl of Warwick, whom they made vice-admiral, kept the greatest part of the fleet in obedience to them.

THINGS being brought to this extremity, the nation was driven to a necessity of arming in defence of the laws, openly and frequently violated by the king; who had made it the chief business of his reign to invade the rights and privileges of the people, raising taxes by various arts without their consent in parliament; encouraging and preferring a formal and superstitious clergy, discouraging the sober and virtuous amongst them; imposing upon all the inventions of men in the room of the institutions of God: and knowing that parliaments were the most likely means to rectify what was amiss, to give a check to his ambition, and to punish the principal instruments of that illegal power which he had assumed, had endeavoured either to prevent their meeting, or to render them fruitless to the people, and only serviceable to his corrupt ends, by granting him money to carry on his pernicious designs: a parliament being now called, and an act passed, authorizing them to sit till they should think fit to dissolve themselves: and it being manifest to them, and to all those who had any concern for the happiness of the nation, that the king would do nothing effectually to redress the present, or to secure the people from future mischiefs; choosing rather to contend with them by arms, than for their satisfaction to entrust the militia in faithful hands; resolving to impose that by the force of his arms which he could not do by the strength of his arguments: I thought it my duty, upon consideration of my age and vigorous constitution, as an English-man, and an invitation to that purpose from my father, to enter into the service of my country, in the army commanded by the earl of Essex under the authority of the parliament. I thought the justice of that cause I had engaged in to be so evident, that I could not imagine it to be attended with much difficulty. For though I supposed that many of the clergy, who had been the principal authors of our miseries, together with some of the courtiers, and such as absolutely depended upon the king for their subsistence, as also some foreigners, would adhere to him; yet I could

not think that many of the people, who had been long oppressed with heavy burdens, and now with great difficulty had obtained a parliament, composed of such persons as were willing to run all hazards to procure a lasting settlement for the nation, would be either such enemies to themselves, or so ungrateful to those they had trusted, as not to stand by them to the utmost of their power: at least (though some might not have so much resolution and courage as to venture all with them, yet) that they would not be so treacherous and unworthy, as to strengthen the hands of the enemy against those who had the laws of God, nature and reason, as well as those of the land on their side. Soon after my engagement in this cause, I met with Mr. Richard Fynes, son to the lord Say, and Mr. Charles Fleetwood, son to Sir Miles Fleetwood, then a member of the house of commons; with whom consulting, it was resolved by us to assemble as many young gentlemen of the inns of court, of which we then were, and others, as should be found disposed to this service, in order to be instructed together in the use of arms, to render ourselves fit and capable of acting in case there should be occasion to make use of us. To this end we procured a person experienced in military affairs, to instruct us in the use of arms; and for some time we frequently met to exercise at the Artillery-ground in London. And being informed that the parliament had resolved to raise a life-guard for the earl of Essex, to consist of a hundred gentlemen, under the command of Sir Philip Stapylton, a member of parliament, most of our company entered themselves therein, and made up the greatest part of the said guard; amongst whom were Mr. Richard Fynes, Mr. Charles Fleetwood, afterwards lieutenant-general, major-general Harrison, colonel Nathanael Rich, colonel Thomlinson, colonel Twisleton, colonel Boswell, major Whitby, and myself, with divers others. It was not long before the army under the command of the earl of Essex was raised, and ready to march; so cheerfully did the people, hoping that the time of their deliverance was come, offer their persons and all that was necessary for the carrying on of that work. The appearance for the king was not very considerable whilst he continued at York; but when he removed to Shrewsbury, great numbers out of Wales and the adjacent parts resorted to him. The earl of Essex having notice that the king directed his march that way, advanced with his army towards Worcester; and upon his approach to that town received advice, that a detachment commanded by prince Rupert had possessed themselves of it for the king; and that a party of ours, impatient of delay, had engaged the enemy before our general could come up, with great disadvantage, as I afterwards observed upon view of the place. Ours consisted of about a thousand horse and dragoons, the enemy being more in number, and drawn up in a body, within musket-shot of a bridge between Parshot and Worcester, over which our men resolved to march and attack them; but before half their number was got over, not being able to advance above eight or ten a-breast, by reason of a narrow lane through which they were to pass, till they came within pistol-shot of the enemy, they were engaged, and forced to retreat in disorder, though they did as much as could be expected from them upon so disadvantageous a ground. Some were killed

upon the place ; among whom was major Gunter, a very gallant man, who, as I have heard, had endeavoured to dissuade them from that attempt ; others were drowned, and divers taken prisoners ; of the last was colonel Sands, who commanded the party, and was carried to Worcester, where, being mortally wounded, he soon died, with all possible expressions of his hearty affection to the public cause. The body of our routed party returned in great disorder to Parshot, at which place our life-guard was appointed to quarter that night ; where, as we were marching into the town, we discovered horse-men riding very hard towards us with drawn swords, and many of them without hats, from whom we understood the particulars of our loss, not without improvement, by reason of the fear with which they were possessed, telling us, that the enemy was hard by in pursuit of them : whereas it afterwards appeared, they came not within four miles of that place. Our life-guard being for the most part strangers to things of this nature, were much alarmed with this report ; yet some of us, unwilling to give credit to it till we were better informed, offered ourselves to go out upon a further discovery of the matter. But our captain Sir Philip Stapylton not being then with us, his lieutenant one Bainham, an old foldier (a generation of men much cried up at that time) drawing us into a field, where he pretended we might more advantageously charge if there should be occasion, commanded us to wheel about ; but our gentlemen not yet well understanding the difference between “ wheeling about,” and “ shifting for themselves,” their backs being now towards the enemy, whom they thought to be close in the rear, retired to the army in a very dishonourable manner, and the next morning rallied at the head-quarters, where we received but cold welcome from the general, as we well deserved. The night following the enemy left Worcester, and retreated to Shrewsbury, where the king was ; upon which the earl of Essex advanced to Worcester, where he continued with the army for some time, expecting an answer to a message sent by him to the king from the parliament, inviting him to return to London. This time the king improved to compleat and arm his men ; which when he had effected, he began his march, the earl of Essex attending him to observe his motions : and after a day or two, on Sunday morning, the 23d of October, 1642. our scouts brought advice that the enemy appeared, and about nine o'clock some of their troops were discovered upon Edge-hill in Warwickshire. Upon this our forces, who had been ordered that morning to their quarters to refresh themselves, having had but little rest for eight and forty hours, were immediately countermanded. The enemy drew down the hill, and we into the field near Keinton. The best of our field-pieces were planted upon our right wing, guarded by two regiments of foot and some horse. Our general having commanded to fire upon the enemy, it was done twice upon that part of the army, wherein, as it was reported, the king was. The great shot was exchanged on both sides for the space of an hour or thereabouts. By this time the foot began to engage, and a party of the enemy being sent to line some hedges on our right wing, thereby to beat us from our ground, were repulsed by our dragoons without any loss on our side.

side. The enemy's body of foot, wherein the king's standard was, came on within musket-shot of us; upon which we observing no horse to encounter withal, charged them with some loss from their pikes, though very little from their shot; but not being able to break them, we retreated to our former station, whither we were no sooner come, but we perceived that those who were appointed to guard the artillery were marched off: and Sir Philip Stapylton our captain wishing for a regiment of foot to secure the cannon, we promised to stand by him in defence of them, causing one of our servants to load and level one of them, which he had scarce done, when a body of horse appeared advancing towards us from that side where the enemy was. We fired at them with case-shot, but did no other mischief save only wounding one man through the hand, our gun being over-loaded, and planted on high ground; which fell out very happily, this body of horse being of our own army, and commanded by Sir William Balfour, who with great resolution had charged into the enemy's quarters, where he had nailed several pieces of their cannon, and was then retreating to his own party, of which the man who was shot in the hand was giving us notice by holding it up; but we did not discern it. The earl of Essex ordered two regiments of foot to attack that body which we had charged before, where the king's standard was, which they did, but could not break them, till Sir William Balfour at the head of a party of horse charging them in the rear, and we marching down to take them in flank, they broke and ran away towards the hill. Many of them were killed upon the place, amongst whom was Sir Edward Varney the king's standard-bearer, who, as I have heard from a person of honour, engaged on that side, not out of any good opinion of the cause, but from the sense of a duty which he thought lay upon him, in respect of his relation to the king. Mr. Herbert of Glamorganshire, lieutenant-colonel to Sir Edward Stradling's regiment, was also killed, with many others that fell in the pursuit. Many colours were taken, and I saw lieutenant-colonel Middleton, then a reformade in our army, displaying the king's standard which he had taken: but a party of horse coming upon us, we were obliged to retire with our standard; and having brought it to the earl of Essex, he delivered it to the custody of one Mr. Chambers his secretary, from whom it was taken by one captain Smith, who, with two more, disguising themselves with orange-colour'd scarfs, (the earl of Essex's colour) and pretending it unfit that a penman should have the honour to carry the standard, took it from him, and rode with it to the king, for which action he was knighted. Retreating towards our army, I fell in with a body of the king's foot, as I soon perceived; but having passed by them undiscovered, I met with Sir William Balfour's troop, some of whom who knew me not would have fired upon me, supposing me to be an enemy, had they not been prevented, and assured of the contrary by Mr. Francis Russel, who with ten men well mounted and armed, which he maintained, rode in the life-guard, and in the heat of the pursuit had lost sight of them, as I myself had also done.

I NOW perceived no other engagement on either side, only a few great guns continued to fire upon us from the enemy: but towards the close of the day

day we discovered a body of horse marching from our rear on the left of us under the hedges, which the life-guard (whom I had then found) having discovered to be the enemy, and resolving to charge them, sent to some of our troops that stood within musket-shot of us, to second them; which though they refused to do, and we had no way to come at them but through a gap in the hedge, we advanced towards them, and falling upon their rear, killed divers of them, and brought off some arms. In which attempt being dismounted, I could not without great difficulty recover on horse-back again, being loaded with cuirassiers arms, as the rest of the guard also were. This was the right wing of the king's horse commanded by prince Rupert, who taking advantage of the disorder that our own horse had put our foot into, who had opened their ranks to secure them in their retreat, pressed upon them with such fury, that he put them to flight. And if the time which he spent in pursuing them too far, and in plundering the waggons, had been employed in taking such advantages as offered themselves in the place where the fight was, it might have proved more serviceable to the carrying on of the enemy's designs. The night after the battle our army quartered upon the same ground that the enemy fought on the day before. No man nor horse got any meat that night, and I had touched none since the Saturday before, neither could I find my servant who had my cloak, so that having nothing to keep me warm but a suit of iron, I was obliged to walk about all night, which proved very cold by reason of a sharp frost.

TOWARDS morning our army, having received a reinforcement of colonel Hampden's and several other regiments, to the number of about four thousand men, who had not been able to join us sooner, was drawn up; and about day-light we saw the enemy upon the top of the hill: so that we had time to bury our dead, and theirs too if we thought fit. That day was spent in sending trumpeters to enquire whether such as were missing on both sides, were killed or prisoners. Those of ours taken by the enemy were lord St. Johns, who was mortally wounded, and declared at his death a full satisfaction and cheerfulness to lay down his life in so good a cause; colonel Walton a member of parliament, and captain Austin an eminent merchant in London; of whom the last died through the hard usage he received in the gaol at Oxford, to which he was committed. It was observed that the greatest slaughter on our side was of such as ran away, and on the enemy's side of those that stood; of whom I saw about threescore lie within the compass of three-score yards upon the ground, whereon that brigade fought in which the king's standard was. We took prisoners the earl of Lindsey, general of the king's army, who died of his wounds; Sir Edward Stradling, and colonel Lunsford, who were sent to Warwick-castle. That night the country brought in some provisions; but when I got meat I could scarce eat it, my jaws for want of use having almost lost their natural faculty.

OUR army was now refreshed, and masters of the field; and having received such a considerable addition of strength as I mentioned before, we hoped that we should have pursued the enemy, who were marching off as fast as they could, leaving only some troops to face us upon the top of the hill: but

but instead of that, for what reason I know not, we marched to Warwick; of which the enemy having notice, sent out a party of horse under prince Rupert, who on Tuesday night fell into the town of Keinton, where our sick and wounded soldiers lay, and after they had cruelly murdered many of them, returned to their army. The king, as if master of the field, marched to Banbury, and summoned it; and though about a thousand of our men were in the town, yet pretending it not to be sufficiently provided for a siege, they surrendered it to him. From thence the king went to Oxford, and our army after some refreshment at Warwick returned to London, not like men that had obtained a victory, but as if they had been beaten. The parliament ordered them to be recruited; and about the same time sent to the king, who was advanced with part of his army to Maidenhead, or thereabouts, to assure him of their earnest desire to prevent the effusion of more blood, and to procure a right understanding between his majesty and them. The king in his answer, which was brought by Sir Peter Killegrew, professed to desire nothing more; and that he would leave no means unattempted for the effecting thereof. Upon which answer the parliament thought themselves secure, at least against any sudden attempt: but the very next day the king taking the advantage of a very thick mist, marched his army within half a mile of Brentford before he was discovered, designing to surprize our train of artillery, (which was then at Hammer-smith) the parliament and city; which he had certainly done, if two regiments of foot and a small party of horse, that lay at Brentford, had not with unspeakable courage opposed his passage, and stopt the march of his army most part of the afternoon: during which time the army, that lay quartered in and about London, drew together; which some of them, and particularly the life-guard, had opportunity the sooner to do, being at that very time drawn into Chelsea-fields to muster, where they heard the volleys of shot that passed between the enemy and our little party. The dispute continued for some hours, till our men were encompassed quite round with horse and foot; and then being overpowered with numbers on every side, many brave and gallant men having lost their lives upon the place, the rest chusing rather to commit themselves to the mercy of the water, than to those who were engaged in so treacherous a design, leaped into the river, where many officers and private soldiers were drowned, and some taken prisoners. However, the enemy's design was by this means defeated, and they discouraged from any farther attempt that night. The parliament also were alarmed in such a manner with the danger and treachery of this enterprize, that they used all possible diligence to bring their forces together, so that by eight of the clock the next morning we had a body of twenty thousand horse and foot drawn up upon Turnham-green, a mile on this side Brentford: those of ours also that lay at Kingston were marching to us by the way of London. The enemy drew out a party of theirs towards the hill at Acton, which we attacked, and forced to retire in disorder to their main body. And here again, in the opinion of many judicious persons, we lost, as at Edge-hill before, a favourable opportunity of engaging the enemy with
great

great advantage, our numbers exceeding theirs, and their reputation being utterly lost in the last attempt. But the earl of Holland and others, pretending to encourage our army by their presence, made use of their time to dissuade the earl of Essex from fighting, till the rest of our forces arrived; magnifying the power of the enemy to him, and thereby giving them an opportunity to draw off their forces and artillery towards Kingston, which they did as fast as they could, leaving only a body of horse to face us between the two Brentfords, the rest having secured themselves by a timely retreat: upon this party some of our great guns, guarded by a regiment of foot, were, towards the evening, ordered to be fired. The life-guard was drawn up in the high-ways, to secure our foot from any attempt of horse that might be made upon them; which some great men, who pretended a resolution to fight in that troop, blamed, charging the advisers thereof with rashness, in hazarding them in such a pound, where they must inevitably be cut off, if the enemy should advance upon them. But I fear this great care was only counterfeit, and that those persons well knew the enemy to be in a flying, and not in a charging condition, as it quickly appeared; for our cannon no sooner began to play upon them, but they retired to the main body of their army, the rear of which had by that time recovered Hounslow-heath. The enemy took up their head-quarters at Kingston, where, by the advantage of the bridge over the Thames, they hoped to be able, though inferior in number, to defend themselves against a more numerous army, if they should be attacked, and to put in execution any design they might have upon the city or places adjacent. To prevent which our general caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the river between Putney and Battersey, which was no sooner finished but the enemy retired to Oxford by the way of Reading, which place they fortified, and placed a garrison therein, a party of ours having quitted it upon their approach. Garrisons were also placed by them in the towns of Newcastle upon Tyne, Chester, Worcester, and several others, as they had done before in York and Shrewsbury. Some of ours likewise had possessed themselves of Gloucester, Bristol, Exeter, Southampton, Dover, and divers other places. The enemy being retired, our army advanced to Windsor, and made it our head-quarters for the most part of that winter: and so desirous was the parliament to prevent any further effusion of blood, that notwithstanding the treacherous design of the late expedition, they again sent propositions of peace to the king at Oxford, being the same in effect with those delivered to him before at York; but they found no better reception than the others had done. I do not remember any thing remarkable performed by either party this winter, save only an attempt of the enemy upon one of our quarters at Henly, where two regiments of foot, one of which was major-general Skippon's, then were, who being tired with a long march, and dispersed to their respective quarters, were fallen upon by a great body of the enemy that had advanced to the town's end undiscovered; but a small party of our men getting together, one of our gunners hastened to the artillery which was planted upon the avenue, fired once or twice upon them, and made so great
a slaughter,

a slaughter, especially of those officers who were at the head of their party, that they retreated in great disorder without any farther attempt.

OUR general having notice that the enemy had a design upon Bristol, sent a party commanded by colonel Nathanael Fines to reinforce that garrison; by which means it was prevented, and some of their correspondents in the town thereupon executed.

ABOUT this time Sir Edward Hungerford having obtained the command of the forces in the county of Wilts for the parliament, invited me to raise a troop of horse in his regiment: in order to which I attended him at the Devizes, and from thence went with him to Salisbury, where he seized some quantity of horse and arms from persons disaffected, and with them mounted and armed part of his men. And I having done what was convenient at that time for the raising of my troop, returned to the head-quarters at Windsor, where I gave them an account of the good condition of colonel Fines and Sir Edward Hungerford, at which they were not a little surpris'd, having been made to believe that they and their troops were routed and cut in pieces by the enemy. Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Bevil Greenvil, and others, were very active in raising forces for the king, in Cornwall, and the remote parts of Devonshire, and had possessed themselves of Pendennis, Dartmouth, and Barnstaple, as colonel Ashburnham and others had done of Weymouth in Dorsetshire. And the parliament had ordered garrisons to be put into Plymouth, Lyme, and Pool. In the spring our army was master of the field, the king making it his business to be only upon the defensive till the queen should arrive in England with an army to his assistance, hoping to exhaust the treasure of the city of London by delays, and thereby to cause them to abate their zeal for the publick, omitting no opportunity by his emissaries to create and foment differences amongst them, endeavouring by all means to procure an insurrection for him, to compel the parliament to submit to such terms as he pleased to impose. The earl of Essex marched with the army to besiege Reading, a frontier town of the king's, which he had strongly fortified and garrisoned. The general himself sat down on the North-west side, and the lord Grey of Wark on the south-east side of the town: the great shot did some damage to the houses; from one of which a tile falling upon the head of Sir Arthur Ashton, a papist, and governour thereof, disabled him from executing that charge during the rest of the siege, and colonel Fielding was made governour in his room. The king thinking this place to be of great importance to him, brought together all the forces he could; and marching on Causam-side in order to relieve it, was opposed by a small party of ours, who taking the advantage of some ditches and pales to shelter themselves, repulsed his men, and forced him to retreat to Oxford. Upon this the town was surrendered upon articles to the earl of Essex, colonel Fielding the governour retiring to Oxford, where he was tried and condemned to die, but not executed.

AT my coming into Wiltshire with three more of the life-guard, two whereof were to be officers in my troop, and the third in another troop of the same regiment, I found Sir Edward Hungerford with the forces of Wilts, and

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colonel

colonel Stroud with part of those of Somersetshire, besieging Warder-castle, before which they had been about a week, battering it with two small pieces, whereby they had done little other hurt save only to a chimney-piece, by a shot entering at a window: but there being a vault on each side of the castle, for the conveying away of filth, two or three barrels of powder were put into one of them, and being fired, blew up some part of it; which with the grazing of a bullet upon the face of one of the servants, and the threatening of the besiegers to spring the other mine, and then to storm it, if it was not surrendered before an hour-glass, which they had turned up, was run out, so terrified the ladies therein, whereof there was a great number, that they agreed to surrender it. The government of this castle was entrusted to my care by Sir Edward Hungerford, who left with me a company of foot commanded by captain Bean and my own troop, to defend it. The earl of Marlborough with some horse possessed himself of a house in our neighbourhood called Fount Hill, with a design to block us up; but Sir Edward sent a party of horse who fell upon him there, and obliged him to quit it. I levelled the works that had been raised during the siege, sunk a well, broke down the vaults about the castle, and furnished it with provisions, expecting to be besieged, as I was soon after. For within a fortnight after I was possessed of it, the lord Arundel, to whom it belonged, and whose father died soon after he had received news that it was taken, supposing to find me unprovided, came with a party of horse, and summoned me to deliver the place for his majesty's use. Some who were with me advised me so to do; yet I returned the enemy answer, "that I was entrusted to keep the castle for the service of the parliament, and could not surrender it without their command." The enemy not being at that time ready to make any attempt upon us, retreated to their main body; of which though the marquiss of Hertford carried the name of general, that thereby the country might be encouraged to come in, yet prince Maurice, as he had then the principal influence over them, so he was soon after placed in the head of them, as more likely to promote that arbitrary and boundless prerogative which the king endeavoured to set up over the people.

HAVING notice that some of the king's forces were at Salisbury, I went out with six of my troop to procure intelligence, and to do what service I could upon the enemies stragglers. When I came to Sutton, I was informed that six of them were gone up the town just before. Whereupon we made after them, and by their horses which we saw tied in a yard, supposed them to be in the house to which it belonged: upon which I went in, and was no sooner within the door but two of them shut it upon me; but my party rushing in, they ran out at another, and escaped; a third mounted one of my mens horses, and rid away; the other three who were in a room of the house, upon promise of quarter for life, surrendered themselves, with whom and six horses we returned to the castle.

OUR army, after they had possessed themselves of Reading, did nothing remarkable that summer, only there happened some skirmishes, in one of which that most eminent patriot colonel Hampden lost his life by a shot in the shoulder.

shoulder. Sir William Waller commanded a party in the west, with which he did considerable service, though it was so small that he marched for the most part in the night to conceal his weakness. He reduced Higham-house, a place of strength, garrisoned by the enemy, and protected the gentlemen of the country whilst they were raising forces for the parliament. And being joined by Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of horse, and the forces of Wilts, Somerset and Dorset, with as many as could be spared from Bristol, he was become so considerable, as to put a stop to the march of the king's western army; which coming to the town where my father's house was, wholly ruined it, and destroyed his park. But upon their removal from thence, conceiving I might take some stragglers, or some way or other annoy the enemy, I went thither the night after with about forty horse, where though I could hear of no men, yet I found much provision, which a gentlewoman had obliged the people of the town to bring together, and which she was preparing to send to the king's army, with horses and carts ready to carry it; amongst which there was half a dozen pasties of my father's venison ready baked, which, with as much of the other provisions as we could, we carried away with us. The two armies before-mentioned engaged about Lansdown, where the success was doubtful a good while, but at last ours obtained the victory. The Cornishmen commanded by Sir Bevil Greenvil stood their ground till they came to push of pike, but were then routed, and Sir Bevil killed. The enemy retreated to the Devizes, and ours pursued them. The news of this action being brought to us, I marched out with my horse towards Warmister; and in the way searching the houses of some persons disaffected to the public, we found two of our most active enemies, whom we carried away prisoners. But the great hopes we had conceived of enjoying some quiet in the west by means of this victory were soon blasted; for a body of horse sent from Oxford not being attended by any from our army, (though as I have heard commanded so to do) engaged our horse on Roundway-hill, where the over-forwardness of some of our party to charge the enemy upon disadvantageous ground was the principal cause of their defeat. The horse being routed, our foot also quitted their ground, and shifted for themselves; many of whom were taken, and many killed, the rest retreated to Bristol, where they made the best preparation they could to defend themselves; expecting suddenly to be besieged, as it fell out. Sir William Waller with what horse he had left marched to London, where no means were omitted to recruit them. Exeter was surrendered to the enemy upon terms, and Bristol besieged, which being stormed on one side, and ours not doing their duty, part of the enemy being entered, the governor desired to capitulate, and delivered up the town upon articles, which were not well kept, in retaliation, as they pretended, for the like breach by ours at the taking of Reading. The governor of Bristol was hereupon tried and condemned by a court martial, how justly I know not: but the parliament ordered the execution of the sentence to be suspended. About this time a gentleman of the country, related to the lord Cottington, desired a conference with me, wherein he endeavoured to persuade me to surrender the castle of Warder,

promising

promising me any terms I would desire, and assuring me that several of the western gentlemen finding our affairs desperate, had made their peace with the king, and that the Kentish men who were risen for him would be sufficient to accomplish his work, though he had no other army. Also colonel Robert Philips, my friend and kinsman, coming before the castle some time after with a party of horse, and desiring to speak with me, was earnest with me to the same effect: my answers to both were, that I had resolved to run all hazards in the discharge of that trust which I had undertaken.

THE two houses of parliament, notwithstanding the many difficulties they met with at home, having sent over forces to subdue the rebels in Ireland, thought it also their duty to send recruits thither, and at the same time presented the earl of Ormond with a jewel, as a testimony of their acceptance of his service at the battle of Rosse, where there was above forty of his own name and kindred killed upon the place, and the enemy totally routed, though for a long time they had much the better of the day.

THE earl of Leicester having been voted lieutenant of Ireland by the parliament, and approved by the king, wanted nothing but his commission to begin his journey for that kingdom, which after several delays he received from the king; but being at Chester, in order to take shipping, the carriages and draught horses which lay there for that service, as also the clothes and other provisions designed by the parliament for the soldiers in Ireland, were seized by the king's order, and made use of for his service here; whilst his agents there endeavoured to persuade the English soldiers in that country, that they were neglected by the parliament: upon which false suggestion he prevailed with them to serve him in England against the parliament; and, contrary to his engagement to both houses not to treat with the rebels without their concurrence, made a cessation with them, and brought over many of them to serve in his army against the parliament: who being encompassed with difficulties on all hands, and understanding that the queen was landing with a considerable strength at Bridlington-bay in the county of York, sent commissioners to treat with their friends in Scotland to march into England to their assistance.

IN the mean time the king's army besieged the city of Gloucester, the king being there in person to countenance the siege. The besieged made a vigorous defence for about a month, during which the parliament took care to recruit their army in order to relieve them. Their rendezvous was appointed on Hounslow-heath, whither some members of parliament (of whom my father was one) were sent, to inspect their condition, that their wants being known, might be the better supplied; who found them a very shattered and broken body: but the city being then very affectionate to the publick, soon recruited them, and drew forth so many of their trained bands and auxiliary regiments, as made them up a gallant army. In their march towards Gloucester some of ours fell upon a party of the enemy at Cirencester, of whom they took many prisoners, and seized a great quantity of provisions which they found prepared for the enemy, who upon our approach raised the siege. The
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earl of Essex having relieved the town, was marching back again, when he perceived the enemy endeavouring to get between him and London; and to that end falling upon his rear with a strong party of horse, they so disordered his men, and retarded the march of his army, that he found himself obliged to engage them at Newbury. The dispute was very hot on both sides, and the enemy had the better at the first; but our men resolving to carry their point, and the city-regiments behaving themselves with great bravery, gave them before night so little cause to boast, that the next morning they were willing to permit the earl of Essex to march to London without interruption. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the enemy had several persons of quality killed; the principal of whom were the earl of Carnarvan, the earl of Sunderland, the lord Falkland, and a French marquis. We lost a colonel of one of the city-regiments, together with some inferior officers.

SOME of the lords and commons, contrary to their duty, withdrew themselves from the parliament at Westminster, and went to the king at Oxford, where they met together, but never did any thing considerable for the king's service, and shewed themselves so little willing to assume the name of a parliament, that the king in a letter to the queen (a copy whereof was afterwards found amongst his papers) called them his "mongrel parliament."

IN the mean time the earl of Manchester received a commission from the parliament, to raise forces in the associated counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, Huntingdon, &c. which was very necessary: for the king was master of all places of strength from Berwick to Boston, except Hull and two small castles in Lincolnshire; and Ferdinando lord Fairfax, not able to keep the field against the earl of Newcastle, was retired with his horse and foot to Hull: the enemy's strength in the north no way inferior to what it was in the west, and none considerable enough to oppose their march into the south.

THE earl of Newcastle, upon advice that the lord Willoughby of Parham had possessed himself of the town of Gainsborough for the parliament, sent his brother colonel Cavendish, lieutenant-general of his army, with a great party of horse and dragoons to summon it, himself marching after with the foot. Col. Oliver Cromwell having notice thereof, and understanding by fresh experience that victory is not always obtained by the greater number, having lately defeated near Grantham twenty-four troops of the enemy's horse and dragoons, with seven troops only which he had with him, resolved to endeavour the relief of Gainsborough; and with twelve troops of horse and dragoons marched thither, where he found the enemy, who were drawn up near the town, to be more than thrice his number, and no way to attack them but through a gate and up-hill; notwithstanding which disadvantages he adventured to fall upon them, and after some dispute totally routed them, killing many of their officers, and amongst them lieutenant-general Cavendish. Thus was Gainsborough relieved; but the conquerors had little time to rejoice, for within two or three hours the routed enemy rallying, and joining with the rest of Newcastle's army, marched against them: upon which they retreated to Lincoln that night in good order, and without any loss, facing
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the enemy with three troops at a time as they drew off the rest. Lincoln not being defensible, colonel Cromwell marched the next day to Boston, that he might join the earl of Manchester, who with his new-raised forces had very seasonably reduced Lynn, a town in Norfolk not far from the sea, naturally strong, and might have proved impregnable, if time had favoured art and industry to have fortified and furnished it with provisions. But Sir Hammond Lestrange, who had before surprized it for the king, was soon surprized himself; and being suddenly summoned by the earl of Manchester, and threatened with a storm, after he had fired a few great shot against the besiegers, thought fit to surrender it upon articles. From thence the earl of Manchester marched to Boston, where being joined by colonel Cromwell, appointed by the parliament to command under him, and a party of horse brought by Sir Thomas Fairfax by sea from Hull, he mustered about six thousand foot, and thirty seven troops of horse and dragoons. To prevent any further addition to his forces, the earl of Newcastle advanced with his army, and sent a strong detachment of horse and dragoons towards Boston, appearing by their standards to be eighty-seven troops, commanded by Sir John Henderson an old soldier, who hearing that colonel Cromwell was drawn out towards him with the horse and dragoons, made haste to engage him before the earl of Manchester with the foot could march up, as accordingly it fell out at a place called Winsby-field near Horn-castle. In the first shock colonel Cromwell had his horse killed under him; yet the encounter was but short, though very sharp, for there being field room enough, the fight lasted but a quarter of an hour before the earl of Newcastle's forces were totally routed, and many of them killed: amongst them the lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and other persons of quality. The enemy had no time to rally, being pursued by ours almost as far as Lincoln, which was fourteen miles off; in which pursuit divers of them were killed and made prisoners, and many horse and arms taken. Neither were they suffered to rest at Lincoln, the earl of Manchester marching thither the day following, where the enemy's broken troops had endeavoured to fortify the higher part of the city called "the Close," but had not quite finished their works when the earl arrived, and summoned them to surrender; which they refusing, our foot and horse fell on and took it by storm, with little loss on our side.

ABOUT this time a considerable party in Kent rose and declared for the king, which was dispersed by some forces sent from London, under the command of colonel Brown; whereby the committee of Kent were encouraged and enabled to raise a good body of horse and foot for the service of the parliament.

My father apprehending that I was not likely to be relieved in three or four months, in case I were besieged; and knowing that the enemies were masters of the field in those parts, and that I was about twenty miles from any of our garrisons, procured an order from the parliament, empowering me to slight the castle of Warder, and to draw off the garrison, if I saw cause: which care of theirs quickened my zeal to their service, and put me upon
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endeavouring, as well as I could, to prepare for the worst. To that end, being in want of ammunition, I went to Southampton, where I bought what they could spare, and returned to the castle; where, being in great want of money, having always paid the country people for whatsoever I had from them, I made a seasonable discovery of money, plate and jewels, to the value of about twelve hundred pounds, walled up by the enemy: part of this sum I expended upon the garrison, and gave an account thereof to the parliament. The enemy was now beginning to draw about us, yet would not actually besiege us before they had endeavoured to reduce us by treachery. To this end one captain White a papist, of Dorsetshire, having found a boy at Shaftsbury fit for the purpose, gave him such instructions as he thought fit: he was not above twelve years of age, and yet, as I was afterwards informed, had already attempted to poison his grandfather. This boy he sent to the castle to desire of me to be admitted to turn the spit, or perform any other servile employment; to which I consented, his youth freeing him, as I thought, from any suspicion. About three or four days after a party of the enemy's horse appeared before the castle, and making a great shout, the cattle belonging to the garrison, consisting of about forty cows and one bull, which they all followed, ran away at the noise: some of us endeavouring to turn them, the enemy fired so thick upon us, that one of my soldiers and myself were forced to betake ourselves to a tree for shelter; where my soldier levelling his musket through a hole of the tree, which was about a foot in diameter, a ball from the enemy grazing upon the upper part of the hole, and thereby forced downwards, shot the young man through the hand, and me into the leg, which obliged me to keep my bed for two days. A great wall-gun called a Harquebuz de Croq being fired from the top of the castle, burst in the middle. At night as this boy was sitting with the guard by the fire, some of them conceived a jealousy of him; and strictly examining him about the cause of his coming, he affirmed it to be because the master whom he served had used him cruelly for speaking some words in favour of the parliament. With which answer they not being satisfied, threatened that unless he would confess the truth, they would hang him immediately; and to affright him, tied a piece of match about his neck, and began to pull him up on a halbert. Upon this he promised to confess all, if they would spare his life; and thereupon acknowledged that captain White had hired him to number the men and arms in the castle, to poison the arms, the well, and the beer, to blow up the ammunition, to steal away one of my best horses, to carry him back to them; for which service he was to receive half a crown: confessing that he had accordingly poisoned two cannon and the Harquebuz that was broken, but pretended that his conscience would not give him leave to poison the water and the beer. The great guns were made serviceable again by oiling, and making a fire in them. The poison he used was of a red colour, and made up in the shape of a candle, with part of which he had rubbed three of our guns. After this deliverance we got in some cattle for our provision, but the enemy drawing into the villages about us, soon prevented us from bringing

bringing in any more : yet we ventured one morning, knowing it to be market-day, to draw out between forty and fifty pikes and firelocks, with which we went about a quarter of a mile from the castle upon the road that leads to Shaftsbury. According to our expectation, the market people came with carts and horses loaded with corn and other provisions, which we seized and sent to the castle, paying for it the market-price, at which they were not a little surprized. By this means we furnished ourselves with three months more provision than we had before ; which we had no sooner taken in, than the enemy drew round the castle, and from that time blocked us up more closely, raising a breast-work by casting up the earth about a tree which we had cut down on the side of a hill ; from whence they commanded the gate of the castle, the only way that we had to sally out upon occasion, and shot several of our men, amongst the rest my gunner, as they fetched in wood. The person that commanded the party which lay before us, was one captain Christopher Bowyer of Dorsetshire, who, to get us out of the castle, proposed to grant us what terms we desired ; to which we replied, that we designed to discharge our duty by keeping it as long as we could. Upon this he threatened us with great numbers of horse and foot, attended with several pieces of cannon, which he said were drawing towards us, boasting of the justice of his cause, and representing to us the greatness of our danger, and the inevitable ruin that must ensue upon our obstinacy : but captain Bean, who at that time served as cannoneer, ours being shot, as I mentioned before, told him, that we were not at all affrighted with his menaces ; but upon confidence of the justice of our cause, we were resolved to defend the place to the utmost ; and warning him to look to himself, fired a gun, with which he wounded him in the heel ; and it being unsafe for any to carry him off by day, his wound gangrened before night, and he died about two days after. In the room of captain Bowyer one colonel Barnes was sent by the king to command the forces that lay before us : he was brother to an honest gentleman who was chaplain to my father, for whose sake, and because he had the reputation of being an old soldier, a thing much valued by the parliament at that time, my father had procured him a considerable employment in their service, in which he continued as long as their constant pay lasted, but that failing, he ran away to the king. Upon his coming he raised a fort within musket-shot of us, on the hill that surrounded the castle, except only on the west-side, where was a pond of about six acres. The enemy possessed themselves of all the out-houses, but used them only by night, not thinking it safe to come at them by day ; which we observing, one evening conveyed forty men through a vault leading to those houses, ordering them to lie private, and endeavour to surprize them when they came ; which had been effected, if one of ours, contrary to order, upon the entrance of the first of the enemy, had not fired his pistol, and thereby given warning to the rest to shift for themselves. The man who was the occasion of this disappointment was deprived of the use of his arms till he should attempt something for the redeeming of his reputation ; which soon after, upon a sally we made on the enemy, he did, in which we

we took two of the enemy's horse, and made some prisoners. How many of them were killed we could not learn: on our side some were wounded, of whom one died soon after.

A KINSMAN of mine, who was related to the lord Cottington, was sent from Oxford to offer me what terms I would desire. I permitted him to come in, that seeing our strength and provision, he might make his report to the enemy to our advantage: for things were so ordered by removing our guards from place to place, filling up our hogheads with empty barrels, and covering them with beef and pork, and in like manner ordering our corn, that every thing appeared double, to what it was, to them. The substance of the conditions I proposed was: That if I understood from the earl of Essex that he could not relieve us within six months, we would then deliver the castle upon condition, that it should not be made a garrison: That the parliament should have two thousand pounds for what they had expended in the taking and keeping of it; with some other particulars, which the gentleman carried to Oxford with him: but we never had any return from him about them, neither indeed did we expect any. Our beer was now spent, our corn much diminished, and we had no other drink but the water of our well, which though we drunk dry by day, yet it was sufficiently supplied every night. But being resolved to keep the castle as long as we could, we shortened our allowance, so that three pecks and a half of wheat one day, and a bushel of barley another, served near a hundred men, which was all our force, my troop being sent away before for want of conveniency for horse: this allowance was so short, that I caused one of the horses we had taken to be killed, which the soldiers eat up in two days, besides their ordinary.

THE forces that had been sent by the parliament to the assistance of the distressed protestants in Ireland, being, under pretence that they were neglected, as hath been before mentioned, brought into England to serve against those who raised them; and the rebels, by the pacification made with them by the king's order, contrary to his promise to the parliament, left in the full enjoyment of what they had gotten from the English by rapine and murder; part of those who came out of Ireland landed at Chester, and drew before Nantwich: they were commanded by one captain Sandford, brother to Sir William Sandford, a worthy person of Gray's-inn, to whom he had solemnly promised never to engage against the parliament: yet did he send in a very threatening summons to the town, and seconded it with a most furious assault, whilst the works were but slenderly defended, the guard consisting for the most part of townsmen, who were then gone to dinner: but it so happened, that a boy of the age of fifteen firing a musket from the town, shot him dead in the place, which discouraged his soldiers from any farther attempt.

COLONEL George Monk, who had been sent by the parliament into Ireland against the rebels, for some time scrupled to quit that service, and to engage in this, being upon that account secured on ship-board by the earl of Ormond, whilst he sent those forces into England, lest he should have obstructed their going over; yet having afterwards his liberty to wait on the

king, was prevailed with to join with them, and soon after taken prisoner by a party from Yorkshire, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who sent him prisoner to Hull, from whence some time after he was conveyed to the tower of London. Another party of the forces from Ireland landed in the west, and marched as far as Hinden towards Warder-castle, in order to besiege it; but being informed that the person whom they were to dispossess was a protestant, and he into whose hands they were to put it was a papist, they mutinied against their officers, and refused to be employed against us.

THE queen landed with an army of French, Walloons, and other foreigners, and brought with her great store of ammunition and money, procured by pawning the crown-jewels in Holland. With these and other forces the earl of Newcastle marched to besiege Hull, of which place the lord Ferdinando Fairfax was governor, who, with the assistance of the seamen belonging to some ships that lay in the harbour, made so fierce a sally upon the enemy, that they were forced to quit some of their guns, and withdraw to a greater distance, leaving many of their men behind them, of whom some were killed, and others taken prisoners. Colonel Overton carried himself, as I am well informed, with much honour and gallantry in this action. This bad success so dispirited the enemy, that they abandoned the siege, and retired to York; to which also the approach of winter, and the preparations of the Scots to march into England, did not a little contribute: for the parliaments of both kingdoms had at length agreed upon terms, and removed the last and greatest difficulty, consisting of some doubtful words in the covenant, which was to be taken by both nations, concerning "the preservation of the king's person," and "reducing the doctrine and discipline of both churches to the pattern of the best reformed:" for which Sir Henry Vane, one of the commissioners of the parliament, found out an expedient, by adding to the first clause these or the like words, "In preservation of the laws of the land, and liberty of the subject;" and to the second, "according to the word of God." Which being an explanation that could not be refused, prevented any farther contestation about that matter.

ABOUT this time the enemy by cruel usage put a period to the life of my brother captain Robert Ludlow, who was their prisoner, as I before related. The news of this, and of the danger I was in, so afflicted my father, together with his constant labours in the publick service, and possibly his dissatisfaction about the imprisonment of his good friend Mr. Henry Martin, for words spoken in the house, as he conceived, in discharge of his duty, that he died, expressing himself deeply sensible of the condition of the bleeding nation, and heartily praying for the prosperity of the public cause. The words spoken by Mr. Martin in parliament were to this purpose, "That it was better one family should perish, than that the people should be destroyed:" And being required to explain himself, he ingenuously confessed that he meant the family of the king; for which he was committed to the tower, but afterwards released, and re-admitted to his place in the parliament. About the same time Mr. John Pym also died, who had been very instrumental in promoting the interest of the

the nation : his body was for several days exposed to public view in Derby-house before it was interred, in confutation of those who reported it to be eaten with lice.

THE enemy before Warder-castle kept their guards within pistol-shot of it day and night, so that we could not expect any more intelligence from abroad ; yet one of ours sent by us into the country a week before, to inform us of the state of affairs, met, at an honest man's house not far from the castle, a soldier, whom the enemy had pressed to serve them ; whose heart being with us, these two agreed, that when relief should be coming, he who was without should appear with a white cap on his head, and blow his nose with his handkerchief. In the mean time the besiegers raised a battery, and by a shot from thence cut off the chain of our portcullis, which rendering our gate unserviceable to us, we made it so to them, by barricading it on the inside : so that now we had no way out but through a window, our other doors being walled up before. But the battery not answering their expectation, they resolved to try other experiments, either by digging a hole in the castle-wall, and putting a sufficient quantity of powder therein to blow it up, or by undermining the said wall, and supporting it with timber, and then setting it on fire : whereby they supposed to destroy that also on which the wall rested, and so to bring down the wall. In order to this they prepared materials to defend them whilst they were about the work, and brought together about two dozen of oaken planks three inches thick, which they endeavoured in a dark night to set up against the castle wall, half of them on one side, and half on the other. Our sentinels discovered them on one side, and beat them off, forcing them to leave their boards behind them. On the other side they set them up, and in the morning were hard at work under their shelter. We heard a noise of digging, but for some time could not perceive where : at length we discovered the place, and endeavoured to remove them, by throwing down hot water and melted lead, though to little purpose. At last with hand-granadoes we obliged them to quit their work, and to leave their tools behind them, with their provisions for three or four days : and though we had no way out of the castle but by a narrow window, yet we brought in their materials and provisions : for that morning having shot the officer that commanded their guard in the head, their trenches not being finished to secure their approaches to the out-houses, under the shelter of which they kept their guard ; and being admonished by what befel captain Bowyer, of the danger of delaying to dress a wound, they desired leave to carry off their wounded man, which I granted on condition that they would commit no act of hostility in the mean time : and when five or six of them who carried him off were about pistol-shot from the wall, I appeared with forty musketeers ready to fire on the top of the castle, and ordered three or four men out of the window mentioned before, who brought in their materials.

A RELATION of mine, one captain Henry Williams, who commanded a company in colonel Barns's regiment, desiring to be admitted to speak with me, and I consenting, he endeavoured to persuade me to a surrender, offering

me any conditions I would ask ; but his arguments made no impression upon me.

IN the mean time the king, to encourage his friends in the city to rise for him, sent them a commission to that purpose by the lady Aubogny, which she brought made up in the hair of her head ; but the design being discovered, she fled for refuge to the house of the French ambassador ; who refusing to deliver her to Sir Henry Vane and Mr. John Lisle, sent by the parliament with a guard to seize her, pretending his privilege ; the house, being informed by Sir Francis Knowles, that at the time of the bloody massacre at Paris, one of the French king's secretaries, who was of the reformed religion, flying to the English ambassador's house for protection, and disguising himself amongst the grooms, was forced from thence by the king's command, ordered this lady to be treated in the like manner, which was done accordingly. Hereupon an order was passed for the trial of those who were engaged in this conspiracy, and Mr. Thomson and Mr. Challoner were found guilty, and executed for it. Sir John Hotham and his son were also condemned to lose their heads for endeavouring to betray the garrison of Hull to the enemy ; which sentence was put in execution upon the son the first of January 1643-4, and on the father the day following. Sir Alexander Carew was also beheaded for endeavouring to betray Plymouth, with the government of which he was entrusted by the parliament.

ABOUT the 16th of the same January the Scots marched into England, and having Berwick secured for them, the first thing they attempted was the taking of Newcastle ; which they did by storm : The lords and commons for their encouragement having sentenced, and caused execution to be done upon William Laud archbishop of Canterbury, their capital enemy, on the 10th of the same month.

SIR William Waller being reinforced with some city-regiments, thought himself strong enough to take the field : and because the western clothiers were often obstructed in their passage to London by the garrison of Basing-house, which was kept for the king, he attempted to reduce it ; but was repulsed with loss. After which he marched to Arundel in Suffex, where he soon beat the king's garrison out of the town into the castle, which after some time, and the loss of some men, was surrendered to him, with several persons of quality therein, at mercy.

ABOUT the middle of January Sir William assured us, that if we held out a fortnight longer, he would relieve us, or lay his bones under our walls. We had also some hopes given us from Southampton and Pool, the latter of which places about this time some of the inhabitants endeavoured to betray to the lord Crawford ; but the design being discovered, as the enemy was entering the out-works, and expecting to be admitted into the town, some great guns loaded with small shot were fired upon his men, and made a great slaughter amongst them. Between these two garrisons of Southampton and Pool lay my troop of horse, to do what service they could against the enemy, and to favour our relief : where my cornet, afterwards known by the name of major William

William Ludlow, was shot through the body, and into the thigh, and his horse in two places, by some of the enemy from an ambuscade; being brought to Southampton, and his wounds searched, the bullet that went in at his belly was found at the chine of his back, with a piece of the waistband of his breeches, which being cut out, he wonderfully recovered, to be in some measure serviceable to the public.

To encourage the forces of Pool, and Southampton, to come to our relief, I sent them word, that they should have seven or eight hundred pounds to gratify them, which I was able to make good with what I had remaining of the plate which I found in one of the closets of the castle, as I mentioned before.

TOWARDS the end of the winter Sir Ralph Hopton, who commanded the king's forces in the west, being informed that the battery which had fired against us for two months had done no great execution, and that colonel Barns was more employed in plundering the country than in advancing the king's service, sent Sir Francis Doddington with a further supply of men to reduce us; and with an engineer to undermine the castle. To this end they forced the miners of Meinhup to assist them. As soon as we heard the noise of their digging, we endeavoured to countermine them; but the castle walls being joined with an entire wall at the foundation, the mortar whereof was so well tempered, that it was harder than the stones themselves, we could by no means break through it. Our medicines were now spent, and our surgeon, who with eight of his brothers served at that time in my troop, shot through the body and disabled, though the bullet glancing, missed the vitals. One of his brothers, with another foldier, adventured out of the window, in order to procure some means for his recovery, whilst some of ours by discourses, firing, and much noise, drew the enemy to the other side of the castle; so that they safely passed their guards, and went to the honest man's house before mentioned, where they met again that friend of ours, who being pressed by the enemy to serve them, remained with them to serve us; and received from him a letter directed to us from some of our friends, encouraging us to hold out, and promising us relief within ten days: of whose approach this our friend undertook to give us notice, by the signs before agreed on. Our messengers having furnished themselves with what they went for, returned to us with this good news, this poor honest man having drawn off the sentinel by whom they were to pass.

THE ten days being expired, and ten more after them, without any tidings of relief, our provisions wasting, I observed a great silence amongst the enemy; and being desirous to know whether our friend were upon the guard, that we might learn of him what he knew, we took occasion from their silence to desire of them, that if they were alive they would make some noise, though they might not be permitted to speak: which one of them doing by blowing his nose, we were willing to make a further discovery; and having told him he did it in his sleeve for want of a handkerchief, he by this time understanding our meaning, appeared in sight, and with his handkerchief
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blew his nose again, endeavouring by signs and words to inform us of our condition, digging in the wall of the stable, and laying the stones in order; then discoursing with two of his fellows, he challenged them to play at football with one of them the next, and with the other the day after; saying to them aloud, that we might hear, "If I beat the first, I fear not the second." Though we supposed that the first danger he designed to admonish us of was the mine, yet for the more clear discovery thereof, we laid a train of powder upon the castle-wall, which he by signs signified to us to be what he intended. But we were mistaken in the interpretation of his second action, by which we concluded he designed to represent to us a speedy relief, if we could hold out against the first; though it was indeed another mine prepared to spring immediately after the first, as we afterwards found, though we never had the happiness to see or speak with the poor man more. I received a letter from Sir Francis Doddington, who commanded in chief before us, wherein taking notice of the relation between our families, he expressed himself ready to do me any friendly office, and advised me to a timely delivery of the castle, lest by refusing so to do, I should bring my blood upon my own head. In my answer I acknowledged his civility, assuring him, that being entrusted with the custody of it by the authority of the parliament, for the service of the country, I could cheerfully lay down my life in discharge of the trust reposed in me; for that it would not be only in my defence, but in defence of the laws and liberties of the nation; and therefore cautioned him how he proceeded any farther in assaulting us, lest he should thereby contract the guilt of more innocent blood. His letter, with my answer, he sent to Oxford, as appeared by the weekly news-paper of London, wherein they were printed from that of Oxford, which Aulicus published to shew my Opiniatreté, and Britannicus my fidelity to the public cause.

THE two nights following we all continued upon the guard; and upon the Thursday morning being very weary, I lay down and slept till between ten or eleven of the clock, at which time one of my great guns firing upon the enemy, shook the match which they had left burning for the springing of the mine into the powder, so that the mine springing I was lifted up with it from the floor, with much dust suddenly about me; which was no sooner laid, but I found both the doors of my chamber blown open, and my window towards the enemy blown down, so that a cart might have entered at the breach. The party which they had prepared to storm us lay at some distance, to secure themselves from any hurt by the springing of the mine: but that being done, they made haste to storm, which they might easily do at my window, the rubbish of the castle having made them a way almost to it. Those who stormed on my side were the Irish yellow coats, commanded by captain Leicester. My pistols being wheel-locks, and wound up all night, I could not get to fire, so that I was forced to trust to my sword for the keeping down of the enemy, being alone in the chamber, and all relief excluded from me, except such as came in by one of my windows that looked into the court of the castle, through which I called to my men there, acquainting them with

my condition, and requiring them to hasten to my relief. Mr. Gabriel Ludlow my kinsman not only came himself, but ordered others to my assistance, and to that end placed a ladder under the window before-mentioned, which being too short by near two yards, I was obliged to leave the breach, where the enemy was ready to enter, five or six times, to take his arms and himself in; which being done, he helped in five or six more, whom I ordered to fill up the breach and the doors with the bed, chairs, table, and such things as were next at hand. This place being in some measure secured, I went to see what other breaches had been made, and to provide for their defence, and found one in the room under me well defended, but that in the ground-room on the other side not at all; there I placed a guard, and ran to the upper rooms, which had many doors and windows blown open, at every one of which I appointed a guard, in some measure proportionable to the danger. From thence I went to the top of the castle, which was leaded, and of a sex-angular figure, with a turret upon each angle. Two of these were blown down, with part of the leads, behind which the enemy sheltered themselves, so that we could not remove them by our shot; but by throwing down some great stones, with which the mine had plentifully furnished us, we killed one of theirs, and wounded some others. Captain Leicester was one of those who sheltered themselves behind this rubbish, and desired leave to carry off the wounded men that were with him; which I readily granted, letting them know, that we fought not their blood, but our own defence. Soon after we also had occasion to make trial of their humanity; for one of our soldiers being buried in the outward rubbish of the castle, and yet alive, sent to acquaint me with his condition, and to desire my help: Upon which I desired of the enemy to dig him out, and make him prisoner; or suffer us to do it, and we would deliver him to them: but they would consent to neither; and when I told them that I had not used them so, but had permitted them to carry off their wounded men, they replied, that though it was my favour to suffer that, yet their chief officer would not permit this. The poor man lived in this condition near three days, and then through most barbarous usage, being denied any relief, he died. We lost three of our men by the springing of the mine, but the rest were most wonderfully preserved. Our provision of corn, which at the rate we lived would have lasted three weeks longer, was blown up, with part of our ammunition; but our provision of flesh being for about four days, was preserved. Whilst this lasted, I thought it adviseable, having repulsed the enemy, to put the best countenance we could upon our affairs, hoping by so doing we might bring the enemy to give us the better conditions. But Mr. Balsum, our minister, with two or three more religious men, who till that time had carried themselves without discovering any fear, pressed me very earnestly to propose a treaty to the enemy. I told them, that it was a very unseasonable time to do any thing of that nature, having beat off the enemy, and three or four days provisions left: that I did not doubt before that was spent, by a good improvement of our time, to bring the enemy to reasonable terms: whereas if we should now desire a treaty with them, they would conclude our spirits low, our condition desperate, and so hold us to harder terms,

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or it may be give us none at all. They replied, That if I refused to hearken to their propofal, they judged that all the blood that fhould be fpilt in further oppofition would be charged upon my account. This being a very heavy charge laid on me by men of age and experience, of whose integrity I had a very good opinion, I durft not refift any longer, by balancing my youth and little experience againft their years and judgment; and therefore left it to them to do what they fhould think fit: but they affuring me they would rather lofe their lives than do any thing without me, I promifed that if they would call to the enemy for a parley, I would anfwer. Whereupon they moved it to the enemy, who took time to acquaint their commander in chief with it. His anfwer was; That fince we had refufed to treat with him whilft the caftle was whole, he would not now treat with us. I could not forbear letting the befiegers know, that the return was no other than I expected: that the motion did not arife from me, but was confented to by me for the fatisfaction of fome about me, who were now refolved to expofe themfelves with me to the utmoft hazards, in defence of the place, without demanding any terms again; not doubting, if we were neceffitated to lay down our lives in this fervice, to fell them at a good rate. My friends having found their advice to produce no other effect than I had foretold, refolved for the future to be wholly difpofed of by me; fo that both officers and foldiers began to prepare againft the utmoft extremity. None of ours had been killed by the fhoot during the ftorm, but fome flightly wounded, and their clothes fhoot through, a bullet from the enemy having pierced my hat clofe by my head. The befiegers had ten killed by fhoot and ftones in the ftorm, and divers wounded: amongft the former was one Hillsdeane, who a little before he expired faid, he faw his brother fire that mufket by which he received his mortal wound; which might probably be, his brother being one of thofe who defended that breach where he, attempting to enter, was fhoot: but if it were fo, he might juftly do it by the laws of God and man, it being done in the difcharge of his duty, and in his own defence. The filver plate belonging to the houfe, found foon after we were clofe befieged, I buried in the cellar, with the help of one of my fervants. On Saturday the enemy began to converse friendly with us, and a ceffation of acts of hoftility being agreed upon, a fon of colonel Barnes, captain Farmer, Mr. Plott, the gentleman whom I formerly mentioned to be related to the lord Cottington, and to have endeavoured to perfuade me to furrender the caftle before the fieve, with feveral other officers, came up clofe to the breaches, where we conferred together: and they earneftly preffing me to furrender, I told them I would not be averfe to it upon fitting terms; for had not thofe who owned the caftle made ufe of it to the prejudice of the country, I prefumed it had not been taken from them, and poffeffed by us, in order to prevent the like inconveniencies for the future; againft which conceiving fufficient provision made by the fpringing of the late mine, I was willing to quit the fame, if we might have liberty to march to the next garri-fon belonging to the parliament, with our arms, and what elfe we had in the caftle. They replied, They could not anfwer to his majefty the giving of fuch conditions to us, Sir William Waller having lately refufed to receive
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Arundel-castle from some of the king's party, upon any other terms than at mercy, who they knew to have been in a much better state of defence than we were; and therefore pressed us to deliver ourselves upon the same condition, promising us much favour. To this I answered, That some related to us had already experienced the favours they extended to their prisoners: that the compliance of those at Arundel ought to be no precedent to us; and that unless we might march off, we would not surrender. They told me, the longer I held out, the worse it would be for me; and Mr. Plott, who, as he since informed me, had prevailed with them to propose this treaty, earnestly pressed me to lay hold on the opportunity, intimating by his words and gestures, that if I refused it, I should not have another: but I resolving to defend the place as long as I could, our treaty came to nothing. I had some thoughts of charging through the enemy in the beginning of the night, in order to force our way to the nearest of our garrisons, which I presumed might have been effected by the morning; but the desperate condition in which we must have left our sick and wounded men, diverted me from putting that design in execution. And now the spirits of my soldiers began to flag; my gunsmith desiring leave to go home, and several others making choice of one amongst them to speak for them, were very importunate with me to surrender; with which expressing myself displeased, I acquainted them that I would take the best time to do it for their advantage, and thereby quieted them, so that they resolved to move me no more about it; yet ceasing not to complain to each other of their wants and hardships, the enemy became acquainted therewith, as they afterwards told me. On the lord's-day in the afternoon, the besiegers discoursed with some of our men who were upon the leads, endeavouring to draw as many of them as they could thither, that the breaches being left unguarded, they might have an opportunity to take us by storm; which I perceiving, made use of it to animate our men afresh, and succeeded so well therein, that the enemy by our cheerfulness began to suspect that we had some notice of relief approaching. This suspicion caused them to continue discoursing with my soldiers most part of the night, to get the truth out of them, promising them liberty to march away, if they would deliver Mr. Balsum our minister, or myself to them. The next morning many of them came up to one of the breaches, to persuade us to surrender; which opportunity being willing to improve, having ten doors blown open by the first mine, our walls that stood being cracked in several places, and another mine ready to spring, that would probably level most part of the castle with the ground, not having provision sufficient for one day left, nor any hopes of relief, I propounded to them to yield myself their prisoner, if they would consent that those with me might march off. To which they answering, That though my good nature led me to make that offer, yet they could not accept of it: I told them, that unless I might have four things granted, I would not deliver the castle. 1st. Quarter without distinction for the lives of every one. 2dly. Civil usage for all my party. 3dly. Not to be carried to Oxford. 4thly. A speedy exchange. They promised me I should have all these made good to the

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colonel Stroud with part of those of Somersetshire, besieging Warter-castle, before which they had been about a week, battering it with two small pieces, whereby they had done little other hurt save only to a chimney-piece, by a shot entering at a window: but there being a vault on each side of the castle, for the conveying away of filth, two or three barrels of powder were put into one of them, and being fired, blew up some part of it; which with the grazing of a bullet upon the face of one of the servants, and the threatening of the besiegers to spring the other mine, and then to storm it, if it was not surrendered before an hour-glass, which they had turned up, was run out, so terrified the ladies therein, whereof there was a great number, that they agreed to surrender it. The government of this castle was entrusted to my care by Sir Edward Hungerford, who left with me a company of foot commanded by captain Bean and my own troop, to defend it. The earl of Marlborough with some horse possessed himself of a house in our neighbourhood called Fount Hill, with a design to block us up; but Sir Edward sent a party of horse who fell upon him there, and obliged him to quit it. I levelled the works that had been raised during the siege, sunk a well, broke down the vaults about the castle, and furnished it with provisions, expecting to be besieged, as I was soon after. For within a fortnight after I was possessed of it, the lord Arundel, to whom it belonged, and whose father died soon after he had received news that it was taken, supposing to find me unprovided, came with a party of horse, and summoned me to deliver the place for his majesty's use. Some who were with me advised me so to do; yet I returned the enemy answer, "that I was entrusted to keep the castle for the service of the parliament, and could not surrender it without their command." The enemy not being at that time ready to make any attempt upon us, retreated to their main body; of which though the marquis of Hertford carried the name of general, that thereby the country might be encouraged to come in, yet prince Maurice, as he had then the principal influence over them, so he was soon after placed in the head of them, as more likely to promote that arbitrary and boundless prerogative which the king endeavoured to set up over the people.

HAVING notice that some of the king's forces were at Salisbury, I went out with six of my troop to procure intelligence, and to do what service I could upon the enemies stragglers. When I came to Sutton, I was informed that six of them were gone up the town just before. Whereupon we made after them, and by their horses which we saw tied in a yard, supposed them to be in the house to which it belonged: upon which I went in, and was no sooner within the door but two of them shut it upon me; but my party rushing in, they ran out at another, and escaped; a third mounted one of my mens horses, and rid away; the other three who were in a room of the house, upon promise of quarter for life, surrendered themselves, with whom and six horses we returned to the castle.

OUR army, after they had possessed themselves of Reading, did nothing remarkable that summer, only there happened some skirmishes, in one of which that most eminent patriot colonel Hampden lost his life by a shot in the shoulder.

shoulder. Sir William Waller commanded a party in the west, with which he did considerable service, though it was so small that he marched for the most part in the night to conceal his weakness. He reduced Higham-house, a place of strength, garrisoned by the enemy, and protected the gentlemen of the country whilst they were raising forces for the parliament. And being joined by Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of horse, and the forces of Wilts, Somerset and Dorset, with as many as could be spared from Bristol, he was become so considerable, as to put a stop to the march of the king's western army; which coming to the town where my father's house was, wholly ruined it, and destroyed his park. But upon their removal from thence, conceiving I might take some stragglers, or some way or other annoy the enemy, I went thither the night after with about forty horse, where though I could hear of no men, yet I found much provision, which a gentlewoman had obliged the people of the town to bring together, and which she was preparing to send to the king's army, with horses and carts ready to carry it; amongst which there was half a dozen pasties of my father's venison ready baked, which, with as much of the other provisions as we could, we carried away with us. The two armies before-mentioned engaged about Lansdown, where the success was doubtful a good while, but at last ours obtained the victory. The Cornishmen commanded by Sir Bevil Greenvil stood their ground till they came to push of pike, but were then routed, and Sir Bevil killed. The enemy retreated to the Devizes, and ours pursued them. The news of this action being brought to us, I marched out with my horse towards Warmister; and in the way searching the houses of some persons disaffected to the public, we found two of our most active enemies, whom we carried away prisoners. But the great hopes we had conceived of enjoying some quiet in the west by means of this victory were soon blasted; for a body of horse sent from Oxford not being attended by any from our army, (though as I have heard commanded so to do) engaged our horse on Roundway-hill, where the over-forwardness of some of our party to charge the enemy upon disadvantageous ground was the principal cause of their defeat. The horse being routed, our foot also quitted their ground, and shifted for themselves; many of whom were taken, and many killed, the rest retreated to Bristol, where they made the best preparation they could to defend themselves; expecting suddenly to be besieged, as it fell out. Sir William Waller with what horse he had left marched to London, where no means were omitted to recruit them. Exeter was surrendered to the enemy upon terms, and Bristol besieged, which being stormed on one side, and ours not doing their duty, part of the enemy being entered, the governor desired to capitulate, and delivered up the town upon articles, which were not well kept, in retaliation, as they pretended, for the like breach by ours at the taking of Reading. The governor of Bristol was hereupon tried and condemned by a court martial, how justly I know not: but the parliament ordered the execution of the sentence to be suspended. About this time a gentleman of the country, related to the lord Cottington, desired a conference with me, wherein he endeavoured to persuade me to surrender the castle of Warder,

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promising me any terms I would desire, and assuring me that several of the western gentlemen finding our affairs desperate, had made their peace with the king, and that the Kentish men who were risen for him would be sufficient to accomplish his work, though he had no other army. Also colonel Robert Philips, my friend and kinsman, coming before the castle some time after with a party of horse, and desiring to speak with me, was earnest with me to the same effect: my answers to both were, that I had resolved to run all hazards in the discharge of that trust which I had undertaken.

THE two houses of parliament, notwithstanding the many difficulties they met with at home, having sent over forces to subdue the rebels in Ireland, thought it also their duty to send recruits thither, and at the same time presented the earl of Ormond with a jewel, as a testimony of their acceptance of his service at the battle of Rosse, where there was above forty of his own name and kindred killed upon the place, and the enemy totally routed, though for a long time they had much the better of the day.

THE earl of Leicester having been voted lieutenant of Ireland by the parliament, and approved by the king, wanted nothing but his commission to begin his journey for that kingdom, which after several delays he received from the king; but being at Chester, in order to take shipping, the carriages and draught horses which lay there for that service, as also the clothes and other provisions designed by the parliament for the soldiers in Ireland, were seized by the king's order, and made use of for his service here; whilst his agents there endeavoured to persuade the English soldiers in that country, that they were neglected by the parliament: upon which false suggestion he prevailed with them to serve him in England against the parliament; and, contrary to his engagement to both houses not to treat with the rebels without their concurrence, made a cessation with them, and brought over many of them to serve in his army against the parliament: who being encompassed with difficulties on all hands, and understanding that the queen was landing with a considerable strength at Bridlington-bay in the county of York, sent commissioners to treat with their friends in Scotland to march into England to their assistance.

IN the mean time the king's army besieged the city of Gloucester, the king being there in person to countenance the siege. The besieged made a vigorous defence for about a month, during which the parliament took care to recruit their army in order to relieve them. Their rendezvous was appointed on Hounslow-heath, whither some members of parliament (of whom my father was one) were sent, to inspect their condition, that their wants being known, might be the better supplied; who found them a very shattered and broken body: but the city being then very affectionate to the publick, soon recruited them, and drew forth so many of their trained bands and auxiliary regiments, as made them up a gallant army. In their march towards Gloucester some of ours fell upon a party of the enemy at Cirencester, of whom they took many prisoners, and seized a great quantity of provisions which they found prepared for the enemy, who upon our approach raised the siege. The
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earl of Essex having relieved the town, was marching back again, when he perceived the enemy endeavouring to get between him and London; and to that end falling upon his rear with a strong party of horse, they so disordered his men, and retarded the march of his army, that he found himself obliged to engage them at Newbury. The dispute was very hot on both sides, and the enemy had the better at the first; but our men resolving to carry their point, and the city-regiments behaving themselves with great bravery, gave them before night so little cause to boast, that the next morning they were willing to permit the earl of Essex to march to London without interruption. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the enemy had several persons of quality killed; the principal of whom were the earl of Carnarvan, the earl of Sunderland, the lord Falkland, and a French marquiss. We lost a colonel of one of the city-regiments, together with some inferior officers.

SOME of the lords and commons, contrary to their duty, withdrew themselves from the parliament at Westminster, and went to the king at Oxford, where they met together, but never did any thing considerable for the king's service, and shewed themselves so little willing to assume the name of a parliament, that the king in a letter to the queen (a copy whereof was afterwards found amongst his papers) called them his "mongrel parliament."

IN the mean time the earl of Manchester received a commission from the parliament, to raise forces in the associated counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, Huntingdon, &c. which was very necessary: for the king was master of all places of strength from Berwick to Boston, except Hull and two small castles in Lincolnshire; and Ferdinando lord Fairfax, not able to keep the field against the earl of Newcastle, was retired with his horse and foot to Hull: the enemy's strength in the north no way inferior to what it was in the west, and none considerable enough to oppose their march into the south.

THE earl of Newcastle, upon advice that the lord Willoughby of Parham had possessed himself of the town of Gainsborough for the parliament, sent his brother colonel Cavendish, lieutenant-general of his army, with a great party of horse and dragoons to summon it, himself marching after with the foot. Col. Oliver Cromwell having notice thereof, and understanding by fresh experience that victory is not always obtained by the greater number, having lately defeated near Grantham twenty-four troops of the enemy's horse and dragoons, with seven troops only which he had with him, resolved to endeavour the relief of Gainsborough; and with twelve troops of horse and dragoons marched thither, where he found the enemy, who were drawn up near the town, to be more than thrice his number, and no way to attack them but through a gate and up-hill; notwithstanding which disadvantages he adventured to fall upon them, and after some dispute totally routed them, killing many of their officers, and amongst them lieutenant-general Cavendish. Thus was Gainsborough relieved; but the conquerors had little time to rejoice, for within two or three hours the routed enemy rallying, and joining with the rest of Newcastle's army, marched against them: upon which they retreated to Lincoln that night in good order, and without any loss, facing
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the enemy with three troops at a time as they drew off the rest. Lincoln not being defensible, colonel Cromwell marched the next day to Boston, that he might join the earl of Manchester, who with his new-raised forces had very seasonably reduced Lynn, a town in Norfolk not far from the sea, naturally strong, and might have proved impregnable, if time had favoured art and industry to have fortified and furnished it with provisions. But Sir Hammond Lestrange, who had before surprized it for the king, was soon surprized himself; and being suddenly summoned by the earl of Manchester, and threatened with a storm, after he had fired a few great shot against the besiegers, thought fit to surrender it upon articles. From thence the earl of Manchester marched to Boston, where being joined by colonel Cromwell, appointed by the parliament to command under him, and a party of horse brought by Sir Thomas Fairfax by sea from Hull, he mustered about six thousand foot, and thirty seven troops of horse and dragoons. To prevent any further addition to his forces, the earl of Newcastle advanced with his army, and sent a strong detachment of horse and dragoons towards Boston, appearing by their standards to be eighty-seven troops, commanded by Sir John Henderson an old soldier, who hearing that colonel Cromwell was drawn out towards him with the horse and dragoons, made haste to engage him before the earl of Manchester with the foot could march up, as accordingly it fell out at a place called Winsby-field near Horn-castle. In the first shock colonel Cromwell had his horse killed under him; yet the encounter was but short, though very sharp, for there being field room enough, the fight lasted but a quarter of an hour before the earl of Newcastle's forces were totally routed, and many of them killed: amongst them the lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and other persons of quality. The enemy had no time to rally, being pursued by ours almost as far as Lincoln, which was fourteen miles off; in which pursuit divers of them were killed and made prisoners, and many horse and arms taken. Neither were they suffered to rest at Lincoln, the earl of Manchester marching thither the day following, where the enemy's broken troops had endeavoured to fortify the higher part of the city called "the Close," but had not quite finished their works when the earl arrived, and summoned them to surrender; which they refusing, our foot and horse fell on and took it by storm, with little loss on our side.

ABOUT this time a considerable party in Kent rose and declared for the king, which was dispersed by some forces sent from London, under the command of colonel Brown; whereby the committee of Kent were encouraged and enabled to raise a good body of horse and foot for the service of the parliament.

My father apprehending that I was not likely to be relieved in three or four months, in case I were besieged; and knowing that the enemies were masters of the field in those parts, and that I was about twenty miles from any of our garrisons, procured an order from the parliament, empowering me to flight the castle of Warder, and to draw off the garrison, if I saw cause: which care of theirs quickened my zeal to their service, and put me upon
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endeavouring, as well as I could, to prepare for the worst. To that end, being in want of ammunition, I went to Southampton, where I bought what they could spare, and returned to the castle; where, being in great want of money, having always paid the country people for whatsoever I had from them, I made a seasonable discovery of money, plate and jewels, to the value of about twelve hundred pounds, walled up by the enemy: part of this sum I expended upon the garrison, and gave an account thereof to the parliament. The enemy was now beginning to draw about us, yet would not actually besiege us before they had endeavoured to reduce us by treachery. To this end one captain White a papist, of Dorsetshire, having found a boy at Shaftsbury fit for the purpose, gave him such instructions as he thought fit: he was not above twelve years of age, and yet, as I was afterwards informed, had already attempted to poison his grandfather. This boy he sent to the castle to desire of me to be admitted to turn the spit, or perform any other servile employment; to which I consented, his youth freeing him, as I thought, from any suspicion. About three or four days after a party of the enemy's horse appeared before the castle, and making a great shout, the cattle belonging to the garrison, consisting of about forty cows and one bull, which they all followed, ran away at the noise: some of us endeavouring to turn them, the enemy fired so thick upon us, that one of my soldiers and myself were forced to betake ourselves to a tree for shelter; where my soldier levelling his musket through a hole of the tree, which was about a foot in diameter, a ball from the enemy grazing upon the upper part of the hole, and thereby forced downwards, shot the young man through the hand, and me into the leg, which obliged me to keep my bed for two days. A great wall-gun called a Harquebuz de Croq being fired from the top of the castle, burst in the middle. At night as this boy was sitting with the guard by the fire, some of them conceived a jealousy of him; and strictly examining him about the cause of his coming, he affirmed it to be because the master whom he served had used him cruelly for speaking some words in favour of the parliament. With which answer they not being satisfied, threatened that unless he would confess the truth, they would hang him immediately; and to affright him, tied a piece of match about his neck, and began to pull him up on a halbert. Upon this he promised to confess all, if they would spare his life; and thereupon acknowledged that captain White had hired him to number the men and arms in the castle, to poison the arms, the well, and the beer, to blow up the ammunition, to steal away one of my best horses, to carry him back to them; for which service he was to receive half a crown: confessing that he had accordingly poisoned two cannon and the Harquebuz that was broken, but pretended that his conscience would not give him leave to poison the water and the beer. The great guns were made serviceable again by oiling, and making a fire in them. The poison he used was of a red colour, and made up in the shape of a candle, with part of which he had rubbed three of our guns. After this deliverance we got in some cattle for our provision, but the enemy drawing into the villages about us, soon prevented us from bringing

bringing in any more : yet we ventured one morning, knowing it to be market-day, to draw out between forty and fifty pikes and firelocks, with which we went about a quarter of a mile from the castle upon the road that leads to Shaftsbury. According to our expectation, the market people came with carts and horses loaded with corn and other provisions, which we seized and sent to the castle, paying for it the market-price, at which they were not a little surprized. By this means we furnished ourselves with three months more provision than we had before ; which we had no sooner taken in, than the enemy drew round the castle, and from that time blocked us up more closely, raising a breast-work by casting up the earth about a tree which we had cut down on the side of a hill ; from whence they commanded the gate of the castle, the only way that we had to sally out upon occasion, and shot several of our men, amongst the rest my gunner, as they fetched in wood. The person that commanded the party which lay before us, was one captain Christopher Bowyer of Dorsetshire, who, to get us out of the castle, proposed to grant us what terms we desired ; to which we replied, that we designed to discharge our duty by keeping it as long as we could. Upon this he threatened us with great numbers of horse and foot, attended with several pieces of cannon, which he said were drawing towards us, boasting of the justice of his cause, and representing to us the greatness of our danger, and the inevitable ruin that must ensue upon our obstinacy : but captain Bean, who at that time served as cannoneer, ours being shot, as I mentioned before, told him, that we were not at all affrighted with his menaces ; but upon confidence of the justice of our cause, we were resolved to defend the place to the utmost ; and warning him to look to himself, fired a gun, with which he wounded him in the heel ; and it being unsafe for any to carry him off by day, his wound gangrened before night, and he died about two days after. In the room of captain Bowyer one colonel Barnes was sent by the king to command the forces that lay before us : he was brother to an honest gentleman who was chaplain to my father, for whose sake, and because he had the reputation of being an old soldier, a thing much valued by the parliament at that time, my father had procured him a considerable employment in their service, in which he continued as long as their constant pay lasted, but that failing, he ran away to the king. Upon his coming he raised a fort within musket-shot of us, on the hill that surrounded the castle, except only on the west-side, where was a pond of about six acres. The enemy possessed themselves of all the out-houses, but used them only by night, not thinking it safe to come at them by day ; which we observing, one evening conveyed forty men through a vault leading to those houses, ordering them to lie private, and endeavour to surprize them when they came ; which had been effected, if one of ours, contrary to order, upon the entrance of the first of the enemy, had not fired his pistol, and thereby given warning to the rest to shift for themselves. The man who was the occasion of this disappointment was deprived of the use of his arms till he should attempt something for the redeeming of his reputation ; which soon after, upon a sally we made on the enemy, he did, in which we

we took two of the enemy's horse, and made some prisoners. How many of them were killed we could not learn: on our side some were wounded, of whom one died soon after.

A KINSMAN of mine, who was related to the lord Cottington, was sent from Oxford to offer me what terms I would desire. I permitted him to come in, that seeing our strength and provision, he might make his report to the enemy to our advantage: for things were so ordered by removing our guards from place to place, filling up our hogheads with empty barrels, and covering them with beef and pork, and in like manner ordering our corn, that every thing appeared double, to what it was, to them. The substance of the conditions I proposed was: That if I understood from the earl of Essex that he could not relieve us within six months, we would then deliver the castle upon condition, that it should not be made a garrison: That the parliament should have two thousand pounds for what they had expended in the taking and keeping of it; with some other particulars, which the gentleman carried to Oxford with him: but we never had any return from him about them, neither indeed did we expect any. Our beer was now spent, our corn much diminished, and we had no other drink but the water of our well, which though we drunk dry by day, yet it was sufficiently supplied every night. But being resolved to keep the castle as long as we could, we shortened our allowance, so that three pecks and a half of wheat one day, and a bushel of barley another, served near a hundred men, which was all our force, my troop being sent away before for want of conveniency for horse: this allowance was so short, that I caused one of the horses we had taken to be killed, which the soldiers eat up in two days, besides their ordinary.

THE forces that had been sent by the parliament to the assistance of the distressed protestants in Ireland, being, under pretence that they were neglected, as hath been before mentioned, brought into England to serve against those who raised them; and the rebels, by the pacification made with them by the king's order, contrary to his promise to the parliament, left in the full enjoyment of what they had gotten from the English by rapine and murder; part of those who came out of Ireland landed at Chester, and drew before Nantwich: they were commanded by one captain Sandford, brother to Sir William Sandford, a worthy person of Gray's-inn, to whom he had solemnly promised never to engage against the parliament: yet did he send in a very threatening summons to the town, and seconded it with a most furious assault, whilst the works were but slenderly defended, the guard consisting for the most part of townsmen, who were then gone to dinner: but it so happened, that a boy of the age of fifteen firing a musket from the town, shot him dead in the place, which discouraged his soldiers from any farther attempt.

COLONEL George Monk, who had been sent by the parliament into Ireland against the rebels, for some time scrupled to quit that service, and to engage in this, being upon that account secured on ship-board by the earl of Ormond, whilst he sent those forces into England, lest he should have obstructed their going over; yet having afterwards his liberty to wait on the

king, was prevailed with to join with them, and soon after taken prisoner by a party from Yorkshire, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who sent him prisoner to Hull, from whence some time after he was conveyed to the tower of London. Another party of the forces from Ireland landed in the west, and marched as far as Hinden towards Warder-castle, in order to besiege it; but being informed that the person whom they were to dispossess was a protestant, and he into whose hands they were to put it was a papist, they mutinied against their officers, and refused to be employed against us.

THE queen landed with an army of French, Walloons, and other foreigners, and brought with her great store of ammunition and money, procured by pawning the crown-jewels in Holland. With these and other forces the earl of Newcastle marched to besiege Hull, of which place the lord Ferdinando Fairfax was governor, who, with the assistance of the seamen belonging to some ships that lay in the harbour, made so fierce a sally upon the enemy, that they were forced to quit some of their guns, and withdraw to a greater distance, leaving many of their men behind them, of whom some were killed, and others taken prisoners. Colonel Overton carried himself, as I am well informed, with much honour and gallantry in this action. This bad success so dispirited the enemy, that they abandoned the siege, and retired to York; to which also the approach of winter, and the preparations of the Scots to march into England, did not a little contribute: for the parliaments of both kingdoms had at length agreed upon terms, and removed the last and greatest difficulty, consisting of some doubtful words in the covenant, which was to be taken by both nations, concerning "the preservation of the king's person," and "reducing the doctrine and discipline of both churches to the pattern of the best reformed:" for which Sir Henry Vane, one of the commissioners of the parliament, found out an expedient, by adding to the first clause these or the like words, "In preservation of the laws of the land, and liberty of the subject;" and to the second, "according to the word of God." Which being an explanation that could not be refused, prevented any farther contestation about that matter.

ABOUT this time the enemy by cruel usage put a period to the life of my brother captain Robert Ludlow, who was their prisoner, as I before related. The news of this, and of the danger I was in, so afflicted my father, together with his constant labours in the publick service, and possibly his dissatisfaction about the imprisonment of his good friend Mr. Henry Martin, for words spoken in the house, as he conceived, in discharge of his duty, that he died, expressing himself deeply sensible of the condition of the bleeding nation, and heartily praying for the prosperity of the public cause. The words spoken by Mr. Martin in parliament were to this purpose, "That it was better one family should perish, than that the people should be destroyed:" And being required to explain himself, he ingenuously confessed that he meant the family of the king; for which he was committed to the tower, but afterwards released, and re-admitted to his place in the parliament. About the same time Mr. John Pym also died, who had been very instrumental in promoting the interest of
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the nation : his body was for several days exposed to public view in Derby-house before it was interred, in confutation of those who reported it to be eaten with lice.

THE enemy before Warder-castle kept their guards within pistol-shot of it day and night, so that we could not expect any more intelligence from abroad ; yet one of ours sent by us into the country a week before, to inform us of the state of affairs, met, at an honest man's house not far from the castle, a soldier, whom the enemy had pressed to serve them ; whose heart being with us, these two agreed, that when relief should be coming, he who was without should appear with a white cap on his head, and blow his nose with his handkerchief. In the mean time the besiegers raised a battery, and by a shot from thence cut off the chain of our portcullis, which rendering our gate unserviceable to us, we made it so to them, by barricading it on the inside : so that now we had no way out but through a window, our other doors being walled up before. But the battery not answering their expectation, they resolved to try other experiments, either by digging a hole in the castle-wall, and putting a sufficient quantity of powder therein to blow it up, or by undermining the said wall, and supporting it with timber, and then setting it on fire : whereby they supposed to destroy that also on which the wall rested, and so to bring down the wall. In order to this they prepared materials to defend them whilst they were about the work, and brought together about two dozen of oaken planks three inches thick, which they endeavoured in a dark night to set up against the castle wall, half of them on one side, and half on the other. Our sentinels discovered them on one side, and beat them off, forcing them to leave their boards behind them. On the other side they set them up, and in the morning were hard at work under their shelter. We heard a noise of digging, but for some time could not perceive where : at length we discovered the place, and endeavoured to remove them, by throwing down hot water and melted lead, though to little purpose. At last with hand-granadoes we obliged them to quit their work, and to leave their tools behind them, with their provisions for three or four days : and though we had no way out of the castle but by a narrow window, yet we brought in their materials and provisions : for that morning having shot the officer that commanded their guard in the head, their trenches not being finished to secure their approaches to the out-houses, under the shelter of which they kept their guard ; and being admonished by what befel captain Bowyer, of the danger of delaying to dress a wound, they desired leave to carry off their wounded man, which I granted on condition that they would commit no act of hostility in the mean time : and when five or six of them who carried him off were about pistol-shot from the wall, I appeared with forty musketeers ready to fire on the top of the castle, and ordered three or four men out of the window mentioned before, who brought in their materials.

A RELATION of mine, one captain Henry Williams, who commanded a company in colonel Barns's regiment, desiring to be admitted to speak with me, and I consenting, he endeavoured to persuade me to a surrender, offering

me any conditions I would ask ; but his arguments made no impression upon me.

IN the mean time the king, to encourage his friends in the city to rise for him, sent them a commission to that purpose by the lady Aubogny, which she brought made up in the hair of her head ; but the design being discovered, she fled for refuge to the house of the French ambassador ; who refusing to deliver her to Sir Henry Vane and Mr. John Lisle, sent by the parliament with a guard to seize her, pretending his privilege ; the house, being informed by Sir Francis Knowles, that at the time of the bloody massacre at Paris, one of the French king's secretaries, who was of the reformed religion, flying to the English ambassador's house for protection, and disguising himself amongst the grooms, was forced from thence by the king's command, ordered this lady to be treated in the like manner, which was done accordingly. Hereupon an order was passed for the trial of those who were engaged in this conspiracy, and Mr. Thomson and Mr. Challoner were found guilty, and executed for it. Sir John Hotham and his son were also condemned to lose their heads for endeavouring to betray the garrison of Hull to the enemy ; which sentence was put in execution upon the son the first of January 1643-4, and on the father the day following. Sir Alexander Carew was also beheaded for endeavouring to betray Plymouth, with the government of which he was entrusted by the parliament.

ABOUT the 16th of the same January the Scots marched into England, and having Berwick secured for them, the first thing they attempted was the taking of Newcastle ; which they did by storm : The lords and commons for their encouragement having sentenced, and caused execution to be done upon William Laud archbishop of Canterbury, their capital enemy, on the 10th of the same month.

SIR William Waller being reinforced with some city-regiments, thought himself strong enough to take the field : and because the western clothiers were often obstructed in their passage to London by the garrison of Basinghouse, which was kept for the king, he attempted to reduce it ; but was repulsed with loss. After which he marched to Arundel in Suffex, where he soon beat the king's garrison out of the town into the castle, which after some time, and the loss of some men, was surrendered to him, with several persons of quality therein, at mercy.

ABOUT the middle of January Sir William assured us, that if we held out a fortnight longer, he would relieve us, or lay his bones under our walls. We had also some hopes given us from Southampton and Pool, the latter of which places about this time some of the inhabitants endeavoured to betray to the lord Crawford ; but the design being discovered, as the enemy was entering the out-works, and expecting to be admitted into the town, some great guns loaded with small shot were fired upon his men, and made a great slaughter amongst them. Between these two garrisons of Southampton and Pool lay my troop of horse, to do what service they could against the enemy, and to favour our relief : where my cornet, afterwards known by the name of major William,

William Ludlow, was shot through the body, and into the thigh, and his horse in two places, by some of the enemy from an ambuscade; being brought to Southampton, and his wounds searched, the bullet that went in at his belly was found at the chine of his back, with a piece of the waistband of his breeches, which being cut out, he wonderfully recovered, to be in some measure serviceable to the public.

To encourage the forces of Pool, and Southampton, to come to our relief, I sent them word, that they should have seven or eight hundred pounds to gratify them, which I was able to make good with what I had remaining of the plate which I found in one of the closets of the castle, as I mentioned before.

TOWARDS the end of the winter Sir Ralph Hopton, who commanded the king's forces in the west, being informed that the battery which had fired against us for two months had done no great execution, and that colonel Barns was more employed in plundering the country than in advancing the king's service, sent Sir Francis Doddington with a further supply of men to reduce us; and with an engineer to undermine the castle. To this end they forced the miners of Meinshup to assist them. As soon as we heard the noise of their digging, we endeavoured to countermine them; but the castle walls being joined with an entire wall at the foundation, the mortar whereof was so well tempered, that it was harder than the stones themselves, we could by no means break through it. Our medicines were now spent, and our surgeon, who with eight of his brothers served at that time in my troop, shot through the body and disabled, though the bullet glancing, missed the vitals. One of his brothers, with another soldier, adventured out of the window, in order to procure some means for his recovery, whilst some of ours by discourses, firing, and much noise, drew the enemy to the other side of the castle; so that they safely passed their guards, and went to the honest man's house before mentioned, where they met again that friend of ours, who being pressed by the enemy to serve them, remained with them to serve us; and received from him a letter directed to us from some of our friends, encouraging us to hold out, and promising us relief within ten days: of whose approach this our friend undertook to give us notice, by the signs before agreed on. Our messengers having furnished themselves with what they went for, returned to us with this good news, this poor honest man having drawn off the sentinel by whom they were to pass.

THE ten days being expired, and ten more after them, without any tidings of relief, our provisions wasting, I observed a great silence amongst the enemy; and being desirous to know whether our friend were upon the guard, that we might learn of him what he knew, we took occasion from their silence to desire of them, that if they were alive they would make some noise, though they might not be permitted to speak: which one of them doing by blowing his nose, we were willing to make a further discovery; and having told him he did it in his sleeve for want of a handkerchief, he by this time understanding our meaning, appeared in sight, and with his handkerchief
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blew his nose again, endeavouring by signs and words to inform us of our condition, digging in the wall of the stable, and laying the stones in order; then discoursing with two of his fellows, he challenged them to play at football with one of them the next, and with the other the day after; saying to them aloud, that we might hear, "If I beat the first, I fear not the second." Though we supposed that the first danger he designed to admonish us of was the mine, yet for the more clear discovery thereof, we laid a train of powder upon the castle-wall, which he by signs signified to us to be what he intended. But we were mistaken in the interpretation of his second action, by which we concluded he designed to represent to us a speedy relief, if we could hold out against the first; though it was indeed another mine prepared to spring immediately after the first, as we afterwards found, though we never had the happiness to see or speak with the poor man more. I received a letter from Sir Francis Doddington, who commanded in chief before us, wherein taking notice of the relation between our families, he expressed himself ready to do me any friendly office, and advised me to a timely delivery of the castle, lest by refusing so to do, I should bring my blood upon my own head. In my answer I acknowledged his civility, assuring him, that being entrusted with the custody of it by the authority of the parliament, for the service of the country, I could cheerfully lay down my life in discharge of the trust reposed in me; for that it would not be only in my defence, but in defence of the laws and liberties of the nation; and therefore cautioned him how he proceeded any farther in assaulting us, lest he should thereby contract the guilt of more innocent blood. His letter, with my answer, he sent to Oxford, as appeared by the weekly news-paper of London, wherein they were printed from that of Oxford, which Aulicus published to shew my Opiniatreté, and Britannicus my fidelity to the public cause.

THE two nights following we all continued upon the guard; and upon the Thursday morning being very weary, I lay down and slept till between ten or eleven of the clock, at which time one of my great guns firing upon the enemy, shook the match which they had left burning for the springing of the mine into the powder, so that the mine springing I was lifted up with it from the floor, with much dust suddenly about me; which was no sooner laid, but I found both the doors of my chamber blown open, and my window towards the enemy blown down, so that a cart might have entered at the breach. The party which they had prepared to storm us lay at some distance, to secure themselves from any hurt by the springing of the mine: but that being done, they made haste to storm, which they might easily do at my window, the rubbish of the castle having made them a way almost to it. Those who stormed on my side were the Irish yellow coats, commanded by captain Leicester. My pistols being wheel-locks, and wound up all night, I could not get to fire, so that I was forced to trust to my sword for the keeping down of the enemy, being alone in the chamber, and all relief excluded from me, except such as came in by one of my windows that looked into the court of the castle, through which I called to my men there, acquainting them with

my condition, and requiring them to hasten to my relief. Mr. Gabriel Ludlow my kinsman not only came himself, but ordered others to my assistance, and to that end placed a ladder under the window before-mentioned, which being too short by near two yards, I was obliged to leave the breach, where the enemy was ready to enter, five or six times, to take his arms and himself in; which being done, he helped in five or six more, whom I ordered to fill up the breach and the doors with the bed, chairs, table, and such things as were next at hand. This place being in some measure secured, I went to see what other breaches had been made, and to provide for their defence, and found one in the room under me well defended, but that in the ground-room on the other side not at all; there I placed a guard, and ran to the upper rooms, which had many doors and windows blown open, at every one of which I appointed a guard, in some measure proportionable to the danger. From thence I went to the top of the castle, which was leaded, and of a sex-angular figure, with a turret upon each angle. Two of these were blown down, with part of the leads, behind which the enemy sheltered themselves, so that we could not remove them by our shot; but by throwing down some great stones, with which the mine had plentifully furnished us, we killed one of theirs, and wounded some others. Captain Leicester was one of those who sheltered themselves behind this rubbish, and desired leave to carry off the wounded men that were with him; which I readily granted, letting them know, that we fought not their blood, but our own defence. Soon after we also had occasion to make trial of their humanity; for one of our soldiers being buried in the outward rubbish of the castle, and yet alive, sent to acquaint me with his condition, and to desire my help: Upon which I desired of the enemy to dig him out, and make him prisoner; or suffer us to do it, and we would deliver him to them: but they would consent to neither; and when I told them that I had not used them so, but had permitted them to carry off their wounded men, they replied, that though it was my favour to suffer that, yet their chief officer would not permit this. The poor man lived in this condition near three days, and then through most barbarous usage, being denied any relief, he died. We lost three of our men by the springing of the mine, but the rest were most wonderfully preserved. Our provision of corn, which at the rate we lived would have lasted three weeks longer, was blown up, with part of our ammunition; but our provision of flesh being for about four days, was preserved. Whilst this lasted, I thought it adviseable, having repulsed the enemy, to put the best countenance we could upon our affairs, hoping by so doing we might bring the enemy to give us the better conditions. But Mr. Balsum, our minister, with two or three more religious men, who till that time had carried themselves without discovering any fear, pressed me very earnestly to propose a treaty to the enemy. I told them, that it was a very unseasonable time to do any thing of that nature, having beat off the enemy, and three or four days provisions left: that I did not doubt before that was spent, by a good improvement of our time, to bring the enemy to reasonable terms: whereas if we should now desire a treaty with them, they would conclude our spirits low, our condition desperate, and so hold us to harder terms,

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or it may be give us none at all. They replied, That if I refused to hearken to their proposal, they judged that all the blood that should be spilt in further opposition would be charged upon my account. This being a very heavy charge laid on me by men of age and experience, of whose integrity I had a very good opinion, I durst not resist any longer, by balancing my youth and little experience against their years and judgment; and therefore left it to them to do what they should think fit: but they assuring me they would rather lose their lives than do any thing without me, I promised that if they would call to the enemy for a parley, I would answer. Whereupon they moved it to the enemy, who took time to acquaint their commander in chief with it. His answer was; That since we had refused to treat with him whilst the castle was whole, he would not now treat with us. I could not forbear letting the besiegers know, that the return was no other than I expected: that the motion did not arise from me, but was consented to by me for the satisfaction of some about me, who were now resolved to expose themselves with me to the utmost hazards, in defence of the place, without demanding any terms again; not doubting, if we were necessitated to lay down our lives in this service, to sell them at a good rate. My friends having found their advice to produce no other effect than I had foretold, resolved for the future to be wholly disposed of by me; so that both officers and soldiers began to prepare against the utmost extremity. None of ours had been killed by the shot during the storm, but some slightly wounded, and their clothes shot through, a bullet from the enemy having pierced my hat close by my head. The besiegers had ten killed by shot and stones in the storm, and divers wounded: amongst the former was one Hillsdeane, who a little before he expired said, he saw his brother fire that musket by which he received his mortal wound; which might probably be, his brother being one of those who defended that breach where he, attempting to enter, was shot: but if it were so, he might justly do it by the laws of God and man, it being done in the discharge of his duty, and in his own defence. The silver plate belonging to the house, found soon after we were close besieged, I buried in the cellar, with the help of one of my servants. On Saturday the enemy began to converse friendly with us, and a cessation of acts of hostility being agreed upon, a son of colonel Barnes, captain Farmer, Mr. Plott, the gentleman whom I formerly mentioned to be related to the lord Cottington, and to have endeavoured to persuade me to surrender the castle before the siege, with several other officers, came up close to the breaches, where we conferred together: and they earnestly pressing me to surrender, I told them I would not be averse to it upon fitting terms; for had not those who owned the castle made use of it to the prejudice of the country, I presumed it had not been taken from them, and possessed by us, in order to prevent the like inconveniencies for the future; against which conceiving sufficient provision made by the springing of the late mine, I was willing to quit the same, if we might have liberty to march to the next garrison belonging to the parliament, with our arms, and what else we had in the castle. They replied, They could not answer to his majesty the giving of such conditions to us, Sir William Waller having lately refused to receive
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Arundel-castle from some of the king's party, upon any other terms than at mercy, who they knew to have been in a much better state of defence than we were; and therefore pressed us to deliver ourselves upon the same condition, promising us much favour. To this I answered, That some related to us had already experienced the favours they extended to their prisoners: that the compliance of those at Arundel ought to be no precedent to us; and that unless we might march off, we would not surrender. They told me, the longer I held out, the worse it would be for me; and Mr. Plott, who, as he since informed me, had prevailed with them to propose this treaty, earnestly pressed me to lay hold on the opportunity, intimating by his words and gestures, that if I refused it, I should not have another: but I resolving to defend the place as long as I could, our treaty came to nothing. I had some thoughts of charging through the enemy in the beginning of the night, in order to force our way to the nearest of our garrisons, which I presumed might have been effected by the morning; but the desperate condition in which we must have left our sick and wounded men, diverted me from putting that design in execution. And now the spirits of my soldiers began to flag; my gunsmith desiring leave to go home, and several others making choice of one amongst them to speak for them, were very importunate with me to surrender; with which expressing myself displeased, I acquainted them that I would take the best time to do it for their advantage, and thereby quieted them, so that they resolved to move me no more about it; yet ceasing not to complain to each other of their wants and hardships, the enemy became acquainted therewith, as they afterwards told me. On the lord's-day in the afternoon, the besiegers discoursed with some of our men who were upon the leads, endeavouring to draw as many of them as they could thither, that the breaches being left unguarded, they might have an opportunity to take us by storm; which I perceiving, made use of it to animate our men afresh, and succeeded so well therein, that the enemy by our cheerfulness began to suspect that we had some notice of relief approaching. This suspicion caused them to continue discoursing with my soldiers most part of the night, to get the truth out of them, promising them liberty to march away, if they would deliver Mr. Balsum our minister, or myself to them. The next morning many of them came up to one of the breaches, to persuade us to surrender; which opportunity being willing to improve, having ten doors blown open by the first mine, our walls that stood being cracked in several places, and another mine ready to spring, that would probably level most part of the castle with the ground, not having provision sufficient for one day left, nor any hopes of relief, I propounded to them to yield myself their prisoner, if they would consent that those with me might march off. To which they answering, That though my good nature led me to make that offer, yet they could not accept of it: I told them, that unless I might have four things granted, I would not deliver the castle. 1st. Quarter without distinction for the lives of every one. 2dly. Civil usage for all my party. 3dly. Not to be carried to Oxford. 4thly. A speedy exchange. They promised me I should have all these made good to the

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full; and colonel Barns said, that if I pleased to come out to them, I should find more friends than I expected: whereupon requiring my men to be upon their guard, and not to suffer any to come near them till my return, I went out to them, and they brought me to the lord Arundel and Sir Francis Doddington, who were without the garden-wall, where my lord Arundel assured me, that what was agreed should be made good to me; and was pleased further to add, that though he preferred my conversation before the enjoyment of his own children, yet if I thought fit to persist in the way I had begun, he would do his utmost to endeavour that I might be exchanged for his two sons, who were then prisoners with Sir William Waller. To this I answered, that if I were convinced the cause I had engaged in was not good, I should soon recede from it; but till then I could not but persist in the prosecution thereof. Sir Francis Doddington told me, he was glad to see me alive, but sorry to find so much resolution employed in so bad a cause. I let him know, that my apprehensions concerning the cause were very different from his, else I had not hazarded myself as I had done. He also promised the performance of the articles to the utmost of his power; and for myself, that whilst I was in his custody I should have no other prison but his own lodgings. Thus all things being agreed upon, I returned to the castle, and ordered my soldiers to lay down their arms; which being done, the enemy directed them to draw together into a certain room in the castle, where they set a guard upon them; but gave me the liberty of the place upon my parole, offering me one or two of my own company to associate with me: whereupon I desired that my cousin Gabriel Ludlow, Mr. Balsum, and a servant, might be permitted to come to me, which was granted. Their civility to me was such, especially that of the lord Arundel, that I discovered to him the plate and other things that I had hid in the castle: but I cannot say that they performed their articles with me in relation to my men; for the second day after their entrance, they threatened to take away the lives of two of them, who having been formerly pressed by them, and their consciences not giving them leave to serve them, chose rather to come to us, and be besieged with us, than to have liberty to range and oppress the country with them. The poor men made their condition known to me; and I went to the chief officers of the enemy, and charged them with it as a breach of that article by which we were to have all our lives secured to us, in virtue of these words, "Quarter without distinction." Captain Leicester, to whom I principally applied myself, because he pretended to most experience in things of this nature, told me, that I only conditioned for my soldiers, and that these who ran from them were not mine, but theirs: I replied, that they were never theirs, though they had forced them to be with them, having pressed them into their service, which they had no power to do; but though it should be granted that they had been theirs, yet they were now ours, and the words of the article were, "Quarter without distinction." He answered, that if I had intended to have these included, I should have particularly named them. I told him, that it was needless, every particular being included in the universal; and that if I had suspected such usage, I would

I would have died before I would have delivered the castle to them. He said, that if I disliked the conditions, they would withdraw, and leave me as they found me. I replied, that seeing they were now acquainted with my necessities, that proposition was as unworthy and disingenuous as their interpretation of the articles; and that if they proceeded to extremities against the two soldiers, because the power was at present in their hands, I did not doubt that God would give me an opportunity to resent it; and if not, I was fully assured that He would do it himself. In the afternoon I was desired to go to Sir Francis Doddington's quarters, which were at a gentleman's house about half a mile from the castle; to which place I was accompanied by one lieutenant Elsing, brother to the clerk of the parliament of that name, with whom I had a free debate concerning the justice of our cause, and the evil of their undertaking, especially those amongst them, who, having been sent by the parliament against the rebels in Ireland, had returned and drawn their swords against those that had raised them; which was his case. He was so convinced of the truth of what I said, that he took the first opportunity he could find to return to us; and to that end went to the garrison of Gloucester, where he was employed, and behaved himself so well, that he was advanced to the command of a lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of foot; in which capacity he went afterwards into Ireland, where he lost his life against the rebels. Having received notice that a council of war was sitting upon the two soldiers before-mentioned, and also that they endeavoured to find some pretext to take away the life of Mr. Balsum our minister, I sent to admonish them to be careful to preserve themselves from the guilt of innocent blood; putting them in mind, that if they proceeded to such a breach of their faith, they must expect to account for it at another time. Upon this message, one captain Bishop observing them to persist in their bloody intention, withdrew from the council, and soon after from the party. But Sir Francis Doddington and captain Leicester so ordered the matter at the council, that the two soldiers were condemned, and most perfidiously executed. They also discovered all imaginable malice against Mr. Balsum, but finding no colour to proceed against him in this public way, they fell upon a more secret and base method to take away his life; to that end sending three men, who broke in upon him whilst he was at prayer; but he rising up, and looking steddily upon them, observing them to stand still, demanded of them the cause of their coming, who standing some time with horror and confusion in their faces, after some conference with each other, confessed to him, that they were sent to destroy him, but that they found a superior power restraining them, and convincing them of the wickedness of their intentions, offering to convey him out of the hands of his enemies, or to do any thing else for him that he should desire. He thanked them for their kindness, and being unwilling that they should hazard themselves for his sake, desired only some few necessaries, the weather being cold, and he in great want, which they readily furnished him with. Soon after he was carried away to Salisbury, and the rest of the officers and soldiers of our garrison sent to Oxford, contrary to the express words of the

third article of our capitulation, the enemy pretending to a positive order of the king for so doing. Sir Francis Doddington having dispatched some affairs in the country, took me with him to Winchester, and in our way thither shewed me a letter from Sir Ralph Hopton, desiring him to use all means possible to draw me to their party, which he endeavoured by making use of the best arguments he could, to prove the justice of their cause, the probability of their success, and the inconsiderableness of our strength in all parts, accompanying them with all the encouragements imaginable. The first night of our journey we lay at one Mr. Aubery's of Chalk, where we met with Dr. Earl and young Mr. Gataker, whom he desired to assist him in his design to convert me. Mr. Gataker rather chid than argued with me: Dr. Earl accused the parliament of endeavouring the destruction of learning, which I desiring him to make appear, he told me, that by abolishing episcopacy we took away all encouragement to it; for that men would not send their sons to the university, had they not some hopes that they might attain to that preferment. To this I replied, That it would be much more honest for such men to train up their children at the plough, whereby they might be certainly provided with a livelihood, than to spend their time and money to advance them to an office, pretended to be spiritual, and instituted for spiritual ends, upon such a sordid principle and consideration. Sir Francis, as I conceived, ashamed of the doctor's discourse, put an end to the conversation. The next day we went to Salisbury, where, though multitudes of people were in the streets, and in the inn where I was lodged, no person offered me the least incivility, though I took the liberty in my chamber to maintain the justice of our cause in the presence of forty or fifty of the town. Mr. John Penruddock, high-sheriff of the county, having confined Mr. Balsum in the county-gaol, and sent to him to prepare himself to die, assuring him that he was to be executed in a short time, came to me, and with many other expressions of kindness, desired me, that in case of any extremity I would send to him, assuring me, that he wished me as well as his own children, and promising that he would ride night and day to serve me. This poor gentleman was so unhappy, during his shrievalty, to have two of his nephews, presuming upon their uncle's interest, and pressing through his guards, killed by them, he having given order that none should be permitted to pass without a strict examination. In our way to Winchester one Mr. Fisher, an acquaintance of mine, then an officer of the king's, saluted me, and enquiring how I did, I answered him, As well as one could be in my condition; he thereupon replying, Why, I hope they use you civilly, do they not? Yes, said I, very civilly. Sir Francis Doddington over-hearing him, took it so ill, that he caused him to be immediately disarmed, telling him, that he was too bold to call in question the usage of his prisoner. Being arrived at Winchester, I staid at an inn till a private lodging was provided for Sir Francis, at whose quarters, according to his promise, I lodged, whilst in his custody. Most of the officers about the town came to me at the inn, several of them pressing me to discourse, and particularly concerning the justice of our cause: I excused myself, by reason
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of my present circumstances ; but they still persisting, I thought myself obliged to maintain the necessity of our taking up arms in defence of our religion and liberties ; but some of them being wholly biaſſed to their interest, as they went from me, met a relation of mine, one colonel Richard Manning, who, though a papist, commanded a regiment of horse in the king's service, and told him, that they came from one of the boldest rebels that they had ever seen. The colonel coming to visit me, informed me of this discourse, advising me, whatsoever I thought, not to be so free with them, lest they should do me some mischief. The next morning, before our departure for Oxford, Sir Francis Doddington brought me to Sir Ralph Hopton's lodgings, which being the head quarters, we found there most of the principal officers of that army ; where the general, after he had saluted me, demanded how I, being a gentleman, could satisfy myself to bear arms against my king : I told him, that, as I conceived, the laws both of God and man did justify me in what I had done. Well, said he, I understand you are so fixed in your principles, that I am like to do little good upon you by my persuasions ; but shall desire the archbishop of Armagh to take the pains to speak with you, when you come to Oxford ; and if he cannot work on you, I know not who can. This bishop was very learned, and of great reputation for piety ; yet I was assured by one who had his information from Mr. Bernard of Batcomb, that when the said Mr. Bernard earnestly pressed him to deal faithfully with the king in the controversy which was between him and the parliament concerning episcopacy, according to his own judgment in that matter, which he knew to be against it, representing to him the great and important service he would thereby do to the church of God, the archbishop answered, That if he should do as Mr. Bernard proposed, he should ruin himself and family, having a child and many debts. For this reason those arguments which could not prevail with me, when used by others, were not likely to be of more efficacy from him, who in a business of such concernment had been diverted from the discharge of his duty by such low and sordid considerations.

THE next day I came to Oxford, conducted by a party of horse commanded by one who was captain-lieutenant to Sir Francis Doddington, where reposing a while at a house near Christ-church, till the pleasure of the king might be known concerning me, there came to me two persons very zealous to justify the king's cause, and to condemn that of the parliament. These men were Irish papists, sent over by the rebels in Ireland to treat with the king on their part, about assisting him against the parliament. This I afterwards understood from one of them, whose name was Callaghan O Callaghan, when, together with the brigade commanded by the lord Musquerry, he laid down his arms to me in Ireland. The king looking upon such men as most fit to be confided in, gives the presidentship of Munster, vacant by the death of Sir William St. Leger, to the lord Musquerry, an Irish rebel ; which the lord Inchequin, son-in-law to Sir William, soliciting for, and claiming a right to it, took so ill, that the lord Broghill, as he since informed me, found no great difficulty to prevail with him to declare for the parliament, who thereupon
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made him their president of Munster. In this capacity he performed many considerable services against the Irish, taking great store of plunder from them, and not sparing even his own kindred, but if he found them faulty, hanging them up without distinction. Having brought together an army, he marched into the county of Tipperary, and hearing that many priests and gentry about Cashell had retired with their goods into the church, he stormed it, and being entered, put three thousand of them to the sword, taking the priests even from under the altar: of such force is ambition, when it seizes upon the minds of men.

ABOUT this time Sir Edward Deering came from the king's quarters at Oxford, and surrendered himself at Westminster; where being examined in the house of commons, he said, that since the cessation made with the rebels in Ireland, seeing so many papists and Irish in the king's army, and his councils wholly governed by them, his conscience would not permit him to remain longer with the king, and therefore he was come to throw himself upon the mercy of the parliament, and in conformity to their declaration, to compound for his delinquency. Accordingly he was admitted to composition, and an order made to proceed in like manner towards such as should come in after him. Whereupon the earl of Westmorland, and divers others, came in to the parliament, and desired the benefit of their declaration for composition.

WHILST I was attending the king's pleasure at Oxford, the captain that conveyed me thither brought me word, that he was ordered to deliver me to Mr. Thorpe the keeper of the castle; and pretending much affection to me, told me, that the said keeper would take from me my upper garment, my money, and all that was loose about me, advising me therefore to leave such things with him, and promising to bring them to me in the morning: I not suspecting his design, delivered him my cloke, with my money, and some other things, all which he carried away with him the next day; neither could I have any redress, though I wrote to Sir Francis Doddington, complaining of this treachery, the keeper of the castle not laying the least claim to any such thing. Our sick and wounded men, after they had been kept for some time prisoners in the hall of Warder-castle, where a popish priest very solemnly, with his hands spread over them, cursed them three times, were carried from thence to Bristol. In the castle of Oxford I met with Mr. Balsum, and other friends, who had been with me in Warder-castle, with many more who were detained there for their affection to the parliament, amongst whom were colonel Shilborn of Buckinghamshire, colonel Henly of Dorsetshire, captain Haley of Gloucestershire, and captain Abercromy a Scots-man. I had a friend in the town who furnished me with what I wanted: those who had not any such means of relief, were supplied from London by a collection of the sum of three hundred pounds, made for them by some citizens, and conveyed down to them. Neither was Oxford itself destitute of some who contributed to their relief; one Dr. Hobbs in particular, who preached then at Carfax, an honest man of the episcopal party, usually putting them in mind of it after his sermon. The prisoners taken by the king's party had been treated very cruelly, especially

cially at Oxford, by Smith the marshal there; but the members of parliament that deserted their trust at Westminster coming thither, and sitting in council there, having not quite lost the affections of English-men, took the examination of that affair into their hands, and suspended Smith from the execution of his office, till he should give satisfaction concerning those things of which he was accused. They committed the management of the place to one Thorp, and sent some of their own number to enquire concerning our usage. In the mean time Smith came to me by order, and offered me the liberty of the town, and to lodge where I pleased therein, upon my parole to be a true prisoner: but demanding of him, whether, in case I accepted his offer, I might have the liberty to visit my friends in the castle when I thought fit; and he answering, that it would not be allowed, I chose rather to be confined with my friends than at liberty with my enemies. The lord Arundel endeavouring to make good his promise of procuring my exchange for his two sons, earnestly soliciting the king to it; but though he had been a great sufferer for his service, the king positively refused to grant his request, telling him, he had no use of children. The lady Byron came to me, and desired me to procure her husband, who was prisoner in the tower, to be exchanged for me, and carried a letter from me to my mother then at London, about it; who soliciting the earl of Essex our general to that effect, was desired by him not to trouble herself any more therein, assuring her that he would be as careful of me, as if I were his own son. A person from Sir Edward Stradling came also to me, in order to an exchange between us, telling me, that the king had promised that nothing of that nature should be done before Sir Edward Stradling and colonel Lunsford were exchanged. The Lord Wilmot sent a gentleman to acquaint me that he had procured a grant from the king, that I should be exchanged for Sir Hugh Pollard; and that if I would write a letter to the earl of Essex with the proposal, he would send it by a trumpeter; but I judging this exchange to be very unequal, Sir Hugh being a person much esteemed for his interest and experience, proposed in my letter to the lord general, that he would put some other person with me into the balance against him. Whilst I was in expectation of the general's answer, we received advice that most of our foot that lay before Newark, commanded by Sir John Meldrum, a worthy Scotsman, were defeated and made prisoners by prince Rupert: But this loss was in some measure recompensed by a victory obtained at Cherington in Hampshire, by our forces, commanded by Sir William Waller, against those of the king commanded by Sir Ralph Hopton. The numbers on each side were very near equal, and the success had been doubtful for the most part of the day, but at last the enemy was totally routed, and put to flight: and had good use been made of this victory, the controversy had been soon decided in the west; but we were not yet so happy to improve our advantages: by which negligence we got little more than the field, and the reputation of the victory, though the enemy lost some of their principal officers in the fight, amongst whom were the lord John brother to the duke of Lennox, Sir Edward Sta-well, colonel Richard Manning, formerly mentioned, and that Smith who had
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been knighted by the king for rescuing his standard out of the hands of Mr. Chambers, secretary to the earl of Essex. This fight at Cherington happened on the 29th of March, 1644. about a fortnight after the surrender of Wardencastle, till which time had I been able to keep it, I should have been relieved. The enemies officers came to the castle at Oxford to solicit the prisoners to take arms under them; but finding their endeavours to prove ineffectual, they soon desisted from that attempt. After three weeks confinement here, my exchange was agreed, the lord general Essex expressing much generosity and readiness in it, as he had promised to my mother: for lest the king should be reminded of his promise to Sir Edward Stradling and colonel Lunsford, or of that to my lord Wilmot in favour of Sir Hugh Pollard, and so on either hand the design of my liberty come to be obstructed, he consented to the exchange of all the three for colonel Houghton, Sir John Savil, captain Abercromy, and myself. Colonel Henly went off also with us, being exchanged for lieutenant colonel Robert Sandys. I was led blindfold through the city of Oxford till I had passed their works, and the next day arrived at London, where I found the earl of Essex disposed to an exchange for my officers and soldiers, which was soon after made, and with them for Mr. Balsum, whom he entertained as his chaplain to the time of his death. He expressed a great desire to provide me with a command in his army: but the parliament, upon the instances of the gentlemen that served for the county of Wilts, having appointed me sheriff thereof, upon an invitation of Sir Arthur Haslerig to be major of his regiment of horse in Sir William Waller's army, which was designed for the service of the west, I accepted of it, and mounted the choicest of my old soldiers with me, Sir Arthur buying a hundred horse in Smithfield for that purpose: the rest of my men the lord general took into his own company. As soon as my troop was compleated, and furnished with all things necessary, I repaired to the regiment then with Sir William Waller near Abingdon, who was directed by the parliament with his army to block up the king at Oxford on one side, whilst the earl of Essex should do the same on the other. Which storm the queen foreseeing, withdrew to Exeter, where she was delivered of a daughter, which she leaving in the custody of the lady Dalkeith, returned to France, as well to secure herself, as to solicit for supplies. In the mean time the king breaking out from Oxford, marched towards Worcestershire; upon which the earl of Essex commanded Sir William Waller to march after him, whilst he himself with his army marched westward. This order seemed very strange to the parliament, and to most of us, being likely to break Sir William Waller's army, which consisted for the most part of western gentlemen, who hoped thereby to have been enabled to secure the country, and to promote the public service. The parliament sent to the lord general to observe his former orders, and to attend the king's motions; but he sending them a short answer, continued his march west, in which he took Weymouth, and relieved Lyme, that had endured a long siege, and with the assistance of the seamen, though their works were inconsiderable, had often repulsed the enemy, and killed great numbers of them in several sallies that they

they made upon them. A party commanded by Sir Robert Pye was ordered to Taunton, which he reduced to the obedience of the parliament. Upon the advance of the Earl of Essex, the army of the enemy commanded by prince Maurice retreated farther westward. Sir William Waller, according to his orders from the general, followed the king, but could not find an opportunity to engage him; so that the summer being almost spent, and the western gentlemen observing little done for the security of those parts to which they were related, prevailed with him to permit colonel Alexander Popham, colonel Edward Popham his brother, my self, and some others, to return into the west, in order to provide recruits for his army, and to secure the country. To this end I received a commission from him to raise and command a regiment of horse, with a permission to take my own troop with me. As soon as we came into Wiltshire we were earnestly solicited to go to the relief of major Wansey, who was besieged by the enemy in Woodhouse, formerly purchased of my father by Mr. Arundel, brother to the lord Arundel of Warder. Upon our approach we understanding that their forces were drawn off, staid a day or two at the Devizes; where notice being brought to us of the enemy's return before that place, we immediately advanced, and came that night to Warmister, from whence we sent a party of about forty horse, with order to bring us certain intelligence of the enemy's condition: This party meeting upon Warmister-heath with about the like number of theirs, fought them, and having taken some prisoners, returned to us, with an account, that the enemy only drew off from Woodhouse to reinforce themselves for the better carrying on of their work; in order to which Sir Ralph Hopton with a thousand horse was come from Bristol. The next morning a party of the enemy's horse faced us on the heath, thereby to provoke us to charge them, and then by retreating from us, to have drawn us within their body of horse, who were marching on our left amongst the hedges, endeavouring to get into our rear; which we suspecting, forbore making any attempt upon them; and about noon finding that we were not in a condition of performing what we came about, marched off towards Salisbury. We were no sooner got upon the Downs, but we discovered their body of horse marching into the town; yet we continued our march, observing the enemy as well as we could, to which end I kept in the rear; and discovering them climbing the hills not far from us, I informed colonel Alexander Popham thereof, telling him, that they appearing to be at least four times our number, I thought it not at all adviseable to engage them. But he saying, that since they were so near, we could not in honour avoid it, I promised him that I would not desert him. Whereupon he drew up his party into one body, which with reformed officers and others consisted of near a hundred; and I drew up my troop, consisting of the like number, into another body: but having before sent away my sumpter and led horses, upon suspicion of the event, I was obliged to ride after them to take my suit of arms which was with them, having ordered my men not to stir from their ground till I came back, in which they were very punctual. As I was returning, I met Colonel Popham and all his party flying, of whom demanding the cause

of this alteration of his resolution, he answered, that it was by no means adviseable to fight them. I found my men standing their ground, and the enemy advancing towards them in twelve bodies, each of which seemed to be as big as ours. I thanked them for obeying my orders, and told them, that if they continued to do so, I doubted not, by the blessing of God, to bring them off. In order to which I sent my standard before with half a score chosen horse, and then began to march off with the rest; but finding some of my men beginning to ride for it, I put myself at the head of them, to let them see, that I could ride as fast as they; withal telling them, that if they would stand by me, I would bring up the rear. By this means I got my men to keep close together, which contributed much to their safety. The greatest part of the other company followed colonel Edward Popham to Salisbury; but his brother colonel Alexander, with about six horse, struck out of the way and retired to Pool. After we had made about three miles of our way, one of my troopers fell from his horse, and the beast running from him, he was in great danger of being destroyed by the enemy, who was in pursuit of us; which being willing to prevent, I took him up behind me, and his horse running along with the company, was taken soon after on the top of the hill very seasonably; for my horse was by that time so far spent with the extraordinary weight, that he could not gallop any longer; but the soldier mounting his own horse, mine soon recovered his wind and strength again. Twice or thrice the enemy came up to us, demanding the word, and were as often repulsed to their body: the last time we shot one of their officers, which made them more cautious of approaching us. Many of our horses being spent, I commanded the soldiers to quit them, and to run them through, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy, advising the men to shift for themselves, either amongst the corn, or in the villages through which we passed, whereby most of them secured themselves; but some were taken by the enemy, and killed in cold blood by one of their officers after quarter given, and their lives promised to them. At last I came to Salisbury with about thirty horse, where divers persons disaffected to the parliament made a great shout at our coming into the town, rejoicing at our defeat, which they had heard of by some of our company, who had passed through the town about an hour before. From thence I continued my way to a place called Motton-bridge, on one side of which there is a causeway about three foot broad, where I made a halt; and ordering my party to continue their retreat towards Southampton, I kept some of those who were the best mounted with me, and made good that pass for some time against the enemy, who though they followed us as far as White-parish, twenty miles from the place where they first began their pursuit, they took no more of our men after this halt which we put them to; so that with the rest I arrived safe at Southampton. Two days after my coming to Southampton, colonel Norton received advice, that the enemy was preparing to send some forces, in order to beat off those of ours that blocked up Basing-house. He being then before Winchester, and resolving to march with his troop to reinforce the besiegers, desired me with my troop to supply his place at Winchester till his return.

return. Being unwilling to refuse any publick service, though my men were already very much harassed, I marched thither; and that those in the castle might see they were not at liberty to ravage the country, I drew out my troop and faced them: upon which they sent out what horse they had to skirmish with us; amongst whom observing one Mr. William Neale, who was of my acquaintance, and formerly my school-fellow, I called to him, telling him, that I was sorry to see him there; but since it was so, I offered to exchange a shot with him, and riding up to that purpose, he retreated towards his party, where making a stand, he called to me to come on, which I did; but he retreated again till he came within the shelter of their foot, and one with him dismounting, fired a musket at me loaded with a brace of bullets, of which one went into the belly of my horse, the other struck upon my breast-plate, within half an inch of the bottom of it: my horse carried me off, but died that night. The necessities of my men being great, and this service not immediately belonging to me, I thought it my duty to return into Wiltshire, where I might expect to be better supplied than in Hampshire, to which county I had no relation: therefore sending to colonel Norton to make provision for the service at Winchester, I marched with fourscore horse to Salisbury; which town having triumphed upon our defeat, I thought most proper to supply us with what we wanted: and to that end having procured a list of the disaffected in the town, I required them, without delay, to collect amongst themselves five hundred pounds for the recruiting and paying of my troop, who had not received any pay since they came out. The town made many excuses, and at last prevailed with me to take two hundred pounds, with which I paid and recruited my troop; and having disposed them in the best manner I could for the service of the country, I went to London to compleat my regiment, and to furnish it with arms, and all such things as were necessary.

IN the mean time Sir Francis Doddington had caused the two men that he had taken at Warder to be hanged, upon pretence that they ran away from him; and having brought some pieces of cannon before Woodhouse, made a breach so considerable in the wall, that the besieged were necessitated to surrender at mercy, but they found very little, for they were presently stripped of all that was good about them: and Sir Francis Doddington being informed by one Bacon, who was parson of the parish, that one of the prisoners had threatened to stick in his skirts, as he called it, for reading the common-prayer, struck the man so many blows upon the head, and with such force, that he broke his skull, and caused him to fall into a swoon; from which he was no sooner recovered, but he was picked out to be one of the twelve which Sir Francis had granted to Sir William St. Leger to be hanged, in lieu of six Irish rebels who had been executed at Warum by colonel Sydenham, in pursuance of an order from the parliament to give them no quarter. These twelve being most of them clothiers, were hanged upon the same tree; but one of them breaking his halter, desired that what he had suffered might be accepted, or else that he might fight against any two for his life; notwithstanding which

they caused him to be hanged up again, and had proceeded much farther, had not Sir Ralph Hopton sent orders to put a stop to their butcheries.

THE king having ranged about for some time, thought fit to return towards Oxford; and being joined by some foot from thence, skirmished with Sir William Waller's army at Cropredy-bridge, wherein little hurt being done on either side, the king marched into the west, in order to a conjunction with his forces in those parts, commanded by prince Maurice.

WHEN I first took arms under the parliament in defence of the rights and liberties of my country, I did not think that a work so good and so necessary would have been attended with so great difficulties: but finding by experience the strong combination of interests at home and abroad against them, the close conjunction of the popish and prelatical parties in opposition to them; what vast numbers depended upon the king for preferments or subsistence; how many of the nobility and gentry were contented to serve his arbitrary designs, if they might have leave to insult over such as were of a lower order; and adding to all this the great corruption of the nation, I became convinced of my former error, and began now more to wonder that they found so many friends to assist them in their just and lawful undertaking, than I had done before at the opposition they met with. In these thoughts I was every day more confirmed, by observing the strange divisions amongst our own party, every one striving to enlarge his own power in a factious and ambitious way, not caring though thereby they obstructed and ruined the cause itself. Of this I had some experience in my own particular, as well as others of a much greater figure than myself: for though my country-men had in my absence prevailed with the parliament to make me sheriff of the county of Wilts, and engaged themselves to raise a regiment for me; yet because I refused to deliver up my former commission received from Sir William Waller, and to take a new one from the earl of Essex, though that I had from Sir William obliged me to obey the said earl as much as one given me immediately from himself, those of my country-men who were of the faction of the Earl of Essex, obstructed me in the raising of my regiment, keeping from me those arms that were bought to that end, countenancing my major, for whom I had procured that employment, against me, and detaining our pay from us; so that I and my men had nothing to keep us faithful to the cause but our affection to it. Yet were we not wanting to improve every opportunity in the best manner we could, to the service of the country; for having notice that a garrison was put into the lord Sturton's house and another into that of Sir Ralph Hopton at Witham, I marched in the night first to Sturton-house, which was defended against us, till each of us carrying a faggot to one of the gates, wherewith we set them on fire, together with one of the rooms of the castle, those that kept it slipped out at a back-door through the garden into the park, which they did undiscovered, by reason of the darkness of the night. Having rendered that place untenable, we hastened to Witham, where we found in the park near a hundred cattle belonging to Sir Ralph Hopton, which served for the payment of my soldiers: those who were within desired to treat, and demanded liberty to return home; which

was

was granted, upon condition to deliver up their arms, and to engage to keep no garrison in that place for the time to come. Being upon my return, I took with me my hangings, pictures, best beds, and other things, which my father's servants had so well concealed, at the first breaking out of the war, in a private part of my house, that they escaped the search of the enemy, who had plundered all they could find, broken all the windows, taken away the leads, and pulled up the boards in most parts of the house. Whilst I was at London, that party which I left in the country had taken some wool and other things from the lord Cottington, the lord Arundel, and others, which they sold, and divided the money amongst themselves. From the lord Cottington's they brought, amongst other things, a horse that had been taken from me before at Warder-castle.

THE lord Fairfax, the earl of Manchester, and the Scots, besieged York, of which the earl of Newcastle was governor, having with him a garrison consisting of six or seven thousand foot, besides horse. After some time spent in the siege, prince Rupert arrived with about eighteen thousand men, and caused the besiegers to raise the siege, who joining their forces, resolved to observe his motions, and to fight him if they found an occasion; but that they might be a little refreshed and furnished with provisions, which they wanted, they marched towards Tadcaster. If prince Rupert, who had acquired honour enough by the relief of York in the view of three generals, could have contented himself with it, and retreated, as he might have done, without fighting, the reputation he had gained would have caused his army to increase like the rolling of a snow-ball; but he thinking this nothing unless he might have all, forced his enemies to a battle against the advice of many of those that were with him; in which the left wing of the enemy charging the right wing of ours, consisting of English and Scots, so totally routed them, that the three generals of the parliament quitted the field, and fled towards Cawood castle: the left wing of our army commanded by colonel Cromwell, knowing nothing of this rout, engaged the right wing of the enemy commanded by prince Rupert, who had gained an advantageous piece of ground upon Marston-moor, and caused a battery to be erected upon it, from which captain Walton, Cromwell's sister's son, was wounded by a shot in the knee. Whereupon colonel Cromwell commanded two field-pieces to be brought in order to annoy the enemy, appointing two regiments of foot to guard them; who marching to that purpose, were attacked by the foot of the enemy's right wing, that fired thick upon them from the ditches. Upon this both parties seconding their foot, were wholly engaged, who before had stood only facing each other. The horse on both sides behaved themselves with the utmost bravery; for having discharged their pistols, and flung them at each other's heads, they fell to it with their swords. The king's party were encouraged in this encounter, by seeing the success of their left wing; and the parliament's forces that remained in the field were not discouraged, because they knew it not, both sides eagerly contending for victory; which, after an obstinate dispute, was obtained by Cromwell's brigade, the enemy's right wing being totally routed and

and flying, as the parliament's had done before, our horse pursuing and killing many of them in their flight. And now the enemy's left wing, who had been conquerors, returned to their former ground, presuming upon an entire victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen prince Rupert; but before they could put themselves into any order, they were charged and entirely defeated by the reserves of Cromwell's brigade. Prince Rupert, upon the routing of the parliament's right wing, concluding all to be his own, had sent letters to the king, to acquaint him with the victory, upon which the bells were rung, and bonfires made at Oxford. Sir Charles Lucas, major-general Porter, major-general Tilyard, with above a hundred officers more, were taken prisoners by the parliament's forces: all the enemy's artillery, great numbers of arms, and a good quantity of ammunition and baggage fell also into their hands. The prince's own standard, with the arms of the Palatinate, was likewise taken, with many others both of horse and foot. Fifteen days after this fight, being the 16th of July, 1644, the city of York was surrendered to the parliament's forces upon articles; and the earl of Newcastle having had some dispute with prince Rupert before the engagement, wherein some words had passed which the earl could not well digest, soon after left England, and the prince retired to Bristol.

THE earl of Essex was marched with his army into Cornwall; yet to what publick end I could never understand, for the enemy there had already dispersed themselves. Some said, that he was persuaded to march thither by the lord Roberts, to give him an opportunity to collect his rents in those parts. Upon this the king drew out what forces he could from Oxford, designing to join them with some others in the west; by which conjunction, the parliament apprehending their army under Essex to be in danger, ordered Sir William Waller to observe the king's motions: but whether the neglect of relieving him at the Devizes, or the affront put upon him, by commanding him to follow the king after he had been ordered to attend the service of the west, or what else it was that had sowered him, I cannot say; yet visible it was, that so much care and expedition was not used in attending the king in his marches as was requisite. However lieutenant-general Middleton, then under Sir William Waller, was sent with a party of horse to the assistance of the earl of Essex; but he kept at such a distance from him, that he afforded him little help. Neither was there that diligence as should have been then used by the earl of Essex himself, to engage the king before his conjunction with the western forces, or to fight them when they were united, they not much, if at all, exceeding ours in number, and in courage and affection to the cause engaged much inferior. But the earl of Essex and the lord Roberts having led the army into a corner of Cornwall, betook themselves to the ships with which the earl of Warwick attended the motion of the army. Being thus deserted, the horse broke through the enemy under the command of Sir William Balfour, the foot and train of artillery being left with major-general Skippon about Bodmin, who was forced, about the latter end of September, 1644, to make the best terms he could with the enemy for them, agreeing to leave their arms and
cannon

cannon behind them, and to be conducted into the parliament's quarters, with whatsoever belonged to them; but before the convoy had done with them, they lost most of their clothes, and in that condition arrived at Portsmouth, where they found their general the earl of Essex.

THE parliament soon caused them to be armed and clothed again; and the horse having forced their way, as before-mentioned, the army was speedily recruited, scarce a man having taken arms on the other side. The earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller were ordered with their forces to draw westward of London, as well to favour the earl of Essex upon occasion, as to put a stop to the enemy's approach, if he should attempt it. The king marched, as was expected, in great triumph out of the west, Sir William Waller lying about Basingstoke; from whom I received a letter, inviting me to come to their assistance: in order to which I began my march with some horse and dragoons raised by major Wansey, who had been commanded by the earl of Essex to continue with me; and on the way received an order from the committee of both kingdoms, to advance towards them with what force I had. We were very well received by them, having with us about five hundred horse, and particularly because they had been under some apprehensions that the enemy had intercepted us, who were indeed posted in our way; yet we passed by them in the night without disturbance, and came safely to our friends. Within a day or two our army advanced towards Newbury, of which place the enemy had possessed themselves. The earl of Essex being indisposed, could not attend that service, and therefore the committee of both kingdoms sent some members of their own, to take care that all possible advantages might be taken against the enemy, and to prevent any contention amongst our friends concerning the command, or any other matters. The river that ran through the town defended the enemy on the south side of it, so that we could not come at them: and on the north-west part of it, within cannon-shot, lay Dennington-castle, in which they had placed a garrison; so that we had no other way to the town, but on the north-east of it, where they had raised a breast-work and furnished some houses that were without it with foot, the ground between that and the river being marshy, full of ditches, and not passable. On the north side of this high-way was a strong stone house belonging to one Mr. Doleman, having a rampart of earth about it, which was also possessed by the enemy; so that little could be done upon them the first day, save skirmishing in small parties, as they thought fit to come out to us. On our side we had the advantage of a hill, which served in some measure to cover our men: here we planted some of our field-pieces, and fired upon the enemy, who answered us in the like manner from the town. In the afternoon they drew two of their guns to the other side of the river, and with them fired upon that part of ours that lay on the side of the hill, who were much exposed to that place where their guns were planted: my regiment being that day on the guard, received the greatest damage; amongst others my cousin Gabriel Ludlow, who was a cornet therein, and who had behaved himself so well in the defence of Warder-castle, was killed: he died not immediately after he was shot; so
that

that having caused him to be removed out of the reach of their guns, and procured a surgeon to search his wounds, he found his belly broken, and bowels torn, his hip-bone broken all to shivers, and the bullet lodged in it; notwithstanding which he recovered some sense, though the surgeon refused to dress him, looking on him as a dead man. This accident troubled me exceedingly, he being one who had expressed great affection to me, and of whom I had great hopes that he would be useful to the publick. In this condition he desired me to kiss him, and I not presently doing it, thinking he had talked lightly, he pressed me again to do him that favour; whereby observing him to be sensible, I kissed him; and soon after having recommended his mother, brothers and sisters to my care, he died. Our enemies having secured themselves, as I mentioned before, we were necessitated to divide our army, in order to attack them on the north-west side of the town by Dennington-castle; where most of our foot who engaged the enemy were of those who had been lately stripped by them in Cornwall: which usage being fresh in their memory, caused them to charge with such vigour, that some of them ran up to their cannon, and clapped their hats upon the touch-holes of them, falling so furiously upon the enemy, that they were not able to stand before them, but were forced to quit their ground, and run under the shelter of Dennington-castle, leaving behind them several pieces of cannon, besides many of their men killed and taken prisoners. Those on our side commanded by the earl of Manchester, observing the enemy to retreat in that disorderly manner on the other side, thought it their duty to endeavour to force their passage on this; and to that end our horse and foot, with some cannon, were drawn into a bottom, between Doleman's house and the hill, where our guns were first planted: those at the little houses, and at the breast-work fired thick upon us; but our foot ran up to the houses, and attacked the enemy so vigorously, that they were forced to retire to their breast-work; between which and Doleman's house our men continued firing about an hour and half. But finding many to fall, and that there was no probability of doing any good, they retreated, leaving two drakes behind them. Our horse had stood drawn up within a little more than pistol-shot of the enemy's works all the while our foot were engaged, for their encouragement and protection against any horse that should attack them, as also to second them in case they had made way. I had divers men and horse shot, and amongst the rest my own. The night coming on separated us, when drawing off I perceived that my major had secured his troop in the rear of all, having taken care that all the regiment might not be lost in one engagement. In the night the enemy removed their cannon and other carriages to Dennington-castle, where having lodged them, they marched between our two parties towards Oxford. The next morning we drew together, and followed the enemy with our horse, which was the greatest body I saw together during the whole course of the war, amounting to at least seven thousand horse and dragoons; but they had got so much ground of us, that we could never recover sight of them, and did not expect to see them any more in a body that year: neither had we, as I suppose, if
encouragement

encouragement had not been given them privately by some of our own party. Colonel Norton's regiment of horse, with some foot, being left to block up Basing-house, he desired to have more force assigned him, for the more effectual carrying on that work, and particularly my regiment of horse. I was not ignorant of the hardship of that service, it not being properly my work, who was raised by and for the county of Wilts; yet having received an order to that purpose from the general, and sent my major with part of the regiment into Wiltshire for the defence of that county, I resolved to obey, especially considering that the intercourse between London and the west was much interrupted by that garrison.

THE enemy, contrary to all expectation, appeared again in a body near Newbury, where our army lay, who drew out to oppose them. Some small skirmishes happened between them, but a general engagement was opposed in a council of war by some of the greatest amongst us. Whereupon the king, in the face of our army, twice as numerous as his, had time to send his artillery from Dennington-castle towards Oxford, without any opposition, to the astonishment of all those who wished well to the publick. But by this time it was clearly manifest, that the nobility had no further quarrel with the king, than till they could make their terms with him, having, for the most part, grounded their dissatisfactions upon some particular affront, or the prevalency of a faction about him. But though it should be granted, that their intentions in taking arms were to oblige the king to consent to redress the grievances of the nation; yet if a war of this nature must be determined by treaty, and the king left in the exercise of the royal authority after the utmost violation of the laws, and the greatest calamities brought upon the people, it doth not appear to me what security can be given them for the future enjoyment of their rights and privileges; nor with what prudence wise men can engage with the parliament; who being, by practice at least, liable to be dissolved at pleasure, are thereby rendered unable to protect themselves, or such as take up arms under their authority, if after infinite hardships and hazards of their lives and estates, they must fall under the power of a provoked enemy, who being once re-established in his former authority, will never want means to revenge himself upon all those, who, in defence of the rights and liberties of the nation, adventure to resist him in his illegal and arbitrary proceedings.

IN the council of war before mentioned, things were managed with such heat as created great differences between the principal officers of the army, by which this favourable conjuncture was lost; and the season being far advanced, the army was dispersed into winter-quarters. The blockade of Basing-house was also ordered to be broken up, after which I returned with those under my command into the county of Wilts. In the winter the parliament caused Abingdon to be fortified, of which place colonel Brown was governour, who holding correspondence with the lord Digby, then secretary to the king, promised him that, so soon as he had finished the fortifications, and received all things necessary from the parliament to defend it, he would deliver it to the king; by which means he kept the king's forces from interrupting him till

he had perfected the work. But then, as is probable by his carriage since, observing the affairs of the parliament in a better posture than those of the king, he altered his resolution, and in defiance of the lord Digby, published the correspondence that had been between them about that matter. The dissatisfaction that arose upon the permission given the king to carry off his artillery, rested not till the house of commons was made acquainted with it by colonel Cromwell, who commanded under the earl of Manchester, whom he charged with the breach of his trust; but he and his friends endeavoured to lay the blame on others, the earl of Essex and his party adhering to the earl of Manchester. Whilst I was before Basing, some of the enemy, under the conduct of colonel Coke, came to Salisbury, and were fortifying the Close for the king; of which major Wansey having advice, marched thither with the forces which I had sent into Wiltshire, and falling upon them, caused them to retire in haste: but finding the gates fortified against him, he set fire to them, and seizing upon all their horse, took the colonel and fourscore more prisoners, and sent them to Southampton.

AT my return into Wiltshire I received orders from the committee of both kingdoms, to send what men I could spare out of my regiment to reinforce a party commanded by major-general Holborn, who was ordered to march into the west to the relief of colonel Blake, besieged by the enemy in Taunton. I drew out two hundred horse for that service, and was necessitated to march with them myself, my major, who had got possession of good quarters at Deane, a house belonging to Sir John Evelyn, being not willing to remove. Colonel Edward Popham, colonel Starr, colonel Brewin, and Sir Anthony Ashley, came from London with this party. In our march we were joined by the forces of Dorsetshire. When we were advanced near the enemy, my troop was ordered to a quarter of which they were in possession, but quitted it upon our approach, as they did also the siege soon after, contrary to our expectation. We made use of the opportunity, and furnished the town with provisions and all things necessary; which being done, the forces of Wilts and Dorsetshire marched back to the said counties. Being returned to Salisbury, I was informed that the enemy had put a garrison into Langford-house, two miles from thence, whereupon I resolved to fortify the belfrey in the Close, where I might keep a small guard to secure it for a horse-quarter, and to that end had summoned workmen to perform that work. At night having drawn up my regiment, in order to acquaint them with the necessity that lay upon them to be more than ordinarily diligent in their duty at that juncture, as also to divide their watches between them, and to appoint the guard for that night, I received an alarm of the enemy's approach, and that they were advanced as far as Amesbury: of which desiring to have certain information, I sent threescore horse under the command of captain Sadler, the only captain of my regiment then with me, some of them being absent with leave, and others without, to advance towards the enemy, till, by taking of prisoners or some other way, he might get some certain intelligence concerning them, and then to come back to me. With the rest of my men I marched slowly after him, being unwilling
to

to retire into our quarters till I had made a further discovery concerning the enemy. Captain Sadler, according to his instructions, marched to Amesbury, and sent me word from thence, that he had advice the enemy was not far off. I sent to him to continue his march, with the same orders as before, myself with the rest of the regiment following; and being come to Nether-Haven, as I think it is called, I received notice from captain Sadler, that he had engaged an advanced party of the enemy, and could not get off; which unexpected news, and contrary to my orders, caused me to advance with all diligence to his relief, who had approached so near their main guard, as to give them an alarm to draw together, and yet had not pursued his charge; which, if he had done, he might easily have dispersed the guard, and prevented the rest from coming together; but he having only alarmed them, stood looking upon them whilst they drew up their body, which, when I came up, I perceived to be more numerous than all ours: However, thinking it unfit to shew any backwardness at such a time, I advanced with the party that was with me, which was not above one half, the rest following as fast as they could, in order to charge the enemy's body; but they, before we came within pistol-shot, faced about and ran away. Thereupon I divided my men into two parties, giving the command of one of them to one Marshall, my major's lieutenant, the chief officer then with me, except captain Sadler, with whose conduct the troopers were so far dissatisfied, that they refused to follow him. The other party I headed myself, and gave orders to both not to pursue farther than the town, where we agreed to rally, falling into it by several ways. My party halted according to order, after having killed and taken prisoners about thirty of the enemy, with several of their horses: but that party commanded by lieutenant Marshall not observing his orders, having pursued the enemy at least two miles, met with other bodies of the enemy's horse drawn together upon the alarm, who killed and took some of ours prisoners, the rest retreating in a disorderly manner. At my return to Salisbury I commanded all my men to be upon the guard till the morning, without unbridling or unsaddling their horses; after which I disposed my prisoners into the belfrey, and placed a guard upon them; and having set our sentinels, I received a letter from colonel Norton, desiring me to send some horse to his assistance against some of the king's forces, which as I was reading, one of my sentinels brought me word that the enemy appeared at the town's-end. Whereupon I immediately mounted with six more, ordering the rest to make ready; and riding up by the three swans, heard a great noise of horses in the street that leads into the city from Old Sarum, which caused me to return to the market-place, where finding many of the enemy's horse, I went by the back-side of the town-house through a street called the Ditch, to my guard, which was drawn up in the Close, but very short of the number I expected; for some, contrary to orders, were gone to bed, and others taking the advantage of the night had stolen away, so that those remaining were not much above thirty horse. Of these I sent ten under a cornet to charge them, myself following after with the rest, and ordering a trumpet to sound in our rear, as if more were coming on. Passing by the

chief cross, where we were forced to march one by one, and entering the market-place, I found the cornet pickeering with the enemy, whom I with five or six of mine charged on the left flank, so that they gave ground, and thereby pressed so hard on their own men on the right, and they on their file-leaders, that the whole party was soon routed, and ran before us. We followed them close in the rear, and though they made many shot at me, yet I received no wound in the whole action. About a hundred of them ran through Winchester-gate to their main body, and about twice that number fled up a street called Endless-street, whom I pursuing, my horse fell backwards with me, by a check I gave him; but my own men being in my rear, I soon recovered on horse-back, and continued the pursuit, till I found the enemy to make a stand, the street, according to its name, being walled up at the farther end, and one of them breaking back upon me, and leaping the brook, but his horse losing his feet, threw him down; and he perceiving himself to be at my mercy, desired his life. His horse I gave to one of my men, who had been dismounted; and having examined him, I found that he was a lieutenant-colonel, his name Middleton, and a papist. He assured me, that there were three hundred men in that party which we had routed, three hundred appointed to second them, and three hundred more attended at the town's end as a reserve, and that the whole body was commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. I acquainted him that my party being not so considerable, he might probably be rescued, and therefore I could not give him quarter, unless he would engage himself to be a true prisoner, which he did, upon condition that he might be my prisoner, which I promised him. And now most of my men being dispersed, I lodged my colours at an honest man's house of the town, delivering my prisoner and wounded men to the guard in the belfrey, and with five or six made my retreat through the Close by one Mrs. Sadler's, at whose house I quartered, where I found a boy standing at the door with my suit of arms, which I put on. Upon Harnham-hill I found a cornet with about twelve of our men, with whom I resolved to return and march after the enemy; but when we came to the belfrey, and were encouraging our little guard to oppose the enemy, we discovered three of their troops marching into the Close from the North-gate, their whole body following them. Whereupon having commanded the guard to fire upon them, I charged the enemy with as many of my party as were willing to follow me, exchanging several shot with them. Their first squadron soon began to give ground; but my guard not firing upon the enemy according to my orders, and it being now grown light, they soon perceived the smallness of our number, and refused to run as before; so that I was forced to retire as fast as I could with my men, one of whom carried away a sword of the enemy, which was run through his arm. Before they came to Harnham-bridge they overtook one of my servants, whose name was Stent, who, after he had long defended himself, delivered up his sword upon promise of quarter; after which, contrary to their word, they gave him several cuts on the head, so that above three-score splinters of bones were afterwards taken out of his skull. Being come to the other side of the bridge, I turned and faced the enemy, with one of my pistols

pistols in my hand, upon which they halted a little, whereby my men had time to recover almost to the top of Harnham-hill. In this posture I stood till the enemy were come within half-pistol-shot of me, and then made my retreat. Another of my servants, called Henry Coles, who entered into my father's service two days after I was born, fell also into the enemy's hands, being mortally wounded, and died two or three days after. My groom also was taken by them. Upon the descent of the hill beyond Odstock, I missed the road by reason of the snow, which lying upon the ground, had covered the beaten way, so that I was obliged to cross some plowed lands to get into it again; which while I was doing, one of the enemy came up within shot of me, and calling me by my name, asked if I would take quarter; but as he rid directly upon me, armed with back and breast, I fired a pistol at him, and shot him into the belly; by which wound he fell from his horse, and was carried to the next town, where he died two days after, as one of my troopers afterwards told me, who was taken prisoner near the same place. In Odstock-lane, another of the enemy being advanced within musquet-shot of me, called me also by name, and desired me to stay and take honourable quarter. I hearing him give good words, thought he had proposed to render himself to me, and therefore stopped my horse, that I might hear him more distinctly; but he, instead of that, made ready his carabine to fire at me, which I perceiving, and sensible of my danger, by reason of the greatness of the enemy's number, made the best of my way towards Fording-bridge, where having rested a little, and rallied a party of my horse, I marched with them to Southampton. At that place I endeavoured to procure some force for the relief of those poor men that were left in the belfrey at Salisbury; which as I was doing, I received advice, that after a vigorous resistance for the most part of that day, the enemy had forced a collier to drive his cart, loaden with charcoal, to the door of the belfrey, (where he lost his life) and with it burnt down the door, which in a day's time we should have secured by a breast-work; but for want thereof lieutenant-colonel Read was forced to yield the place to the enemy upon such terms as he could get, which were, to have their lives, and be prisoners of war. The enemy took here, and in the town, as also of those who pursued them in the night contrary to my orders, fourscore prisoners; and had taken more if they had not received a check upon their first arrival in the town by a handful of men: for they had placed guards at the gates of most of the greatest inns in the city; but their party flying, those guards also quitted their posts, whereby many of our men had an opportunity to get off. I was slightly wounded on the breast with a sword: my horse was hurt with a shot, and died of it soon after. We had about threescore of the enemy prisoners at Southampton, taken with colonel Coke; these we exchanged for our men, having engaged to procure elsewhere the discharge of as many as we wanted of the number they had of ours, which I made good to them. The most serviceable of my horse I sent towards Portsmouth, to take advantages against the enemy as there should be occasion, remaining with the rest about Limington and Hurst-castle, resolving as soon as I could to mount my men

men again. The enemy hoping to surprize me in this corner, marched towards me, but failed in their design. I being gone into the Isle of Wight to confer with our friends there, whom I found very well disposed to the publick service; and being informed that the enemy designed to attempt the garrison of Christ-church, we embarked some men to reinforce them, who being ready to put to sea, news was brought that the enemy were beaten off, and so saved our men that trouble. The lord Goring having left a considerable force in the county of Wilts, marched with his army into Somersetshire, where being joined by those who had besieged Taunton, they sat down before it again: colonel Massey was sent by the parliament to relieve the place, but finding his forces not sufficient to that purpose, he durst not attempt it.

THE committee of both kingdoms ordered my regiment to lie at Odium to prevent the excursions of the garrison at Basing-house; but after we had been there a few days, my major, who had more wit than courage or honesty, prevailed with the council of officers to vote our lying there unsafe and unadvisable. I being unwilling to stay contrary to their advice, without an especial order, acquainted the committee of both kingdoms with the result of the council of officers, who approving their reasons, sent me orders to draw off: in obedience to which I marched into Surrey, and the first night arrived at a place called, as I think, Godliman, near Guildford. Sir John Evelyn endeavoured to persuade me to join lieutenant-general Cromwell, who was ordered into the west; but being engaged to attend our committee about the recruiting of my regiment, I was not willing to stir till that business was effected, that I might not leave so many honest men who had lost their horses in the service, before I had procured some provision to be made for them. The disputes in the mean time continued in the two houses concerning the conduct of the army; and though what was objected touching the late miscarriages at the fight of Newbury, and elsewhere, amounted not to a formal charge, yet it so far prevailed with the house of commons, as to convince them of the necessity of making an alteration in the conduct of the army, in order to bring the war to a conclusion; which resolution was taken by the house, upon the report made to them by Mr. Zouch Tate, chairman of the committee appointed for the reforming of the army, wherein he represented that they had been endeavouring to obey their orders, but found the condition of the army as the physician did the blood of his patient, that consulted him about the cure of a slight tumour, when the whole mass of his blood was entirely corrupted; that therefore the committee had ordered him to acquaint the house, That the whole body of their army being infected, nothing would serve for their recovery less than the entire renewing of their constitution. The house, that they might do it without giving occasion to any sinister reflections upon themselves, agreed upon a self-denying ordinance, the grounds whereof were expressed to be, the clearing of the parliament from the aspersions cast on them, of prolonging the war on purpose to gratify each other with places, and neglecting their duty in the house by holding employments in the army: they therefore enacted, that all members of parliament should surrender the offices they held from them, that

that they might the better attend their duty in parliament. By this means the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, and Sir William Waller, were laid aside, the latter rather to shew their impartiality, than from any distrust of him, he having never discovered to that time any inclination to favour the king's cause. Upon this change Sir Thomas Fairfax was voted general, and Philip Skippon major-general of the foot. A committee was also appointed, to consider what number of horse and foot this army should consist of, and who, under the general, should command them. They agreed also upon the colonels, some whereof were Scots, as Middleton, Holborn, and others, who disliking the design, refused to accept of employments. Pointz was commissioned to command the forces in the north, and Massey those in the west, consisting chiefly of such as had served under Sir William Waller. The committee would have named me for the command of a regiment; but the gentlemen who served in parliament for the county of Wilts, pretended then that they could not spare me; yet soon after, observing me not fit to promote a faction, and solely applying myself to advance the cause of the publick, they combined against me, and procured me to be laid aside, under colour that they stood not in need of more than four troops for the service of the county, of which they offered me the command; and I should not have declined it, had I found my endeavours answered with suitable acceptance, or that they whom I served had been willing the publick cause, for which I was ready to sacrifice my life, should prosper: but the contrary being most evident; and though some of the gentlemen continued to manifest their fidelity to the publick, and their affection to me, yet most of them having now espoused another interest, and rejoicing at any loss that fell upon ours, I chose rather to desist, and wait for a better opportunity to improve my talent for the service of the publick. My major, notwithstanding his artifices, being disappointed in his expectation to command these troops, openly pulled off the mask, and with about thirty of his troop, and some strangers, under pretence of beating up a quarter of the enemy, went over to them, having sent his wife before to give them notice of his design. But his lieutenant continuing faithful to the publick, hindered most part of his troop from following him. Soon after he undertook to raise a regiment in the north parts of Wiltshire for the king; but whilst he was attempting to effect it, an encounter happened between him and some forces of the parliament, wherein being worsted, and endeavouring to save himself by leaping over a ditch, he fell with his horse into it, and was so bruised with his fall, that he never spoke more, thereby receiving such a recompence as was due to his treachery.

ABOUT the same time that the parliament made Sir Thomas Fairfax general of their forces, the king made prince Rupert general of his, notwithstanding his late ill success at Marston-moor, to the great dissatisfaction of many of his council.

THE committee of Wilts divided themselves, one part of them to sit at Malmesbury, and the other to reside about Salisbury; but wanting a place for their security, they put a garrison into Falsdon-house; and captain Edward Doyly

Doyly contending with major William Ludlow for the government thereof, the committee at London gave it to the latter, who with his troop somewhat restrained the excursions of the king's party from their garrison thereabouts. That part of the committee which sat at Malmſbury having ſome affairs to diſpatch at Marlborough, went thither accompanied by colonel Devereux, governor of the place. The firſt night after their arrival a party of the king's ſurprized them there, and took ſome of the committee, with the ſaid governor, and moſt of the forces they had with them, priſoners.

THE parliament, though they were not wanting to make all fitting preparations for war, yet neglected no honeſt endeavours to procure peace, aſſuring themſelves that they ſhould be the better enabled to bear whatſoever might be the event of the war, if they took care to diſcharge their conſciences in that particular, and to manifeſt, that as they had been compelled to it by mere neceſſity, ſo, if it muſt be continued, it ſhould not be through their choice or obſtinacy. To this end it was agreed, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent from the parliament, to treat with others to be ſent from the king about conditions of peace. The place of their meeting was at Uxbridge, where after the king had owned the two houſes as a parliament, to which he was not without difficulty perſuaded, though he had by an act engaged that they ſhould continue to be a parliament till they diſſolved themſelves, which they had not done; and conſented that his commiſſioners ſhould treat in the ſame quality they were in before the war, the commiſſioners of parliament declining to give them the titles conferred upon them ſince; they made ſome progreſs in the treaty, which began the 13th of January 1645, but the propoſition concerning the biſhops being rejected, it came to nothing. During the treaty Mr. Love, one of the chaplains attending the commiſſioners of parliament, preaching before them, averred, "That the king was a man of blood, and that it was a vain thing to hope for the bleſſing of God upon any peace to be made with him, till ſatisfaction ſhould be made for the blood that had been ſhed." For theſe words the king's commiſſioners demanded ſatisfaction; but the treaty breaking up, nothing was done in order thereunto. And now both parties renewed the war, Weymouth being ſeized for the king, and ſome advantage obtained againſt the parliament near Pomfret. On the other ſide, the forces of the parliament ſurprized the important town of Shrewſbury, whereby the king's correſpondence with Wales became much interrupted. They alſo recovered Weymouth by the help of the gariſon of Melcolm-regis, which is ſeparated from the ſaid town by a ſmall arm of the ſea, with a bridge over it, and which was preſerved by the induſtry of the governor, colonel Sydenham.

COLONEL CROMWELL, notwithstanding the ſelf-denying ordinance, was diſpenſed with by the parliament, and being impowered to command the horſe under Sir Thomas Fairfax, he marched with a party of horſe and dragoons from Windſor, and at Iſlip-bridge met, fought, and defeated the queen's regiment of horſe, together with the regiments of the earl of Northampton, the lord Wilmot, and colonel Palmer, taking five hundred horſe and two hundred

foot prisoners, whereof many were officers and persons of quality. After which he summoned Blechington-house, which was surrendered to him by colonel Windebank, son to the late secretary of state, who, coming to Oxford, was shot to death for so doing. He forced Sir William Vaughan, and lieutenant-colonel Littleton, with three hundred and fifty men, into Bampton-bush, where he took them both, and two hundred of their men prisoners, with their arms; sending colonel Fiennes after another party, who took a hundred and fifty horse, three colonels, and forty private soldiers, prisoners, with their arms: and being reinforced by about five hundred foot from colonel Brown, he attempted Farringdon-house, but without success.

GENERAL FAIRFAX leaving lieutenant-general Cromwell to block up the king at Oxford, with the body of the army, marched westward, with a design to relieve Taunton; but being ordered by the committee of both kingdoms to besiege Oxford, he appointed colonel Welden to relieve that town, which he easily effected, the enemy marching off at his approach, apprehending them to be the whole army marching against them, as they before had been informed. The king sent the prince of Wales, accompanied with Hyde and Culpepper into the west, to raise forces; and despising the "new model," as it was called, because most of the old officers were either omitted by the parliament, or had quitted their commands in the army, judging himself master of the field, marched towards Leicester, and by this time was grown so considerable, that the committee of both kingdoms thought it high time to look after him; and to that end commanded the general with the army to march and observe his motions; but before he could overtake him, the king had made himself master of Leicester by storm, and plundered it, with the loss of about seven hundred men on his side, and about one hundred of the town. Being encouraged with this success, and with the consideration that he was to encounter with an unexperienced enemy, upon advice that our army was in search of him, he advanced towards them, and both armies met in the field of Naseby on the 14th of June, 1645. Some days before, one colonel Vermuyden, an old soldier, who commanded a regiment of horse, had laid down his commission, whether through diffidence of success, or what other consideration, I know not: and in the beginning of the engagement major-general Skippon, the only old soldier remaining amongst the chief officers of the army, received a shot in the body from one of our own party, as was supposed unwillingly, whereby he was in a great measure disabled to perform the duty of his place that day, though extremely desirous to do it. Under these discouragements the horse upon our left wing were attacked by those of the enemy's right, and beaten back to our cannon, which were in danger of being taken, our foot giving ground also. But our right wing being strengthened by those of our left that were rallied by their officers, fell upon the enemy's left wing, and having broken and repulsed them, resolving to improve the opportunity, charged the main body of the king's army, and with the assistance of two or three regiments of our infantry, entirely encompassed the enemy's body of foot, who finding themselves deserted by their horse, threw down their arms, and yielded them-

themselves prisoners. By this means our horse were at leisure to pursue the king, and such as fled with him towards Leicester, taking many prisoners in the pursuit, who, with those taken in the field, amounted in all to about six thousand, and amongst them six colonels, eight lieutenant-colonels, eighteen majors, seventy captains, eighty lieutenants, eighty ensigns, two hundred inferior officers, about one hundred and forty standards of horse and foot, the king's footmen and servants, and the whole train of artillery and baggage. This victory was obtained with the loss of a very few on our side, and not above three or four hundred of the enemy.

IN the pursuit the king's cabinet was taken, and in it many letters of consequence; particularly, one from the lord Digby, advising the king, before any act of hostility on either side, to betake himself to some place of strength, and there to declare against the parliament; by which men perceived that the design of making war upon the parliament was resolved upon early, the king having followed this counsel exactly.

THE parliament had impeached Finch of high-treason, for advising the illegal tax of ship-money, soliciting the judges to declare it lawful, and threatening those who refused so to do, for which good service the king had preferred him to be keeper of the great seal; but the place being vacant upon his flight, the king would not entrust it with Littleton, before he had obliged him by an oath, to promise to send the seal to the king whensoever he should by any messenger require it of him; which I am inclined to believe to have been the cause why Littleton left the parliament, not daring to stay, after he had, according to his oath, sent the seal to the king by one Mr. Elliot, dispatched to him by the king for that purpose. The seal being thus carried away, the parliament finding justice obstructed through want of it, declared, that the seal ought to attend them during their sitting; and therefore, that all that was or should be done since it was carried to the king, was null and void. Upon which a new seal was ordered to be made, and commissioners nominated for the keeping of it, and putting it in execution to all intents and purposes, the parliament thereby exercising the supreme authority in virtue of their frequent declarations; "That the king doth nothing in his personal capacity as king, but in his politic capacity according to law; of which the judges of Westminster-hall are judges in the intervals of parliament; during the sitting of parliament, the two houses, being the great council both of king and people, are the sole judges thereof."

IN the king's cabinet were also found letters from the queen, blaming him for owning those at Westminster to be a parliament, and warning him not to do any thing to the prejudice of the Roman catholicks; with a copy of his answer, wherein he promised his care of the papists, and excused his owning the two houses at Westminster to be a parliament; assuring her, that if he could have found two of his mongrel parliament at Oxford, as he called them, of his mind therein, he would never have done it; and that though he had done it publickly, the parliament refusing to treat with him otherwise, yet he had given order to have it entered in the journal of his council, that this, notwithstanding

withstanding, should not be of any validity for the enabling them to be a parliament. Another paper was found with them, giving some account of the troubles in Ireland, wherein the papists who had taken arms being qualified "rebels," that term was struck out, and the word "Irish" added by the king himself. There was likewise a letter to the French king, complaining of the unkindness and ingratitude of the queen, and of the reasons of the removal of her servants that she brought over with her; of which it had been discretion in the king to have kept no memorials, such matters, when buried in oblivion, being next best to the not having any differences between so near relations. Many more letters there were relating to the publick, which were printed with observations, by order of the parliament; and others of no less consequence suppressed, as I have been credibly informed by some of those that were entrusted with them, who, since the king's return, have been rewarded for it. One paper I must not omit which was here found, being that very paper which contained the principal evidence against the earl of Stafford, and had been, as before mentioned, purloined from the committee appointed by the house of commons to manage the charge against him, having these words written upon it with the king's own hand; "This paper was delivered to me by George Digby," though he, as well as the rest of that committee, had solemnly protested, that he had neither taken that paper away, nor knew what was become of it. The prisoners and standards taken in the fight were brought through London to Westminster. The standards were ordered to be hung up in Westminster-hall, and the prisoners were secured in the artillery-ground near Tothill-fields; a committee being appointed to consider how to dispose of them, who permitted those to return home that would give security for their living peaceably for the future; but such as did not, which was much the greater number, were shipped off to serve in foreign parts upon conditions. This success was astonishing, being obtained by men of little experience in affairs of this nature, and upon that account despised by their enemies; yet it proved the deciding battle, the king's party after this time never making any considerable opposition. Leicester capitulated two days after, and was surrendered; and some of our forces besieged Chester, whilst the Scots did the like to Hereford. The general, Sir Thomas Fairfax marched with the army to relieve our friends at Taunton, where colonel Welden was besieged, took Highworth in his march, and dissipated the club-men, defeated Goring's forces at Lamport, possessed himself of the towns of Bridgewater and Bath by capitulation, and of Sherburn-castle by storm. Bristol also was surrendered after the outworks and fort had been taken by assault, with divers other successes of less importance; and therefore unnecessary to be mentioned here. Lieutenant-general Cromwell being sent to reduce such garrisons as were in the way to London, began with the castle of Winchester, which was delivered to him upon articles; after which he marched to Basing-house, and erected a battery on the east-side of it; by which, having made a breach, he stormed and entered it, putting many of the garrison to the sword, and taking the rest, with the marquis of Winchester, whose house it was, prisoners. Colonel Robert Hammond had been before made prisoner by the

marquis, and was kept here by him in order to secure his own life, which he did by putting himself under the colonel's protection, when ours entered the place. It was suspected that colonel Hammond, being related to the earl of Essex, whose half-sister was married to the marquis of Winchester, had suffered himself to be taken prisoner on design to serve the said marquis. The place he attempted was Langford-house near Salisbury, which was yielded in a day or two upon articles. The works about Basing were levelled, Sherborn-castle slighted, as also Falston-house, of which major Ludlow was governor, who was removed to undertake the same charge at Langford-house, wherein the parliament thought fit to keep a garrison, by reason of its nearness to the enemy.

THE king, as well to secure himself by getting as far from our forces as he could, as to raise a new army if possible, marched with the horse that he had left towards North-Wales, hoping in his way to relieve Chester besieged by Sir William Brereton, and by his presence in Wales to prevail with them to furnish him with a body of foot: but he found himself frustrated in both these designs: for being worsted near Routenheath by major-general Pointz, who commanded a brigade of the parliament's in those parts, he saw the face of affairs much altered both in North and South-Wales: in the last of which, though he was entertained civilly by some particular persons, yet the generality of the country, that, during his successes, had subjected themselves even slavishly to his instruments, now fearing he might draw the army of the parliament after him, and make their country the seat of war, began to murmur against him, and drew together a numerous body in the nature of a club-army, whispering amongst themselves, as if they intended to seize his person, and deliver him to the parliament to make their peace. Which being reported to the king, he thought fit to retire from thence with his forces, only leaving a small garrison in the castle of Cardiff, which, together with the county, was soon after reduced to the obedience of the parliament by colonel Pritchard, where Sir John Strangways was amongst others taken prisoner, who, by order of the parliament, was sent up to London, and committed to the tower. The isle of Anglesey, and such places of North-Wales as had been held for the king, were surrendered to the parliament; but Glamorganshire, and the parts adjacent, continued not long in their duty, but revolted at the instigation of one Mr. Kerne of Winny, who pretending great fidelity to the parliament, was intrusted by them as their sheriff for that county, and made use of that authority to raise the county against them, and to besiege colonel Pritchard, and the rest of their friends, in the castle of Cardiff, who being reduced to some necessity, had been probably constrained to surrender it, had not speedy relief been procured from the parliament, under the conduct of colonel Kille of Gloucestershire; who falling suddenly upon the enemy, routed and killed many of them.

THE king's affairs being in this low condition in England and Wales, he resolved to try what might be done in Scotland; in order to which, he commands the lord Digby to march thither with a party of sixteen hundred horse, and

and to join the marquis of Montrofs then in arms for him in that kingdom. In obedience to the king's order, the lord Digby marched from Newark, and in his way surpris'd about eight hundred of ours near Sherborn; but was afterwards routed by colonel Copley, who recovered the men and arms taken from ours, killed forty of the enemy upon the spot, took four hundred of them prisoners, and about six hundred horses; the lord Digby's coach and papers were also taken. This party was defeated a second time by Sir John Brown, and a third by colonel Bright, who took two hundred of them prisoners; the lord Digby with about twenty more hardly escaping to the isle of Man, and from thence to Ireland.

AT the approach of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, the enemy rais'd the siege of Taunton; from thence the general marched to Honyton, and the next day to Colompton, from whence the enemy retired in great disorder. On October 20th, the army, though much weakened by hard duty and the rigour of the season, resolv'd upon the blockade of Exeter. Carmarthen-castle, Monmouth, and divers other places, were surrendered to the parliament: so that the king looking upon the rebels in Ireland as his last refuge, sends orders to the earl of Ormond not only to continue the cessation, but to conclude a peace with them, upon condition they would oblige themselves to send over an army to his assistance against the parliament of England. The supreme council of Ireland, as they called themselves, having notice of it, invited the earl of Ormond to Kilkenny to treat about the same; who being willing to see his relations and his estate in those parts, as also to expedite that service, accepted their invitation, and march'd thither with about three or four thousand horse and foot for his guard, which, by the advice of the lord Mountgarret and the supreme council, were dispers'd into quarters in the villages thereabouts; the earl of Ormond suspecting nothing, having sent orders to Sir Francis Willoughby, who commanded that party under him, to that purpose: but he being an old and experienced commander, well acquainted with the treachery of that nation, and particularly those of the popish religion, knowing how easy it would be for the Irish to cut them off in the quarters assign'd for them, resolv'd not to consent to the dispersing of his men; and therefore, desired of the earl of Ormond, that he might quarter with them in the field, or where his lordship should appoint, desiring, if this would not satisfy, he might have liberty to return home; advising him not to trust his person with them, notwithstanding their fair words. My lord here-upon leaves the care of quartering his men to Sir Francis Willoughby; but resolves himself to stay at Kilkenny. Sir Francis draws the troops into Goran, a town five miles from Kilkenny, where he kept his guards with as much caution as if he had been in an enemy's country. The enemy being by this means disappointed of their design to cut off the party by surprize, resolv'd to attempt it by open force; and all the favour that the earl of Ormond could get amongst his relations, was to have notice to shift for himself, which with much difficulty he did, sending orders to his forces to march towards Dublin, in which he was very readily obeyed by them, having had advice that the
country

country was rising upon them; which they did in such numbers, that if colonel Bagnal governor of Loughlyn had not permitted them to pass the bridge there, they had in all appearance been cut off. When they had recovered their own quarters, they discovered a piece of treachery, as Sir Francis Willoughby, who gave me this account, judged it to be, though he knew not on whom to charge it: for they found that they had not been in a condition to make any opposition, if the enemy had fallen upon them, the powder with which they were furnished, having no force in it; which came to be discovered upon the trial of a musket at a mark, by the small report it gave, and the fall of the bullet half way from it: whereupon, searching further into the matter, they found all their store to be of the same sort. The Irish seized upon all the earl of Ormond's plate, and whatsoever he had with him at Kilkenny, his haste not permitting him to save any thing. By this usage his zeal for the prosecution of the treaty with the rebels became much abated. The king's commission to the earl of Ormond was not of so large an extent as he was willing to allow, in case the treaty with the Irish came to any effect; and therefore the earl of Glamorgan, afterwards earl of Worcester, was empowered by private instructions from him, to promise them the liberty of the Romish religion, with divers other advantages to the Irish rebels, upon which he treated with them. But because this, when it came to be publicly known in England, was highly resented by many even of the king's party, the lord Digby, who was ordered by the king to assist in that affair, finding that the treaty was not like to take effect, to give a specious colour to the matter, as if Glamorgan had in that particular exceeded his commission, accused him of high-treason, and procured him to be imprisoned by the earl of Ormond: but in letters intercepted from the lord Glamorgan to his lady, he desired that she would not entertain any fears concerning him; for that he doubted not, if he could be admitted to be heard, that he should be able to justify his proceedings, to the confusion of those who had caused his imprisonment.

THE English officers and soldiers provoked by the late treachery of the Irish, and apprehending that without assistance from England they might fall into their hands, would not be satisfied unless a message was sent to the parliament, to treat about conditions for the putting of Dublin, and the protestant forces of Ireland, into their hands: in order to which the parliament sent over commissioners to treat with the earl of Ormond and the council. But though the earl was not willing that any thing should be concluded at that time; yet Sir Francis Willoughby was, as I have heard him say, so far convinced of the necessity and duty that lay upon them so to do, that he promised our commissioners to preserve the castle of Dublin, of which he was then governor, for the service of the parliament, whensoever they should command it.

MONTROSS having obtained a victory against those whom the Scots had left to preserve the peace of Scotland, by the means of which he was become master

master of a great part of that kingdom, David Lesley was sent thither from Hereford with most of the Scottish horse, where he defeated the army of Montros, and reduced that nation to its former obedience.

AFTER the surrender of Bristol to the forces of the parliament, prince Rupert who had been governour thereof returned to Oxford, where he found so cool a reception from the king, by reason of the loss of that place, that colonel Leg then governour of Oxford was turned out of that command for being of his faction, and the government of that city put into the hands of Sir Thomas Glenham. The prince was for some time forbidden to wear a sword; and though he was soon after restored to that liberty, yet he was never more trusted with any command. The house of commons finding their business to increase, and their numbers to diminish by the death of some, and desertion of others to the king at Oxford, ordered the commissioners of the seal to issue out writs to such counties, cities, and boroughs, as the house by their particular order should direct, for the election of members to serve in parliament. They ordered also a jewel to be prepared of the value of about seven hundred pounds, to be presented to Sir Thomas Fairfax; it had the house of commons represented on one side, and the battle of Naseby on the other: three members of parliament were deputed to carry the present to him; the opportunity of whose guard I took to go into the west without disturbance, which was difficult to do at that time, many of the king's party hovering about the Downs, from whence they were called colonel Downs his men: who rendering the road unsafe, I procured a guard of twenty or thirty of the county horse to accompany me during my stay in those parts. So small a number not being sufficient either to defend me, or to make any attempt, I betook myself to colonel Massey's party, commanded at that time by colonel Edward Cook, where I had not been long before an alarm was given, that a party of horse from Oxford had marched by, with a design to relieve Corfe-castle, besieged at that time by our forces: but before we could get our men together, they had surprized part of ours in Warham, and beaten off the guard between that place and the castle, which they relieved with what they could, and were returned back again. In this action a brother of my father's was mortally wounded, taken prisoner by the enemy, and died the next day. Colonel Cook was forced to content himself to reinforce the besiegers, and to return to his former station.

THE army commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax having left a strong party to block up Exeter, advanced westward towards the enemy; and at Bovey Tracy fought the brigade commanded by the lord Wentworth, took four hundred horse, and about a hundred foot, prisoners, with six standards, one of which was the king's. Two regiments of ours appeared before Dartmouth, and summoned it; but the garrison being numerous, and furnished with all things necessary, refused to surrender; upon which the army advancing, possessed themselves of their outworks, and having turned their cannon upon them, two forts, distant about a mile from the town, wherein were thirty-four pieces of cannon, and two ships of war that were in the harbour, surrendered; which the governour understanding capitulated, and delivered the town upon articles,

articles, being permitted to march off himself; but Sir Hugh Pollard, the earl of Newport, colonel Seymour, four colonels, with divers others, were to remain prisoners: and a French vessel coming into the harbour, not knowing what had passed, was seized, and letters of consequence found in her from the queen. The prince of Wales, who to countenance their affairs had the name of general in the western parts, finding their affairs desperate, shipped himself for Scilly, leaving the command of their forces to Sir Ralph Hopton, who was soon after summoned by general Fairfax to lay down his arms; and after several messages, four commissioners on each side met at Tresilian-bridge, and came to an agreement; the substance of which was, to deliver up all their arms, artillery and ammunition, except what was excepted by the articles; to be admitted to compound according to the rates fixed by the parliament, and to have liberty granted for such as desired it to go beyond sea, which Sir Ralph Hopton and some others did. The people of Padstow seized a ship coming from Ireland, and perceiving a letter floating in the sea, took it up, and opening it, found it to be from the earl of Glamorgan, therein acquainting the king's party, that six thousand Irish were ready to be embarked for their assistance, and that four thousand more should follow them in a short time. Upon the dispersion of Sir Ralph Hopton's army, most of the forts and tenable places in the west, procured the best conditions they could for themselves. Hereford was surprised on the 18th of December, by colonel Birch and colonel Morgan, after it had been besieged for about two months ineffectually by the Scots: In this place was taken that inveterate enemy to the parliament serjeant Jenkins, with some others. In February following, Byron the governour of Chester surrendered that place upon terms.

THE best friends of the parliament were not without fears what the issue of their new elections might be: for though the people durst not choose such as were open enemies to them, yet probably they would such as were most likely to be for a peace upon any terms, corruptly preferring the fruition of their estates and sensual enjoyments before the publick interest; which sort of men were no less dangerous than the other; and therefore, honest men in all parts did what they could to promote the election of such as were most hearty for the accomplishment of our deliverance; judging it to be of the highest importance so to wind up things, that we might not be over reached by our enemies in a treaty, that had not been able to contend with us in open war. To this end I endeavoured that my uncle Mr. Edmund Ludlow might be chosen for the borough of Hinden, where, though he was elected and returned by the principal burghesses and bailiff, yet the rabble of the town, many of whom lived upon the alms of one Mr. George How, pretending that they had chosen the latter, the sheriff returned them both. By this means Mr. How got first into the house; but they being informed of the matter of fact, commanded him to withdraw till the case should be decided by the committee of privileges. Shortly after, a writ being issued out for the election of two knights to serve for the county of Wilts, in the room of my father, who died in their service, and of Sir James Thynne, who contrary to

to his trust had deserted to the king at Oxford, the earl of Pembroke sent to me, and acquainted me, that he understood that the country was inclined to choose me to serve for one of their knights in parliament, desiring me to endeavour that his second son Mr. James Herbert might be chosen for the other, promising that though he was young, yet he would undertake he should vote honestly for the commonwealth. I informed him, that I knew nothing of the intentions of the county to elect me, but hoped that if they elected his son, he would make good his promise. His son also entered into the like engagement for himself. At the day appointed for the election, having had several invitations so to do, I attended according to custom, and the words of the writ, which require the candidates to be present at the place of election. The earl of Pembroke's friends desired me to consent that his son might have the first voice, which I did, though many of the country gentlemen were unwilling to permit it: which done, the county was pleased to confer the trust upon me without any opposition. Some who were not present, took it ill that I sent not to them to desire their company, which I excused, assuring them that I had not sent to any person, having forborn so to do, not out of any disrespect to them, or confidence in my own interest, but out of a sense of my own inability to undertake so great a charge, as well as out of a desire to have a clear and unquestionable right to an employment of such importance. When I came to the house of commons, I met with colonel Robert Blake, attending to be admitted, being chosen for Taunton; where having taken the usual oaths, we went into the house together, which I chose to do, assuring myself, he having been faithful and active in the publick service abroad, that we should be as unanimous in the carrying it on within those doors.

THE parliament being sensible that the king had corrupted those forces that they had sent over to suppress the rebellion in Ireland, and that they had no great assurance of the lord Inchequin, nominated the Lord Viscount Lisle, son to the earl of Leicester, and a member of the house of commons, to be lieutenant for Ireland, looking upon him as the most considerable person of integrity they could think upon. He procured the liberty of colonel Monk, then prisoner in the tower, upon information that he had good experience in that war, and an interest in the soldiers there; to which Mr. William Cawley gave his single negative. On the 13th of April, 1646, Exeter was delivered to ours upon articles, by which all such as were in the town and garrison were admitted to compound for their estates, paying two years value for the same. Barnstable, Dunstarcastle, and Michael's-mount in Cornwall, were also surrendered: in the last of which places the marquis of Hamilton was prisoner by the king's order, and restored to his liberty upon the surrender of it, which favour he acknowledged to the members of the house of commons, attending in person at their door to that end. The most considerable body of men remaining in the field for the king, was commanded by Sir Jacob Ashley, who being on his march towards Oxford, was attacked by colonel Morgan and Sir William Brereton at Stow in the Woald, where, after a sharp
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dispute on both sides, Sir Jacob Ashley's forces were entirely defeated, many of them killed and wounded, and himself taken prisoner. During his confinement he was heard to say, "That now they had no hopes to prevail but "by our divisions." Which deserves the more reflection, because he being well acquainted with the king's secrets, was not ignorant, that many amongst us, who at the beginning appeared most forward to engage themselves, and to invite others to the war against the king, finding themselves disappointed of those preferments which they expected, or out of some particular disgusts taken, had made conditions with the king not only for their indemnity, but for places and advancements under him; endeavouring by a treaty, or rather by treachery, to betray what had cost so much blood to obtain. These men, to strengthen their interest, applied themselves to the presbyterian party, who jealous of the increase of sectaries, of which the army was reported chiefly to consist, readily joined with them. By which conjunction most of the new elected members were either men of a neutral spirit, and willing to have peace upon any terms, or such, who though they had engaged against the king, yet finding things tending to a composition with him, resolved to have the benefit of it, and his favour, though with the guilt of all the blood that had been shed in the war upon their heads, in not requiring satisfaction for the same, nor endeavouring to prevent the like for the future; designing at the most only to punish some inferior instruments, whilst the capital offender should not only go free, but his authority be still acknowledged and adored, and so the nation more enslaved than ever to a power, which though it destroys the people by thousands, must be accountable to none but God for so doing; whom some persons, as it is apparent by their usage of mankind, either think not to be, or not at all superior to them. Another sort of men there was amongst us, who having acquired estates in the service of the parliament, now adhered to the king's party for the preserving of what they had got; who, together with such as had been discharged from their employments by the reform of the army, or envied their success, combined together against the commonwealth. This party was encouraged and supported upon all occasions by the Scots and the city of London: The first of them, though they began the war, and though their assembly of ministers had declared the king guilty of the blood of thousands of his best subjects, their covenant engaging them in the preservation of his person so far only as might consist with the laws of the land, and liberty of the subject; yet having had many good opportunities in England, and hoping for more, supposing it to be in their power to awe the king to whatsoever they should think fit, they were contented to swallow that ocean of blood that had been shed, pressing the parliament by their commissioners to conclude upon such terms with the king, as shewed them rather advocates, than such as had been enemies to him. The latter having had their treasure much exhausted by the war, and their trade long interrupted, besides the influence the Scots had upon them by the means of their ministers, the common council being also debauched by serjeant Glyn, and others of that party in the house of commons; it

it was not so much to be wondered at if they earnestly solicited for a speedy determination of the difference by a treaty. The king also perceiving judgment to be given against him by that power to which both parties had made their solemn appeal, thought it adviseable to make use of the fox's skin, and for a time to lay aside that of the lion, sending messages to the parliament to desire of them a safe conduct for his coming to London in honour, freedom and safety, there personally to treat with the two houses about the means of settling a firm and lasting peace; the Scots in the mean time repeating their instances with the parliament, to enter into the consideration of the articles of religion contained in the covenant, to give a speedy peace to his majesty, to pay them near two hundred thousand pounds, which they pretended to be due to them for their arrears, and to make a just estimate of the losses they had sustained by sea and land since the beginning of the war, for want of such supplies as were promised them, which they computed at more than the former sum. The parliament, for divers reasons, thought it not convenient to comply with the king's propositions; and in answer to the Scots, demanded of them an exact account of what was due to them, requiring them to withdraw their garrisons from such places as they possessed in England. Some differences they had also with the Scots commissioners concerning the exclusion of the king from having any thing to do with the militia, and touching the Scots intermeddling with the government of England, about the education of the king's children, the disbanding of armies, and an act of oblivion; in which matters the parliament of England would not permit the Scots to interpose; and therefore, their commissioners acquainted them that they had not power to consent to any demands of that nature: whereupon the deputies of Scotland applied themselves to the two houses, demanding that they would enlarge the powers of their commissioners to that end. But there being found in these demands of the Scots some expressions highly reflecting upon the parliament, the two houses declared them to be injurious and scandalous, and ordered them to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. After which they commanded the army to besiege Oxford, who in order to that design blocked up Farringdon, Wallingford, and Woodstock; but before they could form the siege of Oxford, the king escaped from thence on the 27th of April, 1646, of which notice being given to the parliament by colonel Rainborough, who lay before Woodstock; they suspecting that he designed to come to London to raise a party against them, published an ordinance, declaring, that whosoever should harbour or conceal the king's person, should be proceeded against as a traitor to the commonwealth. Within three or four days they received a message from the Scots army, informing the parliament of the king's coming to them, and pretending to be much surprized at it; but it appeared afterwards that this resolution had been communicated to them before. The king was accompanied in this expedition by one Hudson, and Mr. Ashburnham, passing as a servant to the latter. Upon this notice, the house of commons sent an order to their commissioners in the Scots army, to demand the person of the king, judging it unreasonable that the

Scots army being in their pay, should assume the authority to dispose of the king otherwise than by their order; resolving further that the king should be conducted to the castle of Warwick, and that those who came out of Oxford with him should be brought to London. The next day they commanded their army to advance, in order to hinder the conjunction of the king's forces with the Scots. The king soon after his arrival at the Scots quarters, gave order for the delivery of Newark into their hands; which having received, they surrendered to the English, and marched with the king to Newcastle; whereof the house of commons being informed, and that the earl of Leven, general of the Scots army, had by proclamation forbidden his forces to have any communication with the king's party, they desisted from their resolution of advancing their army, and of conducting the king to Warwick, ordering the Scots to keep him for the parliament of England. Mr. Ashburnham was permitted by the Scots to make his escape, but Mr. Hudson was brought to London, and upon examination at the bar of the house of commons, confessed some things about the king's journey from Oxford. Commissioners being appointed by the parliament to be sent down to the Scots army in this conjuncture, they made choice of two lords, of whom the earl Pembroke was one, and four of the commons; in which number colonel Brown the wood-monger being nominated to that employment, he turned about to me, who sat behind him in the house, assuring me that he would be ever true to us: and truly I then believed him, having met him at the beginning of the war in Smithfield buying horses for the service of the parliament, where he spoke very affectionately concerning their undertaking, and served them afterwards very successfully, especially at Abingdon, as I mentioned before; but this wretched man soon discovered the corruption of his nature, and malignity that lay concealed in his heart; for no sooner had the king found out his ambitious temper, and cast some slight favours upon him, giving him a pair of silk stockings with his own hand, but his low and abject original and education became so prevalent in him, as to transform him into an agent and spy for the king, proving, as will be hereafter related, one of the bloodiest butchers of the parliament's friends.

THE Scots having the king in their power, pressed him to write to the earl of Ormond his lieutenant in Ireland, and to the governours and commanders of places that remained in arms for him, to lay down their arms, and to deliver the said places to such as the parliament of England should appoint to receive them, acquainting him, that otherwise they could not protect him. Submitting to this necessity, he sent orders to that effect, which some obeyed, and others refused to comply with, looking upon him to be under a force. Amongst those who yielded obedience to the king's orders, was Montrose, who disbanded the forces he had left, and went beyond sea. The city of Oxford having been blocked up for some time, began to capitulate, lest their farther obstinacy should prove prejudicial to them, particularly in the matter of compositions for their estates, the most considerable of the king's party being there. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to treat, and came to

to an agreement on the 22d of June, 1646, upon such terms as the parliament were unwilling to confirm; but whilst they were in debate concerning the articles, they understood that prince Rupert and others of the king's party were marched out of the town in pursuance of them; and that the garrison would be entirely evacuated before they could signify their pleasure to the army. Wherefore though they did not approve the conditions, yet they thought not fit to do any thing in order to break them. The principal reason given by the army of their proceeding so hastily to a conclusion of the treaty, was, lest the king should make terms with the Scots, and bring their army to the relief of Oxford. Farringdon-house, Wallingford-castle, and Woodstock, were surrendered to the parliament; Worcester and Litchfield soon after, as also Pendennis and Ragland-castle.

THE Scots by their commissioners pressed the parliament to send propositions of peace to the king, wherein they were seconded by an insolent address from the mayor and common-council of the city of London; in which, after some acknowledgments of the care and courage of the parliament in the reformation of the church, and preservation of the laws, they desired of them, that such assemblies as were privately held to introduce new sects might be suppressed, lest they should breed disturbances in the church and state; that they would hasten the establishment of peace in the three kingdoms; that they would consider the great services of the Scots, and dismiss those who were distinguished by the name of Independents from all employments civil and military, esteeming them to be fire-brands that might endanger the publick peace, with other particulars of the same nature. The answer of the parliament to the said address was not much to the satisfaction of the petitioners, being a positive declaration, that they resolved to preserve their authority entire to themselves. There was a party in the house of the same temper with the addressers, who earnestly endeavoured to break the army, as the principal obstacle to their designs, pretending the necessity of relieving Ireland, the loss of which, they said, would be infinitely prejudicial to England; and that the way to prevent it was to send thither some part of the army, who being united in affection, and of great reputation both for courage and conduct, would strike a terror into the enemy, and undoubtedly accomplish that important work; not forgetting to urge that the people of England were not able to bear their present burdens; and therefore must be eased. To these pretences it was replied, That it could not consist with the honour or safety of the parliament to lessen their forces, whilst they had an army of another nation in their bowels; who though they were united in the same cause and interest with us, yet the best way to continue them so, was to be in such a posture as might secure us from any fear of their breaking with us; and that the more reputation the army had, the fitter they were to be kept together for that end. After a long debate, the question was put; Whether two regiments of the army should be sent to the relief of Ireland? and it was carried in the negative by one voice only.

THE commonwealth party taking advantage of the arguments used in the house for the relief of Ireland, and ease of the people of England, procured

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an order for the disbanding of colonel Massey's brigade, and money to be sent to the Devizes in the county of Wilts, where they were ordered to be drawn together for that purpose. Alderman Allen and myself, who served for that county, were commissioned to see it put in execution: in order to which we repaired to the lord-general, who lay then at Cornbury, and prevailed with him and commissary-general Ireton, with two regiments of horse, to draw to the Devizes, which we found to be very necessary: for though many of that brigade were glad of the opportunity to return home to their several callings, having taken up arms, and hazarded their lives purely to serve the publick; yet divers idle and debauched persons, especially the foreigners amongst them, not knowing how to betake themselves to any honest employment, endeavoured to stir up the brigade to a mutiny; but not being able to effect that, some of them listed themselves to serve against the rebels in Ireland under Sir William Fenton, and others there present to receive them, for which we had instructions from the parliament; the rest dispersed themselves, and returned home. The forces also that served in the north under major-general Pointz were soon after disbanded.

THE city of London had made it their request in the petition before-mentioned, that some commissioners from them might accompany those from the parliament to the king; but their own party in the house fearing perhaps to be outbid by them, or it may be not having quite lost all sense of honour, rejected that motion with contempt, alledging that they had their representatives in parliament, and were concluded by what they acted as well as other men: upon which Mr. Martin said, That though he could not but agree with what had been affirmed touching their being involved in what their representatives did, and their not sending commissioners as desired; yet as to the substance of what they proposed, he could not so much blame them as others had done, they therein shewing themselves in the end of the war no less prudent than they had expressed themselves honest in the beginning: for as when the parliament invited them to stand by them in the war against the king, in defence of their religion, lives, liberties, and estates, they did it heartily, and therein shewed themselves good christians and true Englishmen; so now the war being ended, and the parliament upon making terms with the king, and thinking fit to sue to him, now their prisoner, for peace, whom they had all incensed by their resistance, the citizens having considerable estates to lose, shewed themselves prudent men, in endeavouring to procure their pardons as well as others: and though, said he, you will not permit them to send as they desire, they have expressed their good will, which without doubt will be well accepted. The commissioners of parliament joining with those who were before with the king, endeavoured to persuade him to agree to the propositions of the parliament; but he disliking several things in them, and most of all the abolition of episcopacy, to which interest he continued obstinately stedfast, refused his consent, upon private encouragement from some of the Scots and English, to expect more easy terms, or to be received without any all. The parliament willing to bring this matter to a conclusion,

clusion, sent the same propositions a second time to the king, and desired the Scots to use their utmost endeavours to procure his consent to them. The Scots commissioners, especially the lord Loudon, pressed the king very earnestly to comply with them, telling him, that though the propositions were higher in some particulars than they could have wished, notwithstanding their endeavours to bring them as low as they could, according to their promises; yet if he continued to reject them, he must not expect to be received in Scotland, whither they must return; and upon his refusal of the conditions offered, deliver him up to the parliament of England. But whatsoever they or the English could say, making no impression upon the king, the parliament's commissioners returned with a negative from him.

THE interposition of the Scots in this affair proving ineffectual, the war being at an end, and such considerable forces altogether unnecessary, the parliament appointed commissioners, to confer with those of Scotland concerning such things as remained to be performed by the treaty between them; that the fraternal union might continue, and the Scots depart towards their own country. In order to which the accounts of their army were adjusted, and a great sum of money agreed to be paid to them at the present, and other sums upon certain days, to their full satisfaction. Major-general Skippon, with a considerable body of men, carried down the money "in specie" for the payment of the Scots army; which being received by them, they delivered the king into the hands of the parliament's commissioners that attended him there, and began their march for Scotland, having delivered Newcastle to the English, and drawn their men out of Berwick and Carlisle, which two places were agreed not to be garrisoned without the consent of both kingdoms.

ABOUT this time the earl of Essex having overheated himself in the chace of a stag in Windsor-forest, departed this life; his death was a great loss to those of his party, who to keep up their spirits and credit procured his funeral to be celebrated with great magnificence at the charge of the publick, the lords and commons with a great number of officers and gentlemen accompanying him to the grave. In the mean time I observed that another party was not idle; for walking one morning with lieutenant-general Cromwell in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, he inveighed bitterly against them, saying in a familiar way to me; "If thy father were alive, he would let some of them hear what they deserve:" adding farther, "That it was a miserable thing to serve a parliament, to whom, let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off. Whereas," said he, "when one serves under a general, he may do as much service, and yet be free from all blame and envy." This text, together with the comment that his after-actions put upon it, hath since persuaded me, that he had already conceived the design of destroying the civil authority, and setting up of himself; and that he took that opportunity to feel my pulse, whether I was a fit instrument to be employed by him to those ends. But having replied to his discourse, "That we ought to perform the duty of our stations, and trust God with our honour, power, and all that is dear to us, not

not permitting any such considerations to discourage us from the prosecution of our duty," I never heard any more from him upon that point.

WHILST the king was at Newcastle, the president de Bellievre came over into England, in the quality of an ambassador from the French king, with orders to endeavour a reconciliation between the king and the parliament. He had a favourable audience from the two houses, and their permission to apply himself to the king; but being on his way towards him, upon further debate, they judged it not fit to subject that affair to the cognizance of any foreign prince, resolving to determine it themselves without the interposition of any, having experienced, that most of the neighbouring states, especially the monarchical, were at the bottom their enemies, and their ambassadors and residents so many spies upon them, as appeared more particularly by letters taken in the king's cabinet after the battle of Naseby, which discovered that the emperor's resident in London held a private correspondence with the king, and there was ground to believe, that the ambassador of Portugal did the like, from letters therein found from that king. These applications to the king, together with the permission granted by the parliament to the Turkey company, to address themselves to him, for the commissioning of one whom they had nominated to be their agent with the Grand Signior, under pretence that he would not otherwise be received; to which may be added the frequent overtures of peace made by the parliament to the king, though he had not a sword left wherewith to oppose them; and the great expectations of the people of his return to the parliament, being informed that the heads of the presbyterian party had promised the Scots, upon the delivery of the king, that as soon as they had disbanded the army, they would bring him to London in honour and safety: these things, I say, made the people ready to conclude, that though his designs had been wonderfully defeated, his armies beaten out of the field, and himself delivered into the hands of the parliament, against whom he had made a long and bloody war; yet certainly he must be in the right; and that though he was guilty of the blood of many thousands, yet was still unaccountable, in a condition to give pardon, and not in need of receiving any: which made them flock from all parts to see him as he was brought from Newcastle to Holmby, falling down before him, bringing their sick to be touched by him, and courting him as only able to restore to them their peace and settlement.

THE party in the house that were betraying the cause of their country, became encouragers of such petitioners as came to them from the city of London, and other places, to that effect; very many of whom had been always for the king's interest, but their estates lying in the parliament's quarters, they secured them by their presence in the house, and at the same time promoted his designs by their votes. There was another sort of men who were contented to sacrifice all civil liberties to the ambition of the presbyterian clergy, and to vest them with a power as great or greater than that which had been declared intolerable in the bishops before. To this end they encouraged the reduced officers of the earl of Essex, such as Massey, Waller, Pointz,

Pointz, and others, to press the parliament for their arrears in a peremptory and seditious manner, that being furnished with money they might be enabled to stand by these their patrons in whatsoever design they had to carry on. And the better to facilitate the disbanding of the army, which they so much desired, they resolved to draw off a considerable part of them for the service of Ireland; and to render the work more acceptable, voted major-general Skippon to command them; joining the earl of Warwick and Sir William Waller in commission with Sir Thomas Fairfax, to draw out such forces as were willing to go, to continue such as should be thought necessary for the security of this nation, and to disband the rest. The army being well informed of the design, begun to consult how to prevent it; and though many of the officers were prevailed with to engage by advancements to higher commands, yet the major part absolutely refused. The commissioners of the parliament having done what they could in prosecution of their instructions, ordered those who had engaged in the Irish service to draw off from the army, which then lay at Saffron-Walden, and about Newmarket, and to be quartered in the way to Ireland; which done, they returned to London with an account of their proceedings.

THE parliament being informed of what passed, were highly displeased with the carriage of the army; but the prudence and moderation of major-general Skippon, in his report of that matter to the house, much abated the heat of their resentment; yet some menacing expressions falling from some of them, lieutenant-general Cromwell took the occasion to whisper me in the ear, saying, "These men will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears:" which expression I should have resented, if the state of our affairs would have permitted. In this conjuncture five regiments of horse chose their agitators, who agreed upon a petition to the parliament, to desire of them to proceed to settle the affairs of the kingdom, to provide for the arrears of the army, and to declare that they would not disband any of them till these things were done; deputing William Allen, afterwards known by the addition of adjutant-general, Edward Sexby, afterwards colonel Sexby, and one Philips, to present it, which they did accordingly at the bar of the house of commons. After the reading of the petition, some of the members moved that the messengers might be committed to the tower, and the petition declared seditious; but the house, after a long debate, satisfied themselves to declare, That it did not belong to the soldiery to meddle with civil affairs, nor to prepare or present any petition to the parliament, without the advice and consent of their general, to whom they ordered a letter to be sent to desire for the future his care therein; with which acquainting the three agents, and requiring their conformity thereunto, they dismissed them. But this not satisfying, another petition was carried on throughout the army much to the same effect, only they observed the order of the parliament in directing it to their general, desiring him to present it. The house having notice of this combination against them from colonel Edward Harley, one of their members, who had a regiment in the army, expressed themselves highly dissatisfied there-

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with, and some of them moved that the petitioners might be declared traitors, alledging that they were servants, who ought to obey, not capitulate. Others were not wanting, who resolved the securing of lieutenant-general Cromwell, suspecting that he had under-hand given countenance to this design; but he being advertised of it, went that afternoon towards the army, so that they missed of him, and were not willing to shew their teeth since they could do no more. The debate continued till late in the night, and the sense of the house was, that they should be required to forbear the prosecution of the said petition; but when the house, wearied with long sitting, was grown thin, Mr. Denzil Hollis, taking that opportunity, drew up a resolution upon his knee, declaring the petition to be seditious, and those traitors who should endeavour to promote it after such a day, and promising pardon to all that were concerned therein, if they should desist by the time limited. Some of us fearing the consequence of these divisions, expressed our dissatisfaction to it, and went out; which gave them occasion to pass two or three very sharp votes against the proceedings of the army. The agitators of the army, sensible of their condition, and knowing that they must fall under the mercy of the parliament, unless they could secure themselves from their power by prosecuting what they had begun; and fearing that those who had shewed themselves so forward to close with the king, out of principle, upon any terms, would now, for their own preservation, receive him without any, or rather put themselves under his protection, that they might the better subdue the army, and reduce them to obedience by force, sent a party of horse under the command of cornet Joyce, on the 4th of June, 1647, with an order in writing to take the king out of the hands of the commissioners of parliament. The cornet having placed guards about Holmby-house, sent to acquaint the king with the occasion of his coming, and was admitted into his bedchamber, where, upon promise that the king should be used civilly, and have his servants and other conveniencies continued to him, he obtained his consent to go with him. But whilst cornet Joyce was giving orders concerning the king's removal, the parliament's commissioners took that occasion to discourse with the king, and persuaded him to alter his resolution: which Joyce perceiving at his return, put the king in mind of his promise, acquainting him, that he was obliged to execute his orders; whereupon the king told him, that since he had passed his word, he would go with him; and to that end descending the stairs to take horse, the commissioners of the parliament being with him, colonel Brown and Mr. Crew, who were two of them, publicly declared, that the king was forced out of their hands; and so returned, with an account of what had been done, to the parliament.

THE king's officers who waited on him were continued; and the chief officers of the army began publicly to own the design, pretending thereby to keep the private soldiers, for they would no longer be called common soldiers, from running into greater extravagancies and disorders. Colonel Francis Ruffel and others, attending on the king, became soon converted by the splendor of his majesty; and Sir Robert Pye, a colonel in the army, supplied
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the place of a quarry, riding bare before him when he rode abroad: so that the king began to promise to himself that his condition was altered for the better, and to look upon the independent interest as more consisting with episcopacy than the presbyterian; for that it could subsist under any form, which the other could not do; and therefore largely promised liberty to the independent party, being fully persuaded how naturally his power would revive upon his restitution to the throne, and how easy it would be for him to break through all such promises and engagements, upon pretence that he was under a force. The principal officers of the army made it so much their business to get the good opinion of the king, that Whalley being sent from them with orders to use all means but constraint to cause him to return to Holmby; and the king refusing, Whalley was contented to bring him to the army. Yet in the mean time a charge of high treason was drawn up by the army against eleven members of the house of commons, who were Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir John Clotworthy, serjeant Glyn, Mr. Anthony Nicholas, Mr. Walter Long, Sir William Lewis, colonel Edward Harley, commissary Copley, colonel Massey, and Sir John Maynard, for betraying the cause of the parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the army, with other particulars. This charge they accompanied with a declaration, shewing the reasons of what they had done, affirming that they were obliged by their duty so to do, as they tendered the preservation of the publick cause, and securing the good people of England from being a prey to their enemies. The great end of this charge of treason being rather to keep these members from using their power with the parliament in opposition to the proceedings of the army, than from any design to proceed capitally against them, they resolved rather to withdraw themselves voluntarily, than to put the parliament or army to any further trouble, or their persons to any more hazard. By these means the army, in which there were too many who had no other design but the advancement of themselves, having made the parliament, the Scots, and the city of London their enemies, thought it convenient to enlarge their concessions to the king, giving his chaplains leave to come to him, and to officiate in their way, which had been denied before. Whilst this design was on foot, I went down to their quarters at Maidenhead, to visit the officers; where commissary-general Ireton, suspecting that these things might occasion jealousies of them in me and others of their friends in parliament, desired me to be assured of their stedfast adherence to the publick interest, and that they intended only to dispense with such things as were not material, in order to quiet the restless spirits of the cavaliers, till they could put themselves into a condition of serving the people effectually. I could not approve of their practices; but many of the chief of them proceeding in the way they had begun, gave out, "that the intentions of the officers and soldiers in the army, were to establish his majesty in his just rights." The news of this being brought to the queen and prince of Wales, who were in France, they dispatched Sir Edward Ford, brother-in-law to commissary-general Ireton, into England, to sound the designs of the army, and to promote an agreement be-

tween the king and them. Soon after which, Mr. John Denham was sent over on the like errand. Sir John Barkley also upon his return to the queen from Holland, where he had been ordered to condole the death of the prince of Orange, came into England by the same order, and to the same purpose. It was in his instructions to endeavour to procure a pass for Mr. John Ashburnham, to come over to assist him in his negotiation; which, with many other particulars relating to this business, I have seen in a manuscript written by Sir John Barkley himself, and left in the hands of a merchant at Geneva. Being at Diepe in order to embark for England, he met with Mr. William Leg, who was of the bedchamber to the king; and they two came over together into England. They landed at Hastings, and being on their way towards London, were met by Sir Allen Appesley, who had been lieutenant-governour to Sir John Barkley at Exeter, by whom he understood that he was sent to him from Cromwell and some other officers of the army, with letters and a cypher, as also particular instructions to desire Sir John Barkley to remember his own discourse at a conference with colonel Lambert and other officers upon the surrender of Exeter, wherein he had taken notice of the bitter invectives of those of the army against the king's person; and presuming that such discourses were encouraged in order to prepare mens minds to receive an alteration of the government, had said, that it was not only a most wicked but difficult undertaking, if not impossible, for a few men, not of the greatest quality, to introduce a popular government against the king, the presbyterians, the nobility, gentry, and the genius of the nation, accustomed for so many ages to a monarchical government; advising, that since the presbyterians, who had begun the war upon divers specious pretences, were discovered to have sought their own advantages, by which means they had lost almost all their power and credit; the independent party, who had no particular obligations to the crown, as many of the presbyterians had, would make good what the presbytery had only pretended to, and restore the king and people to their just and antient rights; to which they were obliged both by prudence and interest, there being no means under heaven more likely to establish themselves, and to obtain as much trust and power as subjects are capable of: whereas, if they aimed at more, it would be accompanied with a general hatred, and their own destruction. He had orders also to let him know, that though to this discourse of his they then gave only the hearing, yet they had since found by experience, that all, or the most part of it was reasonable, and that they were resolved to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already passed: desiring that he would present them humbly to the queen and prince, and be a suitor to them in their names, not to condemn them absolutely, but to suspend their opinions of them, and their intentions, till their future behaviour had made full proof of their innocence, whereof they had already given some testimonies to the world; and that, when he had done this office, he would return to England, and be an eye-witness of their proceedings. Thus did the army-party endeavour to fortify their interest against the presbyterians, who though they were very much weakened

weakened by the absence of the eleven members, yet not to be altogether wanting to themselves, passed a vote, that the king should be brought to Richmond, whether he was inclined to go, having conceived a distrust of the army, grounded chiefly upon the refusal of the officers to receive any honours or advantages from him; and would not be dissuaded from this resolution, till the army had obliged the parliament to recal their vote. After which he insisted upon going to Windsor, much against the sense of the army, and could not be prevailed with to pass by the army in his way thither. This caused them to suspect that he hearkened to some secret propositions from the presbyterians, and designed to make an absolute breach between the parliament and the army, which commissary-general Ireton discerning, said these words to him; "Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be so between you and the parliament." But the king finding himself courted on all hands, became so confident of his own interest, as to think himself able to turn the scale to what side soever he pleased. In this temper Sir John Barkley found him when he delivered the queen's letters to him, which he did, after leave obtained from Cromwell, and a confirmation received from his own mouth of what had been communicated before to him by Sir Allen Appesley, with this addition, that he thought no man could enjoy his life and estate quietly, unless the king had his rights, which he said they had already declared to the world in general terms, and would more particularly very speedily, wherein they would comprize the several interests of the royalists, presbyterians, and independents, as far as they were consistent with one another. Sir John Barkley endeavoured to persuade the king, that it was necessary for him, who was now in the power of the army, to dissemble with them, and proposed that Mr. Peters might preach before him, that he would converse freely with others of the army, and gain the good opinion of the agitators, whose interest he perceived to be very great amongst them. But this advice made no impression upon the king. He gave him also a relation of what had formerly passed between himself and Cromwell, whom he met near Causton, when the head-quarters were at Reading, where Cromwell told him, that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the king and his children; that he wept plentifully at the remembrance thereof, saying, that never man was so abused as he in his sinister opinion of the king, who, he thought, was the most upright and conscientious of his kingdom: that they of the independent party had infinite obligations to him, for not consenting to the propositions sent to him at Newcastle, which would have totally ruined them, and which his majesty's interest seemed to invite him to; concluding with this wish, "that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards the king." With this relation the king was no more moved than with the rest, firmly believing such expressions to proceed from a necessity that Cromwell and the army had of him, without whom, he said, they could do nothing. And indeed the king was not without reason of that opinion; for some of the principal agitators, with whom

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Sir John Barkley conversed at Reading, expressing to him their jealousy that Cromwell was not sincere for the king, desired of him, that if he found him false, to acquaint them with it, promising that they would endeavour to set him right, either with or against his will. Major Huntington, a creature of Cromwell, and therefore entrusted by him to command the guard about the king, either believing him to be in earnest in his pretensions to serve the king, or else finding the king's affairs in a rising condition, became one of his confidants, and by order of the king brought two general officers to Sir John Barkley, recommending them to him as persons upon whom he might rely: these two had frequent conferences with Sir John Barkley, and assured him, that a conjunction with the king was universally desired by the officers and agitators, and that Cromwell and Ireton were great dissemblers if they were not real in it; but that the army was so bent upon it at present, that they durst not shew themselves otherwise; protesting that however things might happen to change, and whatsoever others might do, they would for ever continue faithful to the king. They acquainted him also, that proposals were drawn up by Ireton, wherein episcopacy was not required to be abolished, nor any of the king's party wholly ruined, nor the militia to be taken away from the crown; advising that the king would with all expedition agree to them, there being no assurance of the army, which they had observed already to have changed more than once. To this end they brought him to commissary-general Ireton, with whom he continued all night debating upon the proposals before-mentioned, altering two of the articles, as he saith himself in the manuscript, in the most material points; but upon his endeavouring to alter a third, touching the exclusion of seven persons, not mentioned in the papers, from pardon, and the admission of the king's party to sit in the next parliament, Ireton told him, that there must be a distinction made between the conquerors and those that had been beaten, and that he himself should be afraid of a parliament where the king's party had the major vote: in conclusion, conjuring Sir John Barkley, as he tendered the king's welfare, to endeavour to procure his consent to the proposals, that they might with more confidence be offered to the parliament, and all differences accommodated. Cromwell appeared in all his conferences with Sir John Barkley most zealous for a speedy agreement with the king, insomuch that he sometimes complained of his son Ireton's slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his unwillingness to come up to his majesty's sense: at other times he would wish that Sir John Barkley would act more frankly, and not tie himself up by narrow principles; always affirming, that he doubted the army would not persist in their good intentions towards the king.

DURING these transactions the army marched from about Reading to Bedford, and the king with his usual guard to Woburn, a house belonging to the earl of Bedford, where the proposals of the army were brought to him to peruse, before they were offered to him in publick. He was much displeased with them in general, saying, That if they had any intention to come to an accommodation, they would not impose such conditions on him: to which

Sir John Barkley, who brought them to him, answered, That he should rather suspect they designed to abuse him, if they demanded less, there being no appearance that men, who had through so many dangers and difficulties acquired such advantages, would content themselves with less than was contained in the said proposals; and that a crown so near lost was never recovered so easily as this would be, if things were adjusted upon these terms. But the king being of another opinion, replied, That they could not subsist without him, and that therefore he did not doubt to find them shortly willing to condescend farther, making his chief objections against the three following points: 1. The exclusion of seven persons from pardon. 2. The incapacitating any of his party from being elected members of the next ensuing parliament. 3. That there was nothing mentioned concerning church-government. To the first it was answered, That when the king and the army were agreed, it would not be impossible to make them remit in that point; but if that could not be obtained, yet when the king was restored to his power, he might easily supply seven persons living beyond the seas, in such a manner as to make their banishment supportable. To the second, That the next parliament would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the people, and that it would be a happiness to the king's party to have no hand therein. To the third, that the law was security enough for the church, and that it was a great point gained, to reduce men who had fought against it, to be wholly silent in the matter. But the king breaking away from them, said, "Well, I shall see them glad ere long to accept of more equal terms."

ABOUT this time Mr. Ashburnham arrived, to the king's great contentment; and his instructions referring to Sir John Barkley's, which they were to prosecute jointly, Sir John gave him what light he could into the state of affairs: but he soon departed from the methods proposed by Sir John Barkley, and entirely complying with the king's humour, declared openly, That having always used the best company, he could not converse with such senseless fellows as the agitators; that if the officers could be gained, there was no doubt but they would be able to command their own army, and that he was resolved to apply himself wholly to them. Upon this there grew a great familiarity between him and Whalley, who commanded the guard that waited on the king, and not long after a close correspondence with Cromwell and Ireton, messages daily passing from the king to the head-quarters. With these encouragements, and others from the presbyterian party, the lord Lauderdale and divers of the city of London assuring the king, that they would oppose the army to the death, he seemed so much elevated, that when the proposals were sent to him, and his concurrence humbly desired, he, to the great astonishment, not only of Ireton and the army, but even of his own party, entertained them with very sharp and bitter language, saying, That no man should suffer for his sake; and that he repented him of nothing so much as that he passed the bill against the earl of Strafford: which though it must be confessed to have been an unworthy act in him, all things considered, yet was it no less imprudent in that manner, and at that time to mention it; and that

that he would have the church established according to law by the proposals. To which those of the army replied, That it was not their work to do it, and that they thought it sufficient for them to wave the point; and they hoped for the king too, he having already consented to the abolition of the episcopal government in Scotland. The king said, That he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, repeating frequently these or the like words; "You cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." This manner of carriage from the king being observed with the utmost amazement by many officers of the army who were present, and at least in appearance were promoters of the agreement, Sir John Barkley taking notice of it, looked with much wonder upon the king, and stepping to him, said in his ear, "Sir, you speak as if you had some secret strength and power which I do not know of; and since you have concealed it from me, I wish you had done it from these men also." Whereupon the king began to recollect himself, and to soften his former discourse; but it was too late, for colonel Rainborough, who of all the army seemed the least to desire an agreement, having observed these passages, went out from the conference, and hastened to the army, informing them what entertainment their commissioners and proposals had found with the king. Sir John Barkley being desirous to allay this heat, demanded of Ireton and the rest of the officers, what they would do if the king should consent; by whom it was answered, That they would offer them to the parliament for their approbation. The king having thus bid defiance to the army, thought it necessary to bend all his force against them, and especially to strengthen their enemies in the parliament. To this end a petition was contrived to press them to a speedy agreement with the king, and presented in a most tumultuous manner by great numbers of apprentices and rabble, backed and encouraged by many dismissed and disaffected officers who joined with them. Whilst the two houses were in debate what answer to give to this insolent multitude, some of them getting to the windows of the house of lords, threw stones in upon them, and threatened them with worse usage, unless they gave them an answer to their liking: others knocked at the door of the house of commons, requiring to be admitted; but some of us with our swords forced them to retire for the present; and the house resolved to rise without giving any answer, judging it below them to do any thing by compulsion. Whereupon the speaker went out of the house, but being in the lobby, was forced back into the chair by the violence of the insolent rabble: whereof above a thousand attended without doors, and about forty or fifty were got into the house. So that it was thought convenient to give way to their rage, and the speaker demanding what question they desired to be put, they answered, That the king should be desired to come to London forthwith: which question being put, they were asked again what further they would have; they said, That he should be invited to come with honour, freedom and safety: to both which I gave a loud negative, and some of the members as loud an affirmative, rather out of a prudential compliance than any affection to the design on foot. By these votes, and the coming down
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of divers well-affected citizens to appease them, the tumult was somewhat allayed, and the members of parliament with their speaker passed through the multitude safely. The next morning I advised with Sir Arthur Haslerig and others, what was fittest to be done in this conjuncture; and it was concluded, that we could not sit in parliament without apparent hazard of our lives, till we had a guard for our defence, it being manifestly the design of the other party, either to drive us away, or to destroy us. Therefore we resolved to betake ourselves to the army for protection, Sir Arthur Haslerig undertaking to persuade the speaker to go thither, to which he consented with some difficulty; and having caused a thousand pounds to be thrown into his coach, went down to the army, which lay then at Windsor, Maidenhead, Colebrook, and the adjacent places. Having acquainted as many of our friends as I could, with our resolution to repair to the army, I went down; and the next day, being the same to which the parliament had adjourned themselves, the army rendezvoused upon Hounslow-heath, where those members of parliament, as well lords as commons, who could not with safety stay at Westminster, appeared in the head of them, at which the army expressed great joy, declaring themselves resolved to live and die with them. At night the earl of Northumberland, the lord Say, the lord Wharton, and other lords; the speaker and members of the house of commons aforesaid, with Sir Thomas Fairfax, and many principal officers of the army, met at Sion-house to consult what was most adviseable to do in that juncture; which whilst they were doing, an account was brought of the proceedings of those at Westminster that day, by the serjeant of the house, who came with his mace, to the no little satisfaction of the speaker. He acquainted them, that the remaining members being met in the house of commons, had for some time attended the coming of their speaker; but being informed that he was gone to the army, they made choice of one Mr. Pelham a lawyer, and member of the house, to be their speaker: after which they had appointed a committee of lords and commons to join with the directors of the militia of London, in order to raise forces for the defence of the parliament; the success of which attempt they desired to see before they would declare against the army. To this end, Massey, Pointz, Brown, and Sir William Waller, encouraged by the common council, and others, who by various artifices had been corrupted, used all possible diligence to list men, and prepare a force to oppose the army; but their proceedings therein were much obstructed by divers honest citizens, who importunately solicited them to treat with the army, and also by the news of the general rendezvous upon Hounslow-heath.

THOUGH the lords had been removed from the command of the army, yet it was manifest that their influence there still continued; partly from a desire of some great officers to oblige them, and partly from the ambition of others to be of their number, who, to shew their earnest desires to serve the king, being morally assured the parliament and city were likely to be shortly in the power of the army, who might be induced to take other counsels in relation to the king, upon such success, especially considering his late carriage

riage towards them; they sent an exprefs to Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham, advising, that fince the king would not yield to their propofals, that he would fend a kind letter to the army, before it were known that London would fubmit. Whereupon a letter was prepared immediately; but the king would not fign it, till after three or four debates, which loft one whole day's time: at laft Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Barkley going with it, met with meffengers from the officers to haften it. But before they could come to Sion-houfe, the commiffioners from London were arrived, and the letter out of feafon. For coming after it was known with what difficulty it had been obtained, and that matters were like to be adjusted between the parliament and army, it loft both its grace and efficacy. Notwithstanding all which, the officers being refolved to do what they could, propofed, whilft the army was in the very act of giving thanks for their fuccefs, that they fhould not be too much elevated therewith, but keep ftill to their former engagement to the king, and once more folemnly vote the propofals, which was done accordingly.

THE face of affairs in the city was at this time very various, according to the different advices they received; for upon the report of the advance of the army, and the taking of fome of their fcouts, they cried out, "Treat, treat:" and at another time, being informed that men lifted in great numbers, the word was, "Live and die, Live and die:" but when Southwark had let in part of the army, and joined with them, they returned to the former cry of "Treat, treat:" to which the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council confenting, were ready to admit the army as friends, being not able to oppofe them as enemies, and afterwards to attend thofe members who had retired to the army, being in all about a hundred, to the parliament. Having refumed our places in the houfe, as many of the eleven members as had returned to act, immediately withdrew; and Pointz, with other reduced officers, who had endeavoured to form a body againft the army, fled. But we had other difficulties to encounter: for though that vote by which the petition of the army was declared feditious, and thofe guilty of treason, who fhould profecute the fame after fuch a day, was razed out of the journal; yet by reafon that the bulk of the oppofite party was left ftill in the houfe, the militia of London could not be changed without much difficulty, and fome other votes of great confequence could not be altered at all. However, the parliament appointed a committee to enquire into the late force that was put upon them; who having made their report, Sir John Maynard was impeached, and recorder Glyn, with Mr. Clement Walker, and others, imprifoned.

A DAY or two after the reftitution of the parliament, the army marched through the city without offering the leaft violence, promifing to fhew themfelves faithful to the publick intereft; but their actions furnifhed occafion to fufpect them, particularly their difcountenancing the adjutators, who had endured the heat of the day: the free accefs of all cavaliers to the king at Hampton-court, and the publick fpeeches made for the king by the great officers of the army in a council of war held at Putney, fome of that party
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taking the same liberty in the house of commons, where one of them publickly said, That he thought God had hitherto blasted our counsels, because we had dealt so severely with the cavaliers. These things caused many in the army, who thought themselves abused and cheated, to complain to the council of adjutators, against the intimacy of Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham with the chief officers of the army, affirming, that the doors of Cromwell and Ireton were open to them when they were shut to those of the army. Cromwell was much offended with these discourses, and acquainted the king's party with them, telling Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Barkley, that if he were an honest man, he had said enough of the sincerity of his intentions; and if he were not, that nothing was enough; and therefore conjured them, as they tendered the king's service, not to come so frequently to his quarters, but to send privately to him, the suspicion of him being grown so great, that he was afraid to lie in them himself. This had no effect upon Mr. Ashburnham, who said, that he must shew them the necessity of complying with the king, from their own disorders. About three weeks after the army entered London, the Scots prevailed with the parliament to address themselves again to the king, which was performed in the old propositions of Newcastle, some particulars relating to the Scots only excepted. The king advising with some about him concerning this matter, it was concluded to be unsafe for him to close with the enemies of the army whilst he was in it. Whereupon the king refused the articles, and desired a personal treaty. The officers of the army having seen his answer before it was sent, seemed much satisfied with it, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to procure a personal treaty, Cromwell, Ireton, and many of their party in the house pressing the king's desires with the greatest earnestness; wherein, contrary to their expectations, they found a vigorous opposition from such as had already conceived a jealousy of their private agreement with the king, and were now confirmed in that opinion; and the suspicions of them grew to be so strong, that they were accounted betrayers of the cause, and lost almost all their friends in the parliament. The army that lay then about Putney were no less dissatisfied with their conduct, of which they were daily informed by those that came to them from London; so that the adjutators began to change their discourse, and to complain openly in council, both of the king and the malignants about him, saying, that since the king had rejected their proposals, they were not engaged any further to him, and that they were now to consult their own safety and the publick good: that having the power devolved upon them by the decision of the sword, to which both parties had appealed, and being convinced that monarchy was inconsistent with the prosperity of the nation, they resolved to use their endeavours to reduce the government of England to the form of a commonwealth. These proceedings struck so great a terror into Cromwell and Ireton, that they thought it necessary to draw the army to a general rendezvous, pretending to engage them to adhere to their former proposals to the king; but indeed to bring the army into subjection to them and their party, that so they might make their bargain by them; designing, if they could

carry this point at the rendezvous, to dismiss the council of adjutators, to divide the army, and to send those to the most remote places who were most opposite to them, retaining near them such only as were fit for their purpose. This design being discovered by the adjutators, amongst whom colonel Rainborough had the principal interest, they used all possible industry to prevent the general muster which was appointed to be at Ware; supposing the separation thereupon intended to be contrary to the agreement made upon taking the king out of the hands of the parliament, and destructive to the ends which they thought it their duty to promote.

IN the mean time, Cromwell having acquainted the king with his danger, protesting to him, that it was not in his power to undertake for his security in the place where he was, assuring him of his real service, and desiring the Lord to deal with him and his according to the sincerity of his heart towards the king, prepared himself to act his part at the general rendezvous. The king being doubtful what to do in this conjuncture, was advised by some to go privately to London, and appear in the house of lords: to which it was answered, That the army being masters of the city and parliament, would undoubtedly seize the king there; and if there should be any blood shed in his defence, he would be accused of beginning a new war. Others counselled him to secure his person by quitting the kingdom. Against which the king objected, that the rendezvous being appointed for the next week, he was not willing to quit the army till that was passed; because, if the superior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their engagement; if not, they must apply themselves to him for their own security. The Scots commissioners also, who had been long tampering with him, took hold of this opportunity to persuade him to come to their terms, by augmenting his fears as much as they could. It was also proposed, that he should conceal himself in England: but that was thought unsafe, if not impossible. Some there were who proposed his going to Jersey, which was then kept for him; but the king being told by the earl of Lanerick, that the ships provided by Sir John Barkley for that purpose had been discovered and seized, though Sir John affirms in his papers that none were provided, that design was laid aside. At last the king resolved to go to the Isle of Wight, being, as is most probable, recommended thither by Cromwell, who, as well as the king, had a good opinion of colonel Hammond the governour there. To this end the king sent Mr. William Leg to Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham, requiring them to assist him in his escape; and horses were laid at Sutton in Hampshire to that purpose. On the day following, Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham waiting with horses, the king with Mr. Leg came out towards the evening, and being mounted they designed to ride through the forest, having the king for their guide; but they lost the way; so that the night proving dark and stormy, and the ways very bad, they could not reach Sutton before break of day, though they hoped to have been there three hours before. At Sutton they were informed that a committee of the county was there sitting by order of the parliament; which when the king heard, he passed by that place, and continued his way towards

towards Southampton, attended only by Mr. Leg, and went to a house of the earl of Southampton at Titchfield, having sent Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham to colonel Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, with a copy of the letter left upon the table in his chamber at Hampton-court, and two other letters which he had lately received, one of them without a name, expressing great fears and apprehensions of the ill intentions of the commonwealth-party against the king. The other from Cromwell, much to the same purpose, with this addition, that in prosecution thereof, a new guard was designed the next day to be placed about the king, consisting of men of that party. He also sent by them a letter to colonel Hammond, wherein, after he had expressed his distrust of the levelling part of the army, as he termed it, and the necessity lying upon him to provide for his own safety, he assured him, that he did not intend to desert the interest of the army, ordering his two messengers to acquaint him, that of all the army the king had chosen to put himself upon him, whom he knew to be a person of a good extraction, and though engaged against him in the war, yet without any animosity to his person, to which he was informed he had no aversion: that he did not think it fit to surprise him; and therefore, had sent the two persons before-mentioned to advertise him of his intentions, and to desire his promise to protect the king and his servants to the best of his power; and if it should happen that he was not able to do it, then to oblige himself to leave them in as good a condition as he found them. Being ready to depart with these instructions, Sir John Barkley said to the king, that having no knowledge of the governor, he could not tell whether he might not detain them in the island; and therefore advised, if they returned not the next day, that he would think no more of them, but secure his own escape. Towards evening they arrived at Lymington, but could not pass by reason of a violent storm. The next morning they got over to the island, and went directly to Carisbrook-castle, the residence of the governor, where they were told that he was gone towards Newport. Upon this notice they rode after, and having overtaken and acquainted him with their message, he grew pale, and fell into such a trembling, that it was thought he would have fallen from his horse. In this consternation he continued about an hour, breaking out sometimes into passionate and distracted expressions, saying, "O gentlemen, you have undone me in bringing the king into the island, if at least you have brought him; and if you have not, I pray let him not come: for what between my duty to the king, and gratitude to him upon this fresh obligation of confidence, and the discharge of my trust to the army, I shall be confounded." Upon this they took occasion to tell him, that the king intended a favour to him and his posterity, in giving him this opportunity to lay a great obligation upon him, and such as was very consistent with his relation to the army, who had solemnly engaged themselves to the king; but if he thought otherwise, the king would be far from imposing his person upon him: but, said the governor, if the king should come to any mischance, what would the army and the king say to him that had refused to receive him? To which they answered, That he had not refused him who was not
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Scots army being in their pay, should assume the authority to dispose of the king otherwise than by their order; resolving further that the king should be conducted to the castle of Warwick, and that those who came out of Oxford with him should be brought to London. The next day they commanded their army to advance, in order to hinder the conjunction of the king's forces with the Scots. The king soon after his arrival at the Scots quarters, gave order for the delivery of Newark into their hands; which having received, they surrendered to the English, and marched with the king to Newcastle; whereof the house of commons being informed, and that the earl of Leven, general of the Scots army, had by proclamation forbidden his forces to have any communication with the king's party, they desisted from their resolution of advancing their army, and of conducting the king to Warwick, ordering the Scots to keep him for the parliament of England. Mr. Ashburnham was permitted by the Scots to make his escape, but Mr. Hudson was brought to London, and upon examination at the bar of the house of commons, confessed some things about the king's journey from Oxford. Commissioners being appointed by the parliament to be sent down to the Scots army in this conjuncture, they made choice of two lords, of whom the earl Pembroke was one, and four of the commons; in which number colonel Brown the wood-monger being nominated to that employment, he turned about to me, who sat behind him in the house, assuring me that he would be ever true to us: and truly I then believed him, having met him at the beginning of the war in Smithfield buying horses for the service of the parliament, where he spoke very affectionately concerning their undertaking, and served them afterwards very successfully, especially at Abingdon, as I mentioned before; but this wretched man soon discovered the corruption of his nature, and malignity that lay concealed in his heart; for no sooner had the king found out his ambitious temper, and cast some slight favours upon him, giving him a pair of silk stockings with his own hand, but his low and abject original and education became so prevalent in him, as to transform him into an agent and spy for the king, proving, as will be hereafter related, one of the bloodiest butchers of the parliament's friends.

THE Scots having the king in their power, pressed him to write to the earl of Ormond his lieutenant in Ireland, and to the governours and commanders of places that remained in arms for him, to lay down their arms, and to deliver the said places to such as the parliament of England should appoint to receive them, acquainting him, that otherwise they could not protect him. Submitting to this necessity, he sent orders to that effect, which some obeyed, and others refused to comply with, looking upon him to be under a force. Amongst those who yielded obedience to the king's orders, was Montrose, who disbanded the forces he had left, and went beyond sea. The city of Oxford having been blocked up for some time, began to capitulate, lest their farther obstinacy should prove prejudicial to them, particularly in the matter of compositions for their estates, the most considerable of the king's party being there. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to treat, and came
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to an agreement on the 22d of June, 1646, upon such terms as the parliament were unwilling to confirm; but whilst they were in debate concerning the articles, they understood that prince Rupert and others of the king's party were marched out of the town in pursuance of them; and that the garrison would be entirely evacuated before they could signify their pleasure to the army. Wherefore though they did not approve the conditions, yet they thought not fit to do any thing in order to break them. The principal reason given by the army of their proceeding so hastily to a conclusion of the treaty, was, lest the king should make terms with the Scots, and bring their army to the relief of Oxford. Farringdon-house, Wallingford-castle, and Woodstock, were surrendered to the parliament; Worcester and Litchfield soon after, as also Pendennis and Ragland-castle.

THE Scots by their commissioners pressed the parliament to send propositions of peace to the king, wherein they were seconded by an insolent address from the mayor and common-council of the city of London; in which, after some acknowledgments of the care and courage of the parliament in the reformation of the church, and preservation of the laws, they desired of them, that such assemblies as were privately held to introduce new sects might be suppressed, lest they should breed disturbances in the church and state; that they would hasten the establishment of peace in the three kingdoms; that they would consider the great services of the Scots, and dismiss those who were distinguished by the name of Independents from all employments civil and military, esteeming them to be fire-brands that might endanger the public peace, with other particulars of the same nature. The answer of the parliament to the said address was not much to the satisfaction of the petitioners, being a positive declaration, that they resolved to preserve their authority entire to themselves. There was a party in the house of the same temper with the addressers, who earnestly endeavoured to break the army, as the principal obstacle to their designs, pretending the necessity of relieving Ireland, the loss of which, they said, would be infinitely prejudicial to England; and that the way to prevent it was to send thither some part of the army, who being united in affection, and of great reputation both for courage and conduct, would strike a terror into the enemy, and undoubtedly accomplish that important work; not forgetting to urge that the people of England were not able to bear their present burdens; and therefore must be eased. To these pretences it was replied, That it could not consist with the honour or safety of the parliament to lessen their forces, whilst they had an army of another nation in their bowels; who though they were united in the same cause and interest with us, yet the best way to continue them so, was to be in such a posture as might secure us from any fear of their breaking with us; and that the more reputation the army had, the fitter they were to be kept together for that end. After a long debate, the question was put; Whether two regiments of the army should be sent to the relief of Ireland? and it was carried in the negative by one voice only.

THE commonwealth party taking advantage of the arguments used in the house for the relief of Ireland, and ease of the people of England, procured

an order for the disbanding of colonel Massey's brigade, and money to be sent to the Devizes in the county of Wilts, where they were ordered to be drawn together for that purpose. Alderman Allen and myself, who served for that county, were commissioned to see it put in execution: in order to which we repaired to the lord-general, who lay then at Cornbury, and prevailed with him and commissary-general Ireton, with two regiments of horse, to draw to the Devizes, which we found to be very necessary: for though many of that brigade were glad of the opportunity to return home to their several callings, having taken up arms, and hazarded their lives purely to serve the publick; yet divers idle and debauched persons, especially the foreigners amongst them, not knowing how to betake themselves to any honest employment, endeavoured to stir up the brigade to a mutiny; but not being able to effect that, some of them listed themselves to serve against the rebels in Ireland under Sir William Fenton, and others there present to receive them, for which we had instructions from the parliament; the rest dispersed themselves, and returned home. The forces also that served in the north under major-general Pointz were soon after disbanded.

THE city of London had made it their request in the petition before-mentioned, that some commissioners from them might accompany those from the parliament to the king; but their own party in the house fearing perhaps to be outbid by them, or it may be not having quite lost all sense of honour, rejected that motion with contempt, alledging that they had their representatives in parliament, and were concluded by what they acted as well as other men: upon which Mr. Martin said, That though he could not but agree with what had been affirmed touching their being involved in what their representatives did, and their not sending commissioners as desired; yet as to the substance of what they proposed, he could not so much blame them as others had done, they therein shewing themselves in the end of the war no less prudent than they had expressed themselves honest in the beginning: for as when the parliament invited them to stand by them in the war against the king, in defence of their religion, lives, liberties, and estates, they did it heartily, and therein shewed themselves good christians and true Englishmen; so now the war being ended, and the parliament upon making terms with the king, and thinking fit to sue to him, now their prisoner, for peace, whom they had all incensed by their resistance, the citizens having considerable estates to lose, shewed themselves prudent men, in endeavouring to procure their pardons as well as others: and though, said he, you will not permit them to send as they desire, they have expressed their good will, which without doubt will be well accepted. The commissioners of parliament joining with those who were before with the king, endeavoured to persuade him to agree to the propositions of the parliament; but he disliking several things in them, and most of all the abolition of episcopacy, to which interest he continued obstinately stedfast, refused his consent, upon private encouragement from some of the Scots and English, to expect more easy terms, or to be received without any all. The parliament willing to bring this matter to a conclusion,

clusion, sent the same propositions a second time to the king, and desired the Scots to use their utmost endeavours to procure his consent to them. The Scots commissioners, especially the lord Loudon, pressed the king very earnestly to comply with them, telling him, that though the propositions were higher in some particulars than they could have wished, notwithstanding their endeavours to bring them as low as they could, according to their promises; yet if he continued to reject them, he must not expect to be received in Scotland, whither they must return; and upon his refusal of the conditions offered, deliver him up to the parliament of England. But whatsoever they or the English could say, making no impression upon the king, the parliament's commissioners returned with a negative from him.

THE interposition of the Scots in this affair proving ineffectual, the war being at an end, and such considerable forces altogether unnecessary, the parliament appointed commissioners, to confer with those of Scotland concerning such things as remained to be performed by the treaty between them; that the fraternal union might continue, and the Scots depart towards their own country. In order to which the accounts of their army were adjusted, and a great sum of money agreed to be paid to them at the present, and other sums upon certain days, to their full satisfaction. Major-general Skippon, with a considerable body of men, carried down the money "in specie" for the payment of the Scots army; which being received by them, they delivered the king into the hands of the parliament's commissioners that attended him there, and began their march for Scotland, having delivered Newcastle to the English, and drawn their men out of Berwick and Carlisle, which two places were agreed not to be garrisoned without the consent of both kingdoms.

ABOUT this time the earl of Essex having overheated himself in the chace of a stag in Windsor-forest, departed this life; his death was a great loss to those of his party, who to keep up their spirits and credit procured his funeral to be celebrated with great magnificence at the charge of the publick, the lords and commons with a great number of officers and gentlemen accompanying him to the grave. In the mean time I observed that another party was not idle; for walking one morning with lieutenant-general Cromwell in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, he inveighed bitterly against them, saying in a familiar way to me; "If thy father were alive, he would let some of them hear what they deserve:" adding farther, "That it was a miserable thing to serve a parliament, to whom, let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off. Whereas," said he, "when one serves under a general, he may do as much service, and yet be free from all blame and envy." This text, together with the comment that his after-actions put upon it, hath since persuaded me, that he had already conceived the design of destroying the civil authority, and setting up of himself; and that he took that opportunity to feel my pulse, whether I was a fit instrument to be employed by him to those ends. But having replied to his discourse, "That we ought to perform the duty of our stations, and trust God with our honour, power, and all that is dear to us, not

not permitting any such considerations to discourage us from the prosecution of our duty," I never heard any more from him upon that point.

WHILST the king was at Newcastle, the president de Bellievre came over into England, in the quality of an ambassador from the French king, with orders to endeavour a reconciliation between the king and the parliament. He had a favourable audience from the two houses, and their permission to apply himself to the king; but being on his way towards him, upon further debate, they judged it not fit to subject that affair to the cognizance of any foreign prince, resolving to determine it themselves without the interposition of any, having experienced, that most of the neighbouring states, especially the monarchical, were at the bottom their enemies, and their ambassadors and residents so many spies upon them, as appeared more particularly by letters taken in the king's cabinet after the battle of Naseby, which discovered that the emperor's resident in London held a private correspondence with the king, and there was ground to believe, that the ambassador of Portugal did the like, from letters therein found from that king. These applications to the king, together with the permission granted by the parliament to the Turkey company, to address themselves to him, for the commissioning of one whom they had nominated to be their agent with the Grand Signior, under pretence that he would not otherwise be received; to which may be added the frequent overtures of peace made by the parliament to the king, though he had not a sword left wherewith to oppose them; and the great expectations of the people of his return to the parliament, being informed that the heads of the presbyterian party had promised the Scots, upon the delivery of the king, that as soon as they had disbanded the army, they would bring him to London in honour and safety: these things, I say, made the people ready to conclude, that though his designs had been wonderfully defeated, his armies beaten out of the field, and himself delivered into the hands of the parliament, against whom he had made a long and bloody war; yet certainly he must be in the right; and that though he was guilty of the blood of many thousands, yet was still unaccountable, in a condition to give pardon, and not in need of receiving any: which made them flock from all parts to see him as he was brought from Newcastle to Holmby, falling down before him, bringing their sick to be touched by him, and courting him as only able to restore to them their peace and settlement.

THE party in the house that were betraying the cause of their country, became encouragers of such petitioners as came to them from the city of London, and other places, to that effect; very many of whom had been always for the king's interest, but their estates lying in the parliament's quarters, they secured them by their presence in the house, and at the same time promoted his designs by their votes. There was another sort of men who were contented to sacrifice all civil liberties to the ambition of the presbyterian clergy, and to vest them with a power as great or greater than that which had been declared intolerable in the bishops before. To this end they encouraged the reduced officers of the earl of Essex, such as Massey, Waller, Pointz,

Pointz, and others, to press the parliament for their arrears in a peremptory and seditious manner, that being furnished with money they might be enabled to stand by these their patrons in whatsoever design they had to carry on. And the better to facilitate the disbanding of the army, which they so much desired, they resolved to draw off a considerable part of them for the service of Ireland; and to render the work more acceptable, voted major-general Skippon to command them; joining the earl of Warwick and Sir William Waller in commission with Sir Thomas Fairfax, to draw out such forces as were willing to go, to continue such as should be thought necessary for the security of this nation, and to disband the rest. The army being well informed of the design, begun to consult how to prevent it; and though many of the officers were prevailed with to engage by advancements to higher commands, yet the major part absolutely refused. The commissioners of the parliament having done what they could in prosecution of their instructions, ordered those who had engaged in the Irish service to draw off from the army, which then lay at Saffron-Walden, and about Newmarket, and to be quartered in the way to Ireland; which done, they returned to London with an account of their proceedings.

THE parliament being informed of what passed, were highly displeased with the carriage of the army; but the prudence and moderation of major-general Skippon, in his report of that matter to the house, much abated the heat of their resentment; yet some menacing expressions falling from some of them, lieutenant-general Cromwell took the occasion to whisper me in the ear, saying, "These men will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears:" which expression I should have resented, if the state of our affairs would have permitted. In this conjuncture five regiments of horse chose their agitators, who agreed upon a petition to the parliament, to desire of them to proceed to settle the affairs of the kingdom, to provide for the arrears of the army, and to declare that they would not disband any of them till these things were done; deputing William Allen, afterwards known by the addition of adjutant-general, Edward Sexby, afterwards colonel Sexby, and one Philips, to present it, which they did accordingly at the bar of the house of commons. After the reading of the petition, some of the members moved that the messengers might be committed to the tower, and the petition declared seditious; but the house, after a long debate, satisfied themselves to declare, That it did not belong to the soldiery to meddle with civil affairs, nor to prepare or present any petition to the parliament, without the advice and consent of their general, to whom they ordered a letter to be sent to desire for the future his care therein; with which acquainting the three agents, and requiring their conformity thereunto, they dismissed them. But this not satisfying, another petition was carried on throughout the army much to the same effect, only they observed the order of the parliament in directing it to their general, desiring him to present it. The house having notice of this combination against them from colonel Edward Harley, one of their members, who had a regiment in the army, expressed themselves highly dissatisfied there-
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with, and some of them moved that the petitioners might be declared traitors, alledging that they were servants, who ought to obey, not capitulate. Others were not wanting, who resolved the securing of lieutenant-general Cromwell, suspecting that he had under-hand given countenance to this design; but he being advertised of it, went that afternoon towards the army, so that they missed of him, and were not willing to shew their teeth since they could do no more. The debate continued till late in the night, and the sense of the house was, that they should be required to forbear the prosecution of the said petition; but when the house, wearied with long sitting, was grown thin, Mr. Denzil Hollis, taking that opportunity, drew up a resolution upon his knee, declaring the petition to be seditious, and those traitors who should endeavour to promote it after such a day, and promising pardon to all that were concerned therein, if they should desist by the time limited. Some of us fearing the consequence of these divisions, expressed our dissatisfaction to it, and went out; which gave them occasion to pass two or three very sharp votes against the proceedings of the army. The agitators of the army, sensible of their condition, and knowing that they must fall under the mercy of the parliament, unless they could secure themselves from their power by prosecuting what they had begun; and fearing that those who had shewed themselves so forward to close with the king, out of principle, upon any terms, would now, for their own preservation, receive him without any, or rather put themselves under his protection, that they might the better subdue the army, and reduce them to obedience by force, sent a party of horse under the command of cornet Joyce, on the 4th of June, 1647, with an order in writing to take the king out of the hands of the commissioners of parliament. The cornet having placed guards about Holmby-house, sent to acquaint the king with the occasion of his coming, and was admitted into his bedchamber, where, upon promise that the king should be used civilly, and have his servants and other conveniencies continued to him, he obtained his consent to go with him. But whilst cornet Joyce was giving orders concerning the king's removal, the parliament's commissioners took that occasion to discourse with the king, and persuaded him to alter his resolution: which Joyce perceiving at his return, put the king in mind of his promise, acquainting him, that he was obliged to execute his orders; whereupon the king told him, that since he had passed his word, he would go with him; and to that end descending the stairs to take horse, the commissioners of the parliament being with him, colonel Brown and Mr. Crew, who were two of them, publickly declared, that the king was forced out of their hands; and so returned, with an account of what had been done, to the parliament.

THE king's officers who waited on him were continued; and the chief officers of the army began publickly to own the design, pretending thereby to keep the private soldiers, for they would no longer be called common soldiers, from running into greater extravagancies and disorders. Colonel Francis Russel and others, attending on the king, became soon converted by the splendor of his majesty; and Sir Robert Pye, a colonel in the army, supplied
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the place of a quarry, riding bare before him when he rode abroad: so that the king began to promise to himself that his condition was altered for the better, and to look upon the independent interest as more consisting with episcopacy than the presbyterian; for that it could subsist under any form, which the other could not do; and therefore largely promised liberty to the independent party, being fully persuaded how naturally his power would revive upon his restitution to the throne, and how easy it would be for him to break through all such promises and engagements, upon pretence that he was under a force. The principal officers of the army made it so much their business to get the good opinion of the king, that Whalley being sent from them with orders to use all means but constraint to cause him to return to Holmby; and the king refusing, Whalley was contented to bring him to the army. Yet in the mean time a charge of high treason was drawn up by the army against eleven members of the house of commons, who were Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir John Clotworthy, serjeant Glyn, Mr. Anthony Nicholas, Mr. Walter Long, Sir William Lewis, colonel Edward Harley, commissary Copley, colonel Mafsey, and Sir John Maynard, for betraying the cause of the parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the army, with other particulars. This charge they accompanied with a declaration, shewing the reasons of what they had done, affirming that they were obliged by their duty so to do, as they tendered the preservation of the publick cause, and securing the good people of England from being a prey to their enemies. The great end of this charge of treason being rather to keep these members from using their power with the parliament in opposition to the proceedings of the army, than from any design to proceed capitally against them, they resolved rather to withdraw themselves voluntarily, than to put the parliament or army to any further trouble, or their persons to any more hazard. By these means the army, in which there were too many who had no other design but the advancement of themselves, having made the parliament, the Scots, and the city of London their enemies, thought it convenient to enlarge their concessions to the king, giving his chaplains leave to come to him, and to officiate in their way, which had been denied before. Whilst this design was on foot, I went down to their quarters at Maidenhead, to visit the officers; where commissary-general Ireton, suspecting that these things might occasion jealousies of them in me and others of their friends in parliament, desired me to be assured of their stedfast adherence to the publick interest, and that they intended only to dispense with such things as were not material, in order to quiet the restless spirits of the cavaliers, till they could put themselves into a condition of serving the people effectually. I could not approve of their practices; but many of the chief of them proceeding in the way they had begun, gave out, "that the intentions of the officers and soldiers in the army, were to establish his majesty in his just rights." The news of this being brought to the queen and prince of Wales, who were in France, they dispatched Sir Edward Ford, brother-in-law to commissary-general Ireton, into England, to sound the designs of the army, and to promote an agreement be-

tween the king and them. Soon after which, Mr. John Denham was sent over on the like errand. Sir John Barkley also upon his return to the queen from Holland, where he had been ordered to condole the death of the prince of Orange, came into England by the same order, and to the same purpose. It was in his instructions to endeavour to procure a pass for Mr. John Ashburnham, to come over to assist him in his negotiation; which, with many other particulars relating to this business, I have seen in a manuscript written by Sir John Barkley himself, and left in the hands of a merchant at Geneva. Being at Diepe in order to embark for England, he met with Mr. William Leg, who was of the bedchamber to the king; and they two came over together into England. They landed at Hastings, and being on their way towards London, were met by Sir Allen Appesley, who had been lieutenant-governour to Sir John Barkley at Exeter, by whom he understood that he was sent to him from Cromwell and some other officers of the army, with letters and a cypher, as also particular instructions to desire Sir John Barkley to remember his own discourse at a conference with colonel Lambert and other officers upon the surrender of Exeter, wherein he had taken notice of the bitter invectives of those of the army against the king's person; and presuming that such discourses were encouraged in order to prepare mens minds to receive an alteration of the government, had said, that it was not only a most wicked but difficult undertaking, if not impossible, for a few men, not of the greatest quality, to introduce a popular government against the king, the presbyterians, the nobility, gentry, and the genius of the nation, accustomed for so many ages to a monarchical government; advising, that since the presbyterians, who had begun the war upon divers specious pretences, were discovered to have sought their own advantages, by which means they had lost almost all their power and credit; the independent party, who had no particular obligations to the crown, as many of the presbyterians had, would make good what the presbytery had only pretended to, and restore the king and people to their just and antient rights; to which they were obliged both by prudence and interest, there being no means under heaven more likely to establish themselves, and to obtain as much trust and power as subjects are capable of: whereas, if they aimed at more, it would be accompanied with a general hatred, and their own destruction. He had orders also to let him know, that though to this discourse of his they then gave only the hearing, yet they had since found by experience, that all, or the most part of it was reasonable, and that they were resolved to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already passed: desiring that he would present them humbly to the queen and prince, and be a suitor to them in their names, not to condemn them absolutely, but to suspend their opinions of them, and their intentions, till their future behaviour had made full proof of their innocence, whereof they had already given some testimonies to the world; and that, when he had done this office, he would return to England, and be an eye-witness of their proceedings. Thus did the army-party endeavour to fortify their interest against the presbyterians, who though they were very much
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weakened by the absence of the eleven members, yet not to be altogether wanting to themselves, passed a vote, that the king should be brought to Richmond, whether he was inclined to go, having conceived a distrust of the army, grounded chiefly upon the refusal of the officers to receive any honours or advantages from him; and would not be dissuaded from this resolution, till the army had obliged the parliament to recal their vote. After which he insisted upon going to Windsor, much against the sense of the army, and could not be prevailed with to pass by the army in his way thither. This caused them to suspect that he hearkened to some secret propositions from the presbyterians, and designed to make an absolute breach between the parliament and the army, which commissary-general Ireton discerning, said these words to him; "Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be so between you and the parliament." But the king finding himself courted on all hands, became so confident of his own interest, as to think himself able to turn the scale to what side soever he pleased. In this temper Sir John Barkley found him when he delivered the queen's letters to him, which he did, after leave obtained from Cromwell, and a confirmation received from his own mouth of what had been communicated before to him by Sir Allen Appesley, with this addition, that he thought no man could enjoy his life and estate quietly, unless the king had his rights, which he said they had already declared to the world in general terms, and would more particularly very speedily, wherein they would comprize the several interests of the royalists, presbyterians, and independents, as far as they were consistent with one another. Sir John Barkley endeavoured to persuade the king, that it was necessary for him, who was now in the power of the army, to dissemble with them, and proposed that Mr. Peters might preach before him, that he would converse freely with others of the army, and gain the good opinion of the agitators, whose interest he perceived to be very great amongst them. But this advice made no impression upon the king. He gave him also a relation of what had formerly passed between himself and Cromwell, whom he met near Causton, when the head-quarters were at Reading, where Cromwell told him, that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the king and his children; that he wept plentifully at the remembrance thereof, saying, that never man was so abused as he in his sinister opinion of the king, who, he thought, was the most upright and conscientious of his kingdom: that they of the independent party had infinite obligations to him, for not consenting to the propositions sent to him at Newcastle, which would have totally ruined them, and which his majesty's interest seemed to invite him to; concluding with this wish, "that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards the king." With this relation the king was no more moved than with the rest, firmly believing such expressions to proceed from a necessity that Cromwell and the army had of him, without whom, he said, they could do nothing. And indeed the king was not without reason of that opinion; for some of the principal agitators, with whom

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Sir John Barkley conversed at Reading, expressing to him their jealousy that Cromwell was not sincere for the king, desired of him, that if he found him false, to acquaint them with it, promising that they would endeavour to set him right, either with or against his will. Major Huntington, a creature of Cromwell, and therefore entrusted by him to command the guard about the king, either believing him to be in earnest in his pretensions to serve the king, or else finding the king's affairs in a rising condition, became one of his confidants, and by order of the king brought two general officers to Sir John Barkley, recommending them to him as persons upon whom he might rely: these two had frequent conferences with Sir John Barkley, and assured him, that a conjunction with the king was universally desired by the officers and agitators, and that Cromwell and Ireton were great dissemblers if they were not real in it; but that the army was so bent upon it at present, that they durst not shew themselves otherwise; protesting that however things might happen to change, and whatsoever others might do, they would for ever continue faithful to the king. They acquainted him also, that proposals were drawn up by Ireton, wherein episcopacy was not required to be abolished, nor any of the king's party wholly ruined, nor the militia to be taken away from the crown; advising that the king would with all expedition agree to them, there being no assurance of the army, which they had observed already to have changed more than once. To this end they brought him to commissary-general Ireton, with whom he continued all night debating upon the proposals before-mentioned, altering two of the articles, as he saith himself in the manuscript, in the most material points; but upon his endeavouring to alter a third, touching the exclusion of seven persons, not mentioned in the papers, from pardon, and the admission of the king's party to sit in the next parliament, Ireton told him, that there must be a distinction made between the conquerors and those that had been beaten, and that he himself should be afraid of a parliament where the king's party had the major vote: in conclusion, conjuring Sir John Barkley, as he tendered the king's welfare, to endeavour to procure his consent to the proposals, that they might with more confidence be offered to the parliament, and all differences accommodated. Cromwell appeared in all his conferences with Sir John Barkley most zealous for a speedy agreement with the king, insomuch that he sometimes complained of his son Ireton's slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his unwillingness to come up to his majesty's sense: at other times he would wish that Sir John Barkley would act more frankly, and not tie himself up by narrow principles; always affirming, that he doubted the army would not persist in their good intentions towards the king.

DURING these transactions the army marched from about Reading to Bedford, and the king with his usual guard to Woburn, a house belonging to the earl of Bedford, where the proposals of the army were brought to him to peruse, before they were offered to him in publick. He was much displeased with them in general, saying, That if they had any intention to come to an accommodation, they would not impose such conditions on him: to which

Sir John Barkley, who brought them to him, answered, That he should rather suspect they designed to abuse him, if they demanded less, there being no appearance that men, who had through so many dangers and difficulties acquired such advantages, would content themselves with less than was contained in the said proposals; and that a crown so near lost was never recovered so easily as this would be, if things were adjusted upon these terms. But the king being of another opinion, replied, That they could not subsist without him, and that therefore he did not doubt to find them shortly willing to condescend farther, making his chief objections against the three following points: 1. The exclusion of seven persons from pardon. 2. The incapacitating any of his party from being elected members of the next ensuing parliament. 3. That there was nothing mentioned concerning church-government. To the first it was answered, That when the king and the army were agreed, it would not be impossible to make them remit in that point; but if that could not be obtained, yet when the king was restored to his power, he might easily supply seven persons living beyond the seas, in such a manner as to make their banishment supportable. To the second, That the next parliament would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the people, and that it would be a happiness to the king's party to have no hand therein. To the third, that the law was security enough for the church, and that it was a great point gained, to reduce men who had fought against it, to be wholly silent in the matter. But the king breaking away from them, said, "Well, I shall see them glad ere long to accept of more equal terms."

ABOUT this time Mr. Ashburnham arrived, to the king's great contentment; and his instructions referring to Sir John Barkley's, which they were to prosecute jointly, Sir John gave him what light he could into the state of affairs: but he soon departed from the methods proposed by Sir John Barkley, and entirely complying with the king's humour, declared openly, That having always used the best company, he could not converse with such senseless fellows as the agitators; that if the officers could be gained, there was no doubt but they would be able to command their own army, and that he was resolved to apply himself wholly to them. Upon this there grew a great familiarity between him and Whalley, who commanded the guard that waited on the king, and not long after a close correspondence with Cromwell and Ireton, messages daily passing from the king to the head-quarters. With these encouragements, and others from the presbyterian party, the lord Lauderdale and divers of the city of London assuring the king, that they would oppose the army to the death, he seemed so much elevated, that when the proposals were sent to him, and his concurrence humbly desired, he, to the great astonishment, not only of Ireton and the army, but even of his own party, entertained them with very sharp and bitter language, saying, That no man should suffer for his sake; and that he repented him of nothing so much as that he passed the bill against the earl of Strafford: which though it must be confessed to have been an unworthy act in him, all things considered, yet was it no less imprudent in that manner, and at that time to mention it; and that

that he would have the church established according to law by the proposals. To which those of the army replied, That it was not their work to do it, and that they thought it sufficient for them to wave the point; and they hoped for the king too, he having already consented to the abolition of the episcopal government in Scotland. The king said, That he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, repeating frequently these or the like words; "You cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." This manner of carriage from the king being observed with the utmost amazement by many officers of the army who were present, and at least in appearance were promoters of the agreement, Sir John Barkley taking notice of it, looked with much wonder upon the king, and stepping to him, said in his ear, "Sir, you speak as if you had some secret strength and power which I do not know of; and since you have concealed it from me, I wish you had done it from these men also." Whereupon the king began to recollect himself, and to soften his former discourse; but it was too late, for colonel Rainborough, who of all the army seemed the least to desire an agreement, having observed these passages, went out from the conference, and hastened to the army, informing them what entertainment their commissioners and proposals had found with the king. Sir John Barkley being desirous to allay this heat, demanded of Ireton and the rest of the officers, what they would do if the king should consent; by whom it was answered, That they would offer them to the parliament for their approbation. The king having thus bid defiance to the army, thought it necessary to bend all his force against them, and especially to strengthen their enemies in the parliament. To this end a petition was contrived to press them to a speedy agreement with the king, and presented in a most tumultuous manner by great numbers of apprentices and rabble, backed and encouraged by many dismissed and disaffected officers who joined with them. Whilst the two houses were in debate what answer to give to this insolent multitude, some of them getting to the windows of the house of lords, threw stones in upon them, and threatened them with worse usage, unless they gave them an answer to their liking: others knocked at the door of the house of commons, requiring to be admitted; but some of us with our swords forced them to retire for the present; and the house resolved to rise without giving any answer, judging it below them to do any thing by compulsion. Whereupon the speaker went out of the house, but being in the lobby, was forced back into the chair by the violence of the insolent rabble: whereof above a thousand attended without doors, and about forty or fifty were got into the house. So that it was thought convenient to give way to their rage, and the speaker demanding what question they desired to be put, they answered, That the king should be desired to come to London forthwith: which question being put, they were asked again what further they would have; they said, That he should be invited to come with honour, freedom and safety: to both which I gave a loud negative, and some of the members as loud an affirmative, rather out of a prudential compliance than any affection to the design on foot. By these votes, and the coming down
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of divers well-affected citizens to appease them, the tumult was somewhat allayed, and the members of parliament with their speaker passed through the multitude safely. The next morning I advised with Sir Arthur Haslerig and others, what was fittest to be done in this conjuncture; and it was concluded, that we could not sit in parliament without apparent hazard of our lives, till we had a guard for our defence, it being manifestly the design of the other party, either to drive us away, or to destroy us. Therefore we resolved to betake ourselves to the army for protection, Sir Arthur Haslerig undertaking to persuade the speaker to go thither, to which he consented with some difficulty; and having caused a thousand pounds to be thrown into his coach, went down to the army, which lay then at Windsor, Maidenhead, Colebrook, and the adjacent places. Having acquainted as many of our friends as I could, with our resolution to repair to the army, I went down; and the next day, being the same to which the parliament had adjourned themselves, the army rendezvoused upon Hounslow-heath, where those members of parliament, as well lords as commons, who could not with safety stay at Westminster, appeared in the head of them, at which the army expressed great joy, declaring themselves resolved to live and die with them. At night the earl of Northumberland, the lord Say, the lord Wharton, and other lords; the speaker and members of the house of commons aforesaid, with Sir Thomas Fairfax, and many principal officers of the army, met at Sion-house to consult what was most adviseable to do in that juncture; which whilst they were doing, an account was brought of the proceedings of those at Westminster that day, by the serjeant of the house, who came with his mace, to the no little satisfaction of the speaker. He acquainted them, that the remaining members being met in the house of commons, had for some time attended the coming of their speaker; but being informed that he was gone to the army, they made choice of one Mr. Pelham a lawyer, and member of the house, to be their speaker: after which they had appointed a committee of lords and commons to join with the directors of the militia of London, in order to raise forces for the defence of the parliament; the success of which attempt they desired to see before they would declare against the army. To this end, Massey, Pointz, Brown, and Sir William Waller, encouraged by the common council, and others, who by various artifices had been corrupted, used all possible diligence to list men, and prepare a force to oppose the army; but their proceedings therein were much obstructed by divers honest citizens, who importunately solicited them to treat with the army, and also by the news of the general rendezvous upon Hounslow-heath.

THOUGH the lords had been removed from the command of the army, yet it was manifest that their influence there still continued; partly from a desire of some great officers to oblige them, and partly from the ambition of others to be of their number, who, to shew their earnest desires to serve the king, being morally assured the parliament and city were likely to be shortly in the power of the army, who might be induced to take other counsels in relation to the king, upon such success, especially considering his late carriage

riage towards them; they sent an exprefs to Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham, advising, that fince the king would not yield to their propofals, that he would fend a kind letter to the army, before it were known that London would fubmit. Whereupon a letter was prepared immediately; but the king would not fign it, till after three or four debates, which loft one whole day's time: at laft Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Barkley going with it, met with meffengers from the officers to haften it. But before they could come to Sion-houfe, the commiffioners from London were arrived, and the letter out of feafon. For coming after it was known with what difficulty it had been obtained, and that matters were like to be adjusted between the parliament and army, it loft both its grace and efficacy. Notwithstanding all which, the officers being refolved to do what they could, propofed, whilst the army was in the very act of giving thanks for their fuccefs, that they fhould not be too much elevated therewith, but keep ftill to their former engagement to the king, and once more folemnly vote the propofals, which was done accordingly.

THE face of affairs in the city was at this time very various, according to the different advices they received; for upon the report of the advance of the army, and the taking of fome of their fcouts, they cried out, "Treat, treat:" and at another time, being informed that men lifted in great numbers, the word was, "Live and die, Live and die:" but when Southwark had let in part of the army, and joined with them, they returned to the former cry of "Treat, treat:" to which the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council confenting, were ready to admit the army as friends, being not able to oppofe them as enemies, and afterwards to attend thofe members who had retired to the army, being in all about a hundred, to the parliament. Having refumed our places in the houfe, as many of the eleven members as had returned to act, immediately withdrew; and Pointz, with other reduced officers, who had endeavoured to form a body againft the army, fled. But we had other difficulties to encounter: for though that vote by which the petition of the army was declared feditious, and thofe guilty of treason, who fhould profecute the fame after fuch a day, was razed out of the journal; yet by reafon that the bulk of the oppofite party was left ftill in the houfe, the militia of London could not be changed without much difficulty, and fome other votes of great confequence could not be altered at all. However, the parliament appointed a committee to enquire into the late force that was put upon them; who having made their report, Sir John Maynard was impeached, and recorder Glyn, with Mr. Clement Walker, and others, imprifoned.

A DAY or two after the reftitution of the parliament, the army marched through the city without offering the leaft violence, promifing to fhew themfelves faithful to the publick intereft; but their actions furnifhed occafion to fufpect them, particularly their difcountenancing the adjutators, who had endured the heat of the day: the free accefs of all cavaliers to the king at Hampton-court, and the publick fpeeches made for the king by the great officers of the army in a council of war held at Putney, fome of that party
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taking the same liberty in the house of commons, where one of them publicly said, That he thought God had hitherto blasted our counsels, because we had dealt so severely with the cavaliers. These things caused many in the army, who thought themselves abused and cheated, to complain to the council of adjutators, against the intimacy of Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham with the chief officers of the army, affirming, that the doors of Cromwell and Ireton were open to them when they were shut to those of the army. Cromwell was much offended with these discourses, and acquainted the king's party with them, telling Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Barkley, that if he were an honest man, he had said enough of the sincerity of his intentions; and if he were not, that nothing was enough; and therefore conjured them, as they tendered the king's service, not to come so frequently to his quarters, but to send privately to him, the suspicion of him being grown so great, that he was afraid to lie in them himself. This had no effect upon Mr. Ashburnham, who said, that he must shew them the necessity of complying with the king, from their own disorders. About three weeks after the army entered London, the Scots prevailed with the parliament to address themselves again to the king, which was performed in the old propositions of Newcastle, some particulars relating to the Scots only excepted. The king advising with some about him concerning this matter, it was concluded to be unsafe for him to close with the enemies of the army whilst he was in it. Whereupon the king refused the articles, and desired a personal treaty. The officers of the army having seen his answer before it was sent, seemed much satisfied with it, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to procure a personal treaty, Cromwell, Ireton, and many of their party in the house pressing the king's desires with the greatest earnestness; wherein, contrary to their expectations, they found a vigorous opposition from such as had already conceived a jealousy of their private agreement with the king, and were now confirmed in that opinion; and the suspicions of them grew to be so strong, that they were accounted betrayers of the cause, and lost almost all their friends in the parliament. The army that lay then about Putney were no less dissatisfied with their conduct, of which they were daily informed by those that came to them from London; so that the adjutators began to change their discourse, and to complain openly in council, both of the king and the malignants about him, saying, that since the king had rejected their proposals, they were not engaged any further to him, and that they were now to consult their own safety and the publick good: that having the power devolved upon them by the decision of the sword, to which both parties had appealed, and being convinced that monarchy was inconsistent with the prosperity of the nation, they resolved to use their endeavours to reduce the government of England to the form of a commonwealth. These proceedings struck so great a terror into Cromwell and Ireton, that they thought it necessary to draw the army to a general rendezvous, pretending to engage them to adhere to their former proposals to the king; but indeed to bring the army into subjection to them and their party, that so they might make their bargain by them; designing, if they could

carry this point at the rendezvous, to dismiss the council of adjutators, to divide the army, and to send those to the most remote places who were most opposite to them, retaining near them such only as were fit for their purpose. This design being discovered by the adjutators, amongst whom colonel Rainborough had the principal interest, they used all possible industry to prevent the general muster which was appointed to be at Ware; supposing the separation thereupon intended to be contrary to the agreement made upon taking the king out of the hands of the parliament, and destructive to the ends which they thought it their duty to promote.

IN the mean time, Cromwell having acquainted the king with his danger, protesting to him, that it was not in his power to undertake for his security in the place where he was, assuring him of his real service, and desiring the Lord to deal with him and his according to the sincerity of his heart towards the king, prepared himself to act his part at the general rendezvous. The king being doubtful what to do in this conjuncture, was advised by some to go privately to London, and appear in the house of lords: to which it was answered, That the army being masters of the city and parliament, would undoubtedly seize the king there; and if there should be any blood shed in his defence, he would be accused of beginning a new war. Others counselled him to secure his person by quitting the kingdom. Against which the king objected, that the rendezvous being appointed for the next week, he was not willing to quit the army till that was passed; because, if the superior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their engagement; if not, they must apply themselves to him for their own security. The Scots commissioners also, who had been long tampering with him, took hold of this opportunity to persuade him to come to their terms, by augmenting his fears as much as they could. It was also proposed, that he should conceal himself in England: but that was thought unsafe, if not impossible. Some there were who proposed his going to Jersey, which was then kept for him; but the king being told by the earl of Lanerick, that the ships provided by Sir John Barkley for that purpose had been discovered and seized, though Sir John affirms in his papers that none were provided, that design was laid aside. At last the king resolved to go to the Isle of Wight, being, as is most probable, recommended thither by Cromwell, who, as well as the king, had a good opinion of colonel Hammond the governour there. To this end the king sent Mr. William Leg to Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham, requiring them to assist him in his escape; and horses were laid at Sutton in Hampshire to that purpose. On the day following, Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham waiting with horses, the king with Mr. Leg came out towards the evening, and being mounted they designed to ride through the forest, having the king for their guide; but they lost the way; so that the night proving dark and stormy, and the ways very bad, they could not reach Sutton before break of day, though they hoped to have been there three hours before. At Sutton they were informed that a committee of the county was there sitting by order of the parliament; which when the king heard, he passed by that place, and continued his way towards

towards Southampton, attended only by Mr. Leg, and went to a house of the earl of Southampton at Titchfield, having sent Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham to colonel Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, with a copy of the letter left upon the table in his chamber at Hampton-court, and two other letters which he had lately received, one of them without a name, expressing great fears and apprehensions of the ill intentions of the commonwealth-party against the king. The other from Cromwell, much to the same purpose, with this addition, that in prosecution thereof, a new guard was designed the next day to be placed about the king, consisting of men of that party. He also sent by them a letter to colonel Hammond, wherein, after he had expressed his distrust of the levelling part of the army, as he termed it, and the necessity lying upon him to provide for his own safety, he assured him, that he did not intend to desert the interest of the army, ordering his two messengers to acquaint him, that of all the army the king had chosen to put himself upon him, whom he knew to be a person of a good extraction, and though engaged against him in the war, yet without any animosity to his person, to which he was informed he had no aversion: that he did not think it fit to surprise him; and therefore, had sent the two persons before-mentioned to advertise him of his intentions, and to desire his promise to protect the king and his servants to the best of his power; and if it should happen that he was not able to do it, then to oblige himself to leave them in as good a condition as he found them. Being ready to depart with these instructions, Sir John Barkley said to the king, that having no knowledge of the governor, he could not tell whether he might not detain them in the island; and therefore advised, if they returned not the next day, that he would think no more of them, but secure his own escape. Towards evening they arrived at Lymington, but could not pass by reason of a violent storm. The next morning they got over to the island, and went directly to Carisbrook-castle, the residence of the governor, where they were told that he was gone towards Newport. Upon this notice they rode after, and having overtaken and acquainted him with their message, he grew pale, and fell into such a trembling, that it was thought he would have fallen from his horse. In this consternation he continued about an hour, breaking out sometimes into passionate and distracted expressions, saying, "O gentlemen, you have undone me in bringing the king into the island, if at least you have brought him; and if you have not, I pray let him not come: for what between my duty to the king, and gratitude to him upon this fresh obligation of confidence, and the discharge of my trust to the army, I shall be confounded." Upon this they took occasion to tell him, that the king intended a favour to him and his posterity, in giving him this opportunity to lay a great obligation upon him, and such as was very consistent with his relation to the army, who had solemnly engaged themselves to the king; but if he thought otherwise, the king would be far from imposing his person upon him: but, said the governor, if the king should come to any mischance, what would the army and the king say to him that had refused to receive him? To which they answered, That he had not refused him who was not
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come to him. Then beginning to speak more calmly, he desired to know where the king was, and wished that he had absolutely thrown himself upon him, which made the two gentlemen suspect that the governor was not for their turn; but Mr. Ashburnham, fearing what would become of the king if he should be discovered before he had gained his point, took the governor aside, and after some conference prevailed with him to declare, That he did believe the king relied on him as a person of honour and honesty; and therefore did engage himself to perform whatsoever could be expected from a person so qualified. Mr. Ashburnham replied, I will ask no more: then, said the governor, Let us all go to the king, and acquaint him with it. When they came to Cowes-castle, where a boat lay to carry them over, colonel Hammond took captain Basket the governor of that castle with him, and gave order for a file or two of musketeers to follow them in another boat. When they came to the earl of Southampton's house, Mr. Ashburnham leaving Sir John Barkley below with colonel Hammond and captain Basket, went up to the king, and having given an account of what had passed between the governor and them, and that he was come with them to make good what he had promised; the king striking his hand upon his breast, said, "What, have you brought Hammond with you? O you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring." Mr. Ashburnham then told him, that if he mistrusted Hammond, he would undertake to secure him. To which the king replied, "I understand you well enough; but if I should follow that counsel, it would be said and believed, that he ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him." Telling him further, "That it was now too late to think upon any thing but going through the way he had forced him upon, wondering how he could make so great an oversight:" At which expression Mr. Ashburnham having no more to say, wept bitterly. In the meantime colonel Hammond and captain Basket beginning to be impatient of their long attendance below in the court, Sir John Barkley sent a gentleman of the earl of Southampton's, to desire that the king and Mr. Ashburnham would remember that they were below. About half an hour after the king sent for them up, and before colonel Hammond and captain Basket had kissed the king's hand, he took Sir John Barkley aside, and said to him, "Sir John, I hope you are not so passionate as Jack Ashburnham: Do you think you have followed my directions?" He answered, "No indeed; but it is not my fault, as Mr. Ashburnham can tell you, if he please." The king perceiving that it was now too late to take other measures, received colonel Hammond cheerfully, who having repeated to him what he had promised before, conducted them over to Cowes. The next morning the king went with the governor to Carisbrook, and on the way thither was met by divers gentlemen of the island, by whom he understood that the whole island was unanimously for him, except the governors of the castles, and colonel Hammond's captains; that Hammond might be easily gained, if not more easily forced, the castle being day and night full of the king's party; and that the king might choose his own time of quitting the island, having liberty to ride abroad daily: So that not only
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the king and those that were with him, but also his whole party, approved of the choice which he had made. The king and Mr. Ashburnham applied themselves to the governor with so good success, that he and those with him seemed to desire nothing more of the king than to send a civil message to both houses, signifying his propensity to peace; which was done accordingly.

No sooner was the king's escape taken notice of by the guards, but colonel Whalley hastened to the parliament with the letter which the king had left upon his table, shewing the reasons of his withdrawing, and his resolution not to desert the interest of the army; and though it was visible that the king made his escape by the advice of Cromwell, and therefore in all appearance with the consent of Whalley, yet he pretended for his excuse to the parliament, that Mr. Ashburnham had broken his engagement to him at his first coming to Woburn, whereby he had undertaken that the king should not leave the army without his knowledge and consent. Upon this advice the parliament declared it treason for any person to conceal the king; but the manner of his escape being soon after discovered, and that he had put himself into the hands of the governor of the Isle of Wight, they sent a messenger to the island for Mr. Ashburnham, Sir John Barkley, and Mr. Leg, but the governor refused to deliver them.

THE time for the general rendezvous of the army being now come, the commonwealth-party amongst them declared to stand to their engagement, not to be dispersed till the things they had demanded were affected, and the government of the nation established: to make good which resolution several regiments appeared in the field with distinguishing marks in their hats: But lieutenant-general Cromwell, not contenting himself with his part in an equal government, puffed up by his successes to an expectation of greater things, and having driven a bargain with the grandees in the house, either to comply with the king, or to settle things in a factious way without him, procured a party to stand by him in the seizing some of those who appeared at the rendezvous in opposition to his designs. To this end, being accompanied with divers officers whom he had preferred, and by that means made his creatures, he rode up to one of the regiments which had the distinguishing marks, requiring them to take them out, which they not doing, he caused several of them to be seized; and then their hearts failing, they yielded obedience to his commands. He ordered one of them to be shot dead upon the place, delivering the rest of those whom he had seized, being eleven in number, into the hands of the marshal; and having dispersed the army to their quarters, went to give an account of his proceedings to the parliament: and though when an agreement with the king was carried on by other hands, he could countenance the army in opposition to the parliament; yet now the bargain for the peoples liberty being driven on by himself, he opposed those who laboured to obstruct it, pretending his so doing to be only in order to keep the army in subjection to the parliament; who being very desirous to have this spirit suppressed in the army by any means, not only approved what he had done, but gave him the thanks of the house for the same: Whereunto, though

though singly, I gave as loud a "No" as I could, being fully convinced that he had acted in this manner for no other end but to advance his own passion and power into the room of right and reason; and took the first opportunity to tell him, that the army having taken the power into their hands; as in effect they had done, every drop of blood shed in that extraordinary way, would be required of them, unless the rectitude of their intentions and actions did justify them, of which they had need to be very careful.

WHILST these things were doing, the earl of Ormond finding that the Irish used him treacherously, and that the inclinations of his army tended towards a submission to the parliament of England, invited them to send commissioners to treat about the surrender of Dublin, and the forces commanded by him, into their hands. Which was done, and articles agreed upon, indemnifying all protestants in Ireland for what they had done there, unless they had been in the rebellion during the first year; and admitting them to compound for their estates in England at two years value. A certain sum was also promised to be paid to the earl of Ormond, in consideration of what he had disbursed for the army. This agreement being concluded, the city of Dublin and the forces before-mentioned were delivered to colonel Michael Jones, who was ordered by the parliament to receive the same; and the earl of Ormond came to London, where his money was paid him, and he soon after retired into France.

THE chief officers of the army having subdued those of their body, who upon just suspicion had opposed their treaty with the king, thought themselves obliged by their former engagement to press for a personal treaty with him, which they procured to be offered, in case he would grant four preliminary bills: The first of which contained the revocation of all proclamations against the parliament: The second, to make void all such titles of honour as had been granted by the king since he had left the parliament; and that for the future, none should be conferred upon any person without the consent of the parliament: The third was a bill to except some persons from pardon: And the fourth, for investing the militia in the two houses. All which those who thought it reasonable and necessary to proceed judicially with him, were afraid he would grant; it being visible, that had he been restored to the throne upon any terms, he might easily have gratified his friends, and revenged himself upon all his enemies. Colonel Hammond and Mr. Ashburnham had frequent conferences with the king, who had made such promises to the colonel, that he declared himself extremely desirous that the army might resume their power, and clear themselves of the adjutators, whose authority he said he had never approved. To this end he sent one Mr. Traughton his chaplain to the army, to persuade them to make use of their success against the adjutators; and two or three days after earnestly moved the king to send some of those about him to the army, with letters of compliment to the general, and others of greater confidence to Cromwell and Ireton, promising to write to them himself, which he did; conjuring them by their engagements, their honour and conscience, to come to a speedy agreement with the king, and not to expose themselves to
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the fantastick giddiness of the adjutators. Sir John Barkley was made choice of for this employment, who taking Mr. Henry Barkley his cousin-german with him, departed from the island with a pass from the governor of Cowes; and being on his way met Mr. Traughton on his return between Bagshot and Windsor, who acquainted him that he had no good news to carry back to the king, the army having taken new resolutions touching his person. Being gone a little further he was met by cornet Joyce, who told him, that he was astonished at his design of going to the army, acquainting him, that it had been debated amongst the adjutators, whether, in justification of themselves, the king should be brought to a trial; of which opinion he declared himself to be, not out of any ill will, as he said, to the king's person, but that the guilt of the war might be charged upon those that had caused it. About an hour after his arrival at Windsor, Sir John Barkley went to the general's quarters, where he found the officers of the army assembled; and being admitted, delivered his letters to the general, who having received them, ordered him to withdraw. After he had attended about half an hour, he was called in again, and told by the general, with some severity on his face, that they were the parliament's army; and therefore could say nothing to the king's motion about peace, but must refer those matters, and the king's letters, to their consideration. Then Sir John looked upon Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of his acquaintance, who saluted him very coldly, shewing him Hammond's letter to them, and smiling with disdain upon it. Being thus disappointed, he went to his lodging, and staid there from four till six of the clock, without any company, to his great dissatisfaction. At last he sent out his servant with orders to find out if possible some of his acquaintance, who met with one that was a general officer, by whom he was ordered to tell his master, that he would meet him at midnight in a close behind the garter-inn. At the time and place appointed they met, where the officer acquainted him in general, that he had no good news to communicate to him; and then descending to particulars, said, "You know that I and my friends engaged ourselves to you; that we were zealous for an agreement, and if the rest were not so, we were abused: that since the tumults in the army, we did mistrust Cromwell and Ireton, whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you, that we mistrust neither, and that we are resolved, notwithstanding our engagement, to destroy the king and his posterity, to which end Ireton has made two propositions this afternoon: one, that you should be sent prisoner to London: the other, that none should speak with you upon pain of death, and I do now hazard my life by doing it. The way designed to ruin the king is to send eight hundred of the most disaffected in the army to secure his person, and then to bring him to a trial, and I dare think no farther. This will be done in ten days; and therefore, if the king can escape, let him do it, as he loves his life." Sir John then asking the reason of this change, seeing the king had done all things in compliance with the army, and that the officers were become superior since the last rendezvous: he replied, that he could not certainly tell; but conceived the ground of it to be, that though one of the

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mutineers, as he called him, was shot to death, eleven more made prisoners, and the rest in appearance overawed, yet they were so far from being so indeed, that two-thirds of the army had been since with Cromwell and Ireton, to tell them, that though they were certain to perish in the enterprize, they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole army to their sense; and that if all failed, they would make a division in the army, and join with any who would assist them in the destruction of those that should oppose them. That Cromwell and Ireton argued thus: If the army divide, the greatest part will join with the presbyters, and will in all likelihood prevail, to our ruin, by forcing us to make our applications to the king, wherein we shall rather beg than offer any assistance; which, if the king shall give, and afterwards have the good fortune to prevail, if he shall then pardon us, it will be all we can pretend, and more than we can certainly promise to ourselves: thereupon concluding, that if they could not bring the army to their sense, that it was best to comply with them, a schism being utterly destructive to both. In pursuance of this resolution Cromwell bent all his thoughts to make his peace with the party that was most opposite to the king; acknowledging, as he knew well how to do on such occasions, that the glory of this world had so dazzled his eyes, that he could not discern clearly the great works that the Lord was doing. He sent also comfortable messages to the prisoners that he had seized at the general rendezvous, with assurances that nothing should be done to their prejudice; and by these and the like arts he perfected his reconciliation. For my own part, I am inclined to believe that his son Ireton never intended to close with the king, but only to lay his party asleep, whilst they were contesting with the presbyterian interest in parliament. And now having secured themselves of the city, and persuaded the king to deny the propositions of the parliament, subdued the army, and freed themselves from the importunity of the king and his party, they became willing to quit their hands of him, since their transactions with him had procured them so much opposition, and to leave the breach with him upon the parliament; where they found the presbyterian party averse to an agreement with him upon any proposals of the army, and the commonwealth party resolved not to treat with him upon any at all.

SIR JOHN BARKLEY being returned to his lodging, dispatched his cousin Henry Barkley to the Isle of Wight with two letters; one to the governor, containing a general relation, and doubtful judgment of things in the army; another in cypher, with a particular account of the foresaid conference, and a most passionate supplication to the king to meditate nothing but his immediate escape. The next morning he sent colonel Cooke to Cromwell, to let him know that he had letters and instructions to him from the king, who returned in answer by the messenger, that he durst not see him, it being very dangerous to them both; bidding him be assured, that he would serve the king as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired that it might not be expected that he should perish for his sake. Having received this answer, Sir John took horse for London, resolving not to acquaint any with the inclina-

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tions of the army, or with the king's pretended escape, which he presumed would be in a few days, the queen having sent a ship to that purpose, and pressed it earnestly in her letters. The next day after his arrival at London, he received a message from the Scots lords Lanerick and Lauderdale, desiring a meeting with him, presuming he had a commission from the king to treat: but he acquainting them that the king had said at his parting from him, that he would make good whatsoever he should undertake to any person in his name; the lord Lanerick replied, he would ask no other commission from him. At their second meeting they came near to an agreement, and resolved to conclude on the Monday following; but the next day Sir John Barkley receiving a letter from Mr. Ashburnham, requiring him in the king's name to lay aside all other business, and to return immediately to the king, was constrained to go out of town that night, and to leave the treaty unfinished, to the great dissatisfaction of both parties. At his return to the island he found the king determined not to attempt his escape till he had concluded with the Scots, who, he said, being very desirous to have him out of the hands of the army, would on that account come to an accommodation upon reasonable conditions; whereas, if he should leave the army before any agreement with the Scots, they would never treat with him but upon their own terms. To this end the king ordered Sir John Barkley, Mr. Ashburnham, Dr. Hammond, and Mr. Leg, to review the papers relating to the treaty with the Scots, which had been managed in London, chiefly by Dr. Gough a popish priest, who in the queen's name had conjured the king to make his speedy escape, and in his own beseeched him not to insist too nicely upon terms in the present exigency of his affairs: but Mr. Ashburnham hesitated much upon many expressions in the articles, relating to the covenant and church of England, of which he was a zealous professor, making many replies and alterations; and at last insisted that the king would send for the Scots commissioners to come to him. Accordingly Sir William Flemming was sent to that purpose; and the next day after, an express came from the said commissioners to the king, desiring that two papers might be drawn, the one to contain the least he would be contented with, and the other the utmost that he would grant to the Scots; which last they desired he would sign, promising to do the like to the first, and to deliver it to Dr. Gough upon the reception of his paper so signed. But this matter was delayed so long, that they concluded the Scots commissioners would be on their way before another express could be gone out of the island. At the same time that the Scots were coming to the king, commissioners were also sent to him by the parliament, with offers of a personal treaty, on condition that the king, in testimony of his future sincerity, would grant the four preliminary bills formerly mentioned. Whilst these two sorts of commissioners were one day attending the king as he walked about the castle, they observed him to throw a bone before two spaniels that followed him, and to take great delight in seeing them contesting for it; which some of them thought to be intended by him to represent that bone of contention he had cast between the two parties. It was proposed by some

of his party, that the king should give a dilatory answer to the Scots, that he might have the better opportunity to escape; and at the same time it was moved, that he should offer the four following bills to the parliament, upon presumption that they could not well refuse them, nor durst grant them: the first was for the payment of the army, and for their disbanding as soon as paid: the second to put a period to the present parliament: the third to restore the king and queen to the possession of their revenues: the fourth to settle a church-government without any coercive power; and till such a government were agreed on, the present to continue without any coercive authority. This they advised upon apprehensions, if the king should give a positive denial, that the commissioners might have orders to enjoin the governor to keep a stricter guard over his person, and thereby his designed escape be prevented. To this advice the king replied, That he had found out a remedy against their fears; which was to deliver his answer to the commissioners sealed up. The next day after the English commissioners had delivered their message, and desired the king's answer within three or four days; the commissioners of Scotland, Lowdon, Lanerick, Lauderdale, and others, delivered a protestation to the king, subscribed by them, against the parliament's message, affirming it to be contrary to the covenant, being sent without their participation or consent; and from this time began seriously to treat with the king, concluding at last upon such terms as they could obtain, rather than such as they desired from him. When the time to receive the king's answer was come, he sent for the English commissioners, and before he delivered his answer, demanded of the earl of Denbigh, who was the principal commissioner, whether they had power to alter any of the substantial or circumstantial parts of the message; and they replying that they had not, he delivered his answer sealed up into the hands of the earl of Denbigh. Having received the king's answer, the commissioners withdrew for a little time, and being returned, the earl of Denbigh seemed to be offended, that the king had delivered his message sealed, alledging that they were required by their instructions to bring his answer, which whether his letter were or no, they could not know, unless they might see it, saying that he had been his ambassador, and in that employment would never have delivered any letter without a preceding sight of it: the king told him, that he had employed twenty ambassadors, and that none of them had ever dared to open his letters; but having demanded whether what the earl of Denbigh had said were the sense of them all, and finding it so to be: "Well then, said the king, I will shew it to you on condition you will promise not to acquaint any one with the substance of it, before you have delivered it to the parliament;" which they consenting to, he desired the company might withdraw. The commissioners proposed that the governor colonel Hammond might be permitted to stay; which the king being unwilling to allow, yet not thinking it convenient to refuse, gave way to, and by this means the governor, as well as the commissioners, came to understand that the king had waved the interests both of the parliament and army, to close with the Scots, the substance of his letter being an absolute refusal of his consent to
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the four bills presented to him. The impression which the discovery of these things made upon the governor was so great, that before he departed from Carisbrook to accompany the parliament's commissioners to Newport, he gave orders for a strict guard to be kept in his absence; and at his return commanded the gates to be locked up, and the guards to be doubled, sitting up himself with them all night; whereby the king's intended escape was obstructed. The next morning he ordered the king's servants to remove, not excepting Dr. Hammond his own kinsman, who taking leave of the king, acquainted him, that they had left the captain of the frigate and two trusty gentlemen of the island to assist him in his escape, assuring him that they would have all things in readiness on the other side of the water to receive him. At their departure, the king commanded them to draw up a declaration, and send it to him the next morning to sign; which they did, and it was afterwards published in the king's name. When they came to Newport, one captain Burleigh caused a drum to beat to draw people together, in order to rescue the king; but there were few, besides women and children, that followed him, having but one musquet amongst them all, so that the king's servants thought not fit to join with or encourage them; but went over to the other side, where they continued about three weeks expecting the king's arrival; leaving captain Burleigh, who, with divers of his followers, was committed to jail. Upon the return of the king's negative to the four previous bills before mentioned, the parliament voted, "That no farther addresses should be made to the king by themselves, or any other person, without the leave of both houses; and that if any presumed so to do, they should incur the guilt of high-treason." They also published a declaration, prepared by colonel Nathanael Fiennes, shewing the reasons of their said resolutions; wherein, amongst other miscarriages of the king's reign, was represented his breaking of parliaments, the betraying of Rochel, his refusal to suffer any inquiry to be made into the death of his father, his levying war against the people of England, and his rejecting all reasonable offers of accommodation after six several applications to him on their part. Colonel Rainsborough was appointed admiral of the fleet; and Mr. Holland, myself, and another member of the house of commons, sent down to the head-quarters at Windsor, with orders to discharge from custody, captain Reynolds, and some others, called in derision "levellers," who had been imprisoned by the army, for attempting to bring about that which they themselves were now doing, and to exhort the officers to contribute the best of their endeavours towards a speedy settlement.

THE Scots in pursuance of their treaty with the king, made what preparations they could to raise an army, wherein the presbyterians and cavaliers joined, though with different designs. The same spirit began to appear also in England, many of our ships revolting to the king at the instigation of one captain Batten, who had been vice-admiral to the parliament, and others, encouraged by the city and the presbyterian party. The seamen on board the ship commanded by colonel Rainsborough refused to receive him, having
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before-hand secured one of my brothers, with others whom they suspected to be faithful to their commander. The earl of Warwick, as most acceptable to them, was appointed to go down to reduce them to obedience, by which means part of the fleet was preserved to the parliament, who immediately issued out orders for the fitting out of more ships to reinforce them. With the revolted ships prince Charles blocked up the mouth of the river; and about the same time his brother the duke of York, who upon the surrender of Oxford had been brought by order of the parliament to St. James's, and provision made for him there, escaped from thence to serve the king's designs. The castles of Deal and Sandwich declared also for the king, and colonel Rich was sent with a party of the army to reduce them. In the mean time lieutenant-general Cromwell, not forgetting himself, procured a meeting of divers leading men amongst the presbyterians and independents, both members of parliament and ministers, at a dinner in Westminster, under pretence of endeavouring a reconciliation between the two parties: but he found it a work too difficult for him to compose the differences between these two ecclesiastical interests; one of which could endure no superior, the other, no equal; so that this meeting produced no effect. Another conference he contrived to be held in King-street, between those called the grandees of the house and army, and the commonwealth's-men; in which the grandees, of whom lieutenant-general Cromwell was the head, kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining, that any of them might be good in themselves, or for us, according as providence should direct us. The commonwealth's-men declared that monarchy was neither good in itself, nor for us. That it was not good in itself, they urged from the 8th chapter and 8th verse of the first book of Samuel, where the rejecting of the judges, and the choice of a king, was charged upon the Israelites by God himself as a rejection of him; and from another passage in the same book, where Samuel declares it to be a great wickedness; with divers more texts of scripture to the same effect. And that it was no way conducing to the interest of this nation, was endeavoured to be proved by the infinite mischiefs and oppressions we had suffered under it, and by it: that indeed our ancestors had consented to be governed by a single person, but with this proviso, that he should govern according to the direction of the law, which he always bound himself by oath to perform: that the king had broken this oath, and thereby dissolved our allegiance; protection and obedience being reciprocal: that having appealed to the sword for the decision of the things in dispute, and thereby caused the effusion of a deluge of the people's blood, it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon the representatives of the people to call him to an account for the same; more especially since the controversy was determined by the same means which he had chosen; and then to proceed to the establishment of an equal commonwealth, founded upon the consent of the people, and providing for the rights and liberties of all men, that we might have the hearts and hands of the nation to support it, as being most just, and in all respects most conducing

ducing to the happiness and prosperity thereof. Notwithstanding what was said, lieutenant-general Cromwell, not for want of conviction, but in hopes to make a better bargain with another party, professed himself unresolved, and having learned what he could of the principles and inclinations of those present at the conference, took up a cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired. The next day, passing by me in the house, he told me he was convinced of the desirableness of what was proposed, but not of the feasibility of it; thereby, as I suppose, designing to encourage me to hope that he was inclined to join with us, though unwilling to publish his opinion, lest the grandees should be informed of it, to whom I presume he professed himself to be of another judgment.

MUCH time being spent since the parliament had voted no more addresses to be made to the king, nor any messages received from him, and yet nothing done towards bringing the king to a trial, or the settling of affairs without him; many of the people who had waited patiently hitherto, finding themselves as far from a settlement as ever, concluded that they should never have it, nor any ease from their burdens and taxes, without an accommodation with the king; and therefore entered into a combination through England, Scotland, and Ireland, to restore him to his authority. To this end petitions were promoted throughout all countries, the king by his agents fomenting and encouraging this spirit by all means possible, as appeared by his intercepted letters: so that lieutenant-general Cromwell, who had made it his usual practice to gratify enemies, even by the oppression of those who were by principle his friends, began again to court the commonwealth-party, inviting some of them to confer with him at his chamber: with which acquainting me the next time he came to the house of commons, I took the freedom to tell him, that he knew how to cajole and give them good words when he had occasion to make use of them; whereat breaking out into a rage, he said, they were a proud sort of people, and only considerable in their own conceits. I told him, it was no new thing to hear truth calumniated, and that though the commonwealth's-men were fallen under his displeasure, I would take the liberty to say, that they had always been and ever would be considerable where there was not a total defection from honesty, generosity, and all true virtue, which I hoped was not yet our case.

THE earl of Warwick, with the fleet equipped for him by the parliament, fell down the river towards the ships commanded by prince Charles, who presuming either that he would not fight him, or perhaps come over to him, lay some time in expectation; but finding by the manner of his approach that he was deceived in that particular, he thought it convenient to make all the sail he could for the coast of Holland. Our fleet followed him as far as the Texel; but according to the defensive principle of the nobility, our admiral thinking he had sufficiently discharged his duty by clearing the Downs, and driving the other fleet from our coast, declined to fight, though he had an opportunity to engage. Deal and Sandown castles were reduced by colonel Rich,

carry this point at the rendezvous, to dismiss the council of adjutators, to divide the army, and to send those to the most remote places who were most opposite to them, retaining near them such only as were fit for their purpose. This design being discovered by the adjutators, amongst whom colonel Rainborough had the principal interest, they used all possible industry to prevent the general muster which was appointed to be at Ware; supposing the separation thereupon intended to be contrary to the agreement made upon taking the king out of the hands of the parliament, and destructive to the ends which they thought it their duty to promote.

IN the mean time, Cromwell having acquainted the king with his danger, protesting to him, that it was not in his power to undertake for his security in the place where he was, assuring him of his real service, and desiring the Lord to deal with him and his according to the sincerity of his heart towards the king, prepared himself to act his part at the general rendezvous. The king being doubtful what to do in this conjuncture, was advised by some to go privately to London, and appear in the house of lords: to which it was answered, That the army being masters of the city and parliament, would undoubtedly seize the king there; and if there should be any blood shed in his defence, he would be accused of beginning a new war. Others counselled him to secure his person by quitting the kingdom. Against which the king objected, that the rendezvous being appointed for the next week, he was not willing to quit the army till that was passed; because, if the superior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their engagement; if not, they must apply themselves to him for their own security. The Scots commissioners also, who had been long tampering with him, took hold of this opportunity to persuade him to come to their terms, by augmenting his fears as much as they could. It was also proposed, that he should conceal himself in England: but that was thought unsafe, if not impossible. Some there were who proposed his going to Jersey, which was then kept for him; but the king being told by the earl of Lanerick, that the ships provided by Sir John Barkley for that purpose had been discovered and seized, though Sir John affirms in his papers that none were provided, that design was laid aside. At last the king resolved to go to the Isle of Wight, being, as is most probable, recommended thither by Cromwell, who, as well as the king, had a good opinion of colonel Hammond the governour there. To this end the king sent Mr. William Leg to Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham, requiring them to assist him in his escape; and horses were laid at Sutton in Hampshire to that purpose. On the day following, Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham waiting with horses, the king with Mr. Leg came out towards the evening, and being mounted they designed to ride through the forest, having the king for their guide; but they lost the way; so that the night proving dark and stormy, and the ways very bad, they could not reach Sutton before break of day, though they hoped to have been there three hours before. At Sutton they were informed that a committee of the county was there sitting by order of the parliament; which when the king heard, he passed by that place, and continued his way towards

towards Southampton, attended only by Mr. Leg, and went to a house of the earl of Southampton at Titchfield, having sent Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham to colonel Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, with a copy of the letter left upon the table in his chamber at Hampton-court, and two other letters which he had lately received, one of them without a name, expressing great fears and apprehensions of the ill intentions of the commonwealth-party against the king. The other from Cromwell, much to the same purpose, with this addition, that in prosecution thereof, a new guard was designed the next day to be placed about the king, consisting of men of that party. He also sent by them a letter to colonel Hammond, wherein, after he had expressed his distrust of the levelling part of the army, as he termed it, and the necessity lying upon him to provide for his own safety, he assured him, that he did not intend to desert the interest of the army, ordering his two messengers to acquaint him, that of all the army the king had chosen to put himself upon him, whom he knew to be a person of a good extraction, and though engaged against him in the war, yet without any animosity to his person, to which he was informed he had no aversion: that he did not think it fit to surprise him; and therefore, had sent the two persons before-mentioned to advertise him of his intentions, and to desire his promise to protect the king and his servants to the best of his power; and if it should happen that he was not able to do it, then to oblige himself to leave them in as good a condition as he found them. Being ready to depart with these instructions, Sir John Barkley said to the king, that having no knowledge of the governor, he could not tell whether he might not detain them in the island; and therefore advised, if they returned not the next day, that he would think no more of them, but secure his own escape. Towards evening they arrived at Lymington, but could not pass by reason of a violent storm. The next morning they got over to the island, and went directly to Carisbrook-castle, the residence of the governor, where they were told that he was gone towards Newport. Upon this notice they rode after, and having overtaken and acquainted him with their message, he grew pale, and fell into such a trembling, that it was thought he would have fallen from his horse. In this consternation he continued about an hour, breaking out sometimes into passionate and distracted expressions, saying, "O gentlemen, you have undone me in bringing the king into the island, if at least you have brought him; and if you have not, I pray let him not come: for what between my duty to the king, and gratitude to him upon this fresh obligation of confidence, and the discharge of my trust to the army, I shall be confounded." Upon this they took occasion to tell him, that the king intended a favour to him and his posterity, in giving him this opportunity to lay a great obligation upon him, and such as was very consistent with his relation to the army, who had solemnly engaged themselves to the king; but if he thought otherwise, the king would be far from imposing his person upon him: but, said the governor, if the king should come to any mischance, what would the army and the king say to him that had refused to receive him? To which they answered, That he had not refused him who was not
come

before-hand secured one of my brothers, with others whom they suspected to be faithful to their commander. The earl of Warwick, as most acceptable to them, was appointed to go down to reduce them to obedience, by which means part of the fleet was preserved to the parliament, who immediately issued out orders for the fitting out of more ships to reinforce them. With the revolted ships prince Charles blocked up the mouth of the river; and about the same time his brother the duke of York, who upon the surrender of Oxford had been brought by order of the parliament to St. James's, and provision made for him there, escaped from thence to serve the king's designs. The castles of Deal and Sandwich declared also for the king, and colonel Rich was sent with a party of the army to reduce them. In the mean time lieutenant-general Cromwell, not forgetting himself, procured a meeting of divers leading men amongst the presbyterians and independents, both members of parliament and ministers, at a dinner in Westminster, under pretence of endeavouring a reconciliation between the two parties: but he found it a work too difficult for him to compose the differences between these two ecclesiastical interests; one of which could endure no superior, the other, no equal; so that this meeting produced no effect. Another conference he contrived to be held in King-street, between those called the grandees of the house and army, and the commonwealth's-men; in which the grandees, of whom lieutenant-general Cromwell was the head, kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining, that any of them might be good in themselves, or for us, according as providence should direct us. The commonwealth's-men declared that monarchy was neither good in itself, nor for us. That it was not good in itself, they urged from the 8th chapter and 8th verse of the first book of Samuel, where the rejecting of the judges, and the choice of a king, was charged upon the Israelites by God himself as a rejection of him; and from another passage in the same book, where Samuel declares it to be a great wickedness; with divers more texts of scripture to the same effect. And that it was no way conducing to the interest of this nation, was endeavoured to be proved by the infinite mischiefs and oppressions we had suffered under it, and by it: that indeed our ancestors had consented to be governed by a single person, but with this proviso, that he should govern according to the direction of the law, which he always bound himself by oath to perform: that the king had broken this oath, and thereby dissolved our allegiance; protection and obedience being reciprocal: that having appealed to the sword for the decision of the things in dispute, and thereby caused the effusion of a deluge of the people's blood, it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon the representatives of the people to call him to an account for the same; more especially since the controversy was determined by the same means which he had chosen; and then to proceed to the establishment of an equal commonwealth, founded upon the consent of the people, and providing for the rights and liberties of all men, that we might have the hearts and hands of the nation to support it, as being most just, and in all respects most conducing

ducing to the happiness and prosperity thereof. Notwithstanding what was said, lieutenant-general Cromwell, not for want of conviction, but in hopes to make a better bargain with another party, professed himself unresolved, and having learned what he could of the principles and inclinations of those present at the conference, took up a cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired. The next day, passing by me in the house, he told me he was convinced of the desirableness of what was proposed, but not of the feasibility of it; thereby, as I suppose, designing to encourage me to hope that he was inclined to join with us, though unwilling to publish his opinion, lest the grandees should be informed of it, to whom I presume he professed himself to be of another judgment.

MUCH time being spent since the parliament had voted no more addresses to be made to the king, nor any messages received from him, and yet nothing done towards bringing the king to a trial, or the settling of affairs without him; many of the people who had waited patiently hitherto, finding themselves as far from a settlement as ever, concluded that they should never have it, nor any ease from their burdens and taxes, without an accommodation with the king; and therefore entered into a combination through England, Scotland, and Ireland, to restore him to his authority. To this end petitions were promoted throughout all countries, the king by his agents fomenting and encouraging this spirit by all means possible, as appeared by his intercepted letters: so that lieutenant-general Cromwell, who had made it his usual practice to gratify enemies, even by the oppression of those who were by principle his friends, began again to court the commonwealth-party, inviting some of them to confer with him at his chamber: with which acquainting me the next time he came to the house of commons, I took the freedom to tell him, that he knew how to cajole and give them good words when he had occasion to make use of them; whereat breaking out into a rage, he said, they were a proud sort of people, and only considerable in their own conceits. I told him, it was no new thing to hear truth calumniated, and that though the commonwealth's-men were fallen under his displeasure, I would take the liberty to say, that they had always been and ever would be considerable where there was not a total defection from honesty, generosity, and all true virtue, which I hoped was not yet our case.

THE earl of Warwick, with the fleet equipped for him by the parliament, fell down the river towards the ships commanded by prince Charles, who presuming either that he would not fight him, or perhaps come over to him, lay some time in expectation; but finding by the manner of his approach that he was deceived in that particular, he thought it convenient to make all the sail he could for the coast of Holland. Our fleet followed him as far as the Texel; but according to the defensive principle of the nobility, our admiral thinking he had sufficiently discharged his duty by clearing the Downs, and driving the other fleet from our coast, declined to fight, though he had an opportunity to engage. Deal and Sandown castles were reduced by colonel Rich,

Rich, and many of our revolted ships not finding things according to their expectation, being constrained to serve under prince Rupert instead of the lord Willoughby, who they desired might command them, returned to the obedience of the parliament.

THE Scots making all possible preparations to raise an army for the restitution of the king, Sir Thomas Glenham and Sir Marmaduke Langdale went to Scotland to join with them in that enterprize, and to draw what English they could to promote the design. The first of these seized upon Carlisle by order of the Scots, though contrary to their articles; whereupon the parliament, thinking it necessary to provide for the security of Berwick, placed a good garrison therein, and resolving to reinforce the militia of each county, sent down some of their members to give life to the preparations. Amongst others I was appointed to go down to the county for which I served, where we agreed to raise two regiments of foot and one of horse. In the mean time the enemy was not idle, and taking advantage of the discontents of captain Poyer governor of Pembroke, they prevailed with him to revolt, and declare for the king. Other disaffected parts of the nation, not yet ready for open opposition, acted with more caution, preparing and encouraging petitions to the parliament for a personal treaty with the king, of which the principal were Surrey, Essex, and Kent. In Essex they met at Chelmsford in a tumultuous manner, and seized Sir William Masham and other members of parliament; who being ready to use all gentle methods to prevent farther inconveniencies, sent down Mr. Charles Rich, second son to the earl of Warwick, and Sir Harbottle Grimston, two of their members, to endeavour to quiet that tumultuous spirit, with instructions and power to promise indemnity to all that should desist from the prosecution of what they desired in this violent way: which commission they managed so well, that upon their promise to present the requests of the petitioners, which were drawn up in writing, to the parliament, and to return them an answer, the people of the country dispersed themselves to their own houses. But the sedition of the Surrey-men was not terminated so easily, of whom many hundreds came to the doors of the parliament; and not being satisfied with the answer the parliament thought fit to give to their petition, after they had been heated with drink, and animated by the cavalier party, they resolved to force from them another answer, and with intolerable insolence pressed upon their guard, beating the sentinels to the main guard, which was drawn up at the upper end of Westminster-hall, where they wounded the officer who commanded them; and being intreated to desist, became more violent; so that the soldiers were necessitated, in their own defence, and discharge of their duty, to fire upon them, whereby two or three of the countrymen were killed: neither did this quiet them, till some horse and foot arrived to strengthen the guard, and dispersed them. Lieutenant-colonel Gobbet, who commanded the guard, being called into the house to give an account of what had passed, went to the bar, bleeding from the wounds which he had received, and related the passages before-mentioned: but some friends of the petitioners within doors, informing the house that the matter of fact was otherwise

otherwise than had been represented by the lieutenant-colonel, the parliament appointed a committee to examine the truth of it.

THOSE of the secluded members who were in England being returned to the house, divers hard words passed between them and others of the parliament; and one day commissary-general Ireton speaking something concerning them, Mr. Hollis thinking it to be injurious to them, passing by him in the house, whispered him in the ear, telling him it was false, and he would justify it to be so if he would follow him, and thereupon immediately went out of the house with the other following him. Some members who had observed their passionate carriage to each other, and seen them hastily leaving the house, acquainted the parliament with their apprehensions; whereupon they sent their serjeant at arms to command their attendance, which he letting them understand, as they were taking boat to go to the other side of the water, they returned; and the house taking notice of what they were informed concerning them, enjoined them to forbear all words or actions of enmity towards each other, and to carry themselves for the future as fellow-members of the same body, which they promised to do.

LIEUTENANT-general Cromwell perceiving the clouds to gather on every side, complained to me, as we were walking in the palace-yard, of the unhappiness of his condition, having made the greatest part of the nation his enemies, by adhering to a just cause: but that which he pretended to be his greatest trouble was, that many who were engaged in the same cause with him, had entertained a jealousy and suspicion of him; which he assured me was a great discouragement to him, asking my advice what method was best for him to take. I could not but acknowledge that he had many enemies for the sake of the cause in which he stood engaged, and also that many who were friends to that cause had conceived suspicions of him: but I observed to him, that he could never oblige the former, without betraying that cause wherein he was engaged; which if he should do upon the account of an empty title, riches, or any other advantages, how those contracts would be kept with him was uncertain; but most certain it was, that his name would be abominated by all good men, and his memory be abhorred by posterity. On the other side, if he persisted in the prosecution of our just intentions, it was the most probable way to subdue his enemies, to rectify the mistakes of those that had conceived a jealousy of him, and to convince his friends of his integrity: that if he should fall in the attempt, yet his loss would be lamented by all good men, and his name be transmitted to future ages with honour. He seemed to take well what I said, and it might have been no disservice to him if he had acted accordingly: but his design was rather to persuade me, for the present, of the rectitude of his intentions, than to receive counsel from me concerning his conduct.

ABOUT this time we obtained some advantages in Ireland, where colonel Michael Jones, (who had been ordered by the parliament to command at Dublin when the earl of Ormond delivered it up) with the forces he had, fought the rebels, though double his number, at Dungan-hill, killed some

thousands of them, and totally routed the rest: of which when the parliament had received information, they ordered five hundred pounds by year of the forfeited lands in Ireland to be settled upon colonel Jones as a reward for his good service. In England the defection began to increase; captain Henry Lilburn who commanded for the parliament in Tinmouth-castle, which lies at the mouth of the harbour, and is a key to Newcastle, declaring for the king; but notice thereof being brought to Sir Arthur Haslerig at Newcastle, of which town he was governor, he with great expedition drew down a party before the place, and attacking it unexpectedly, took it by assault, before the men had been thoroughly confirmed in their revolt by the governor, whom he put to the sword, and placed another garrison therein.

MANY of those who had been for the parliament in South-Wales now joining with the king's party, they grew to be a considerable body; whereby major-general Laughern, who upon some suspicion had been under confinement, was encouraged to get away and join himself to them; major-general John Stradling, Sir Henry Stradling, colonel Thomas Stradling, and several other gentlemen of those parts falling in with them. Colonel Horton, with about two thousand five hundred horse, foot, and dragoons, was sent into Wales to engage them; lieutenant-general Cromwell following with as many more forces as could be spared from the army; who being within three or four days march of colonel Horton, received advice that the enemy, to the number of about seven thousand, had engaged the colonel at St. Faggons in Glamorganshire; that upon the first attack our forces gave ground, but well considering the danger they were in, the country being full of enemies, and encouraged by their affection to the cause wherein they were engaged, they charged the enemy's van, consisting of the best of their men, with so great bravery and resolution, that they forced them to give way; which those that were in their rear, who were for the most part new-raised men, perceiving, began to shift for themselves. Upon this ours followed their charge with so much vigour and success, that the whole body of the enemy was soon routed and dispersed; many of them were killed in the pursuit, and many taken prisoners: amongst the latter was major-general Stradling, and divers other officers. The news of this success was very welcome to all those that wished well to the publick, and proved a great discouragement to the contrary party.

THE petitioners of Surrey drew into a body, and in conjunction with the Kentish-men of the king's party, appointed their rendezvous upon Blackheath: but Sir Thomas Fairfax, with that part of the army which he had with him, disappointed that design, by possessing himself of that ground before them. However, the enemy had brought together a considerable body of men, many of whom were induced to come in, upon assurances given that they should be commanded by Mr. Hales, a gentleman of a great estate in Kent; though afterwards the lord Goring appeared at the head of them, as had been designed from the beginning. Upon the advance of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, the enemy, who exceeded him in number by one half at least, divided their body, sending on part to possess themselves of Maidstone and

and the adjacent places, and another party to block up Dover and other forts upon the coast, whilst Goring remained with the rest about Rochester. Sir Thomas Fairfax resolving first to attack those about Maidstone, fell upon them, and beat them into the town, which they had fortified before; whereupon though the numbers within the town being at least equal to those without, made it a work of great hazard and difficulty, yet considering that those with the lord Goring exceeded either, and might march to the enemy's relief, ours resolved to storm the place, which they did the night following; the general by his own example encouraging the men to fall on, who for a good while were not able to make any considerable progress, till colonel Hewson with his regiment opened a passage into one of the streets, where the dispute growing hot, he was knocked down with a musket; but recovering himself, he pressed the enemy so hard, that they were forced to retreat to their main guard, and falling in with them at the same time, so disordered them, that they all began to shift for themselves; wherein they were favoured by the advantage of the night: yet many of them were made prisoners, and many killed; many horses and all their artillery fell into the hands of ours. The general, as soon as he had refreshed his men, advanced towards that body commanded by the lord Goring, which was much increased in number by the addition of those who escaped from Maidstone, but not in resolution, being so discouraged with their relation of what had passed there, that immediately upon our approach they began to retreat, many of them running away to their own habitations. Notwithstanding this, a considerable body continuing with the lord Goring, he sent to the city of London, desiring leave to march through the city into Essex, designing to recruit his men with such of that county as had lately expressed so much affection to the king's interest. The city, though much inclined to have the king received upon terms, yet not willing absolutely to espouse the cavalier party, especially in a flying posture; and considering that there was a great number still amongst them who retained their affection to the publick cause, returned a positive denial to Goring: so that he was necessitated to make use of boats or other means to transport his men over the river into the county of Essex. A party of horse was sent from the army to keep a guard at Bow-bridge, as well to prevent the disaffected in the city from running to the enemy, as to hinder them from doing any thing to the prejudice of London.

LIEUTENANT-general Cromwell, with that part of the army which was with him, besieged the castle and town of Pembroke, whither the principal of that body which fled from St. Faggons had made their retreat. In the mean time the presbyterian party prevailing in the house, by reason of the absence of divers members who belonged to the army, and were employed in all parts of the nation, discharged from prison those who had been committed upon the account of that force which was put upon the house by the late tumults, and the parliament left to the mercy of their enemies with a very slender guard. The lord Lisle's commission to be lord lieutenant of Ireland expiring at the same time, they refused to renew it; by which means the

province of Munster fell into the hands of the lord Inchequin as president, who made use of the opportunity to displace those officers that had been put in by the lord Lisle, preferring his own creatures to their employments, to the great prejudice of the English interest in that country: many others, who were acquainted with his temper and principles, quitted voluntarily; and though he still pretended fidelity to the state of England, yet he expressed himself dissatisfied with the proceedings of the army-party towards him. Some overtures also he had received from the Irish touching an accommodation; but being straitened by them in his quarters; and therefore advancing with his army towards them, colonel Temple and some others yet remaining in his army being willing to improve the occasion, pressed him so hard to resolve to fight, that he could not well avoid it. At the beginning of the battle the success seemed to be very doubtful; but in the end ours obtained the victory, some thousands of the enemy being killed, many made prisoners, and all their baggage taken. Not long after this he declared against the parliament, and joined with the Irish rebels: some of the English officers concurred with him in his declaration; many left him and came to the parliament, who made provision for them, as they had done for those that came away before. Though this conjunction of Inchequin was not concluded without the king's consent, yet it was not a proper season for him to condescend so far as they desired: whereby great divisions arose amongst them; for there was a party of old Irish, as they were called, headed principally by Owen Roe O Neal, of whom several were in the supreme council, who, out of an innate hatred to the English government, joined with those who would be satisfied with nothing less than to have the pope acknowledged to be their only supreme lord: so that not being able to agree, their differences proved very serviceable to the English interest. The like spirit of division appeared amongst our enemies in Scotland, where, though the number was great of those that professed their constant adherence to their engagements contained in the covenant, yet when it came to a trial in their convention, the anticovenanters, who were for restoring the king without any terms, carried all before them: so that instead of the marquis of Argyle, the marquis of Hamilton was appointed general of their army; all the inferior officers being of the same mold and principle; inso-much that the pulpits, who before had proclaimed this war, now accompanied the army that was preparing to march with their curses: for though they could have been contented that the sectarian party, as they called it, should be ruined, provided they could find strength enough to bring in the king themselves; yet they feared their old enemy more than their new one, because the latter would only restrain them from lording it over them and others, affording them equal liberty with themselves; whereas the former was so far from that, as hardly to suffer them to be hewers of wood and drawers of water: for those who would have all power both civil and ecclesiastical put into one hand, could not possibly agree with such as would have it divided into many.

THESE affairs necessitated the parliament to raise the militia, in order to oppose this malevolent spirit which threatened them from the north, and also prevailed with them to discountenance a charge of high-treason, framed by major Huntington, an officer of the army, with the advice of some members of both houses, against lieutenant-general Cromwell, for endeavouring, by betraying the king, parliament, and army, to advance himself; it being manifest that the preferring this accusation at that time, was principally designed to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might be the better enabled to prevail against them.

THE design of the king's escape was still carried on; but by the vigilance of the governor of the Isle of Wight and his officers, it was discovered and prevented. The next morning after the discovery they found the iron bars of the king's chamber-window eaten through by something applied to them: whereupon those who were to have been instrumental in his escape, not knowing otherwise how to revenge themselves on those who had defeated their enterprize, accused major Rolfe, a captain in that garrison, very active and vigilant in his charge, of a design to kill the king, raising such a clamour about it, that the parliament thought not fit to decline putting him upon his trial; but the accusation appearing to the grand jury to be grounded upon malice, they refused to find the bill. About the same time captain Burleigh, who had beat a drum at Newport for the rescuing of the king, was brought to his trial; and the jury having found him guilty of high-treason, he was executed according to the sentence.

THOSE of the enemy commanded by the lord Goring, who had fled into Essex, grew to a considerable number; but being new-raised men, and not well-acquainted one with another, upon the advance of our army retreated to Colchester with a body so much exceeding ours, which pursued and besieged them in that place, that commissary-general Ireton compared the town and those therein to a great bee-hive, and our army to a small swarm of bees sticking on one side of it; but the number of ours was soon increased by the forces which the well-affected in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge, sent to their assistance.

THE earl of Holland, who at the beginning of the parliament had appeared active for them, and afterwards leaving them, had gone to the king at Oxford, when he supposed him to grow strong; then again returning to the parliament upon the declining of the king's affairs, publishing a declaration at his coming to London, that he left the king because he saw the Irish rebels so eminently favoured by him; in this low condition of the parliament, revolted again, and formed a party of about a thousand horse, with which he marched from London, and declared against them, accompanied by the duke of Buckingham, (whose sequestration, upon the account of his minority when he first engaged with the king, the parliament had freely remitted) and the lord Francis his brother, prevailing also with Dalbeir, formerly quarter-master-general to the earl of Essex, to join with them. Their rendezvous was appointed to be upon Bansted-Downs; but the vigilance of the parliament was
such,

such, that a party of horse and foot was soon sent after them, commanded by Sir Michael Lewesey, who without much dispute put those courtly gentlemen to the rout. The lord Francis presuming perhaps that his beauty would have charmed the soldiers, as it had done Mrs. Kirke, for whom he made a splendid entertainment the night before he left the town, and made her a present of plate to the value of a thousand pounds, staid behind his company, where unseasonably daring the troopers, and refusing to take quarter, he was killed, and after his death there was found upon him some of the hair of Mrs. Kirke, sewed in a piece of ribbon that hung next his skin. The rest fled towards St. Neots in the county of Huntingdon, where being fallen upon again, they were routed a second time: in which action the parliament's soldiers, to express their detestation of Dalbeir's treachery, hewed him in pieces. The earl of Holland was taken, and sent prisoner to Warwick-castle; but the duke of Buckingham escaped, and went over to France.

POMFRET-castle being seized by some of the king's party, was besieged by the country, assisted by some of the army, Sir Hugh Cholmely commanding at the siege; but the army finding little progress made therein, ordered colonel Rainsborough with more forces thither, appointing him to command in the room of Sir Hugh Cholmely. Whilst he was preparing for that service, being at Doncaster, ten or twelve miles from Pomfret, with a considerable force in the town, a party of horse dismounting at his quarters, and going up as friends to his chamber, under pretence of having business with him, seized him first, and upon his refusing to go silently with them, murdered him. After his death another commander being appointed in his place to carry on the siege, those in the castle were reduced to such extremities, that some of the most desperate of them resolved, together with their governor, one Morris, who had been page to the earl of Strafford, to endeavour the breaking through our forces on horseback; which they attempted, and though most of them were beaten back to the castle by the besiegers, yet this Morris made his way through; but was afterwards taken as he passed through the country in the disguise of a beggar, and carried to York, where he was arraigned before justice Thorpe, and being found guilty of treason, was executed for the same.

LIEUTENANT-general Cromwell, with that part of the army which was with him, besieged the town and castle of Pembroke, whither the chief of that party that fled from St. Faggons had made their retreat, as I said before; but wanting great guns, he was obliged to send for some to Gloucester, which with much difficulty were brought to him. This place detained the greatest part of our army about six weeks; but it was remarkable, that about the time the Scots were entering into England, the garrison, for want of provisions, was forced to capitulate and surrender upon articles, by which some of them were to remain prisoners, and others to be banished into Ireland for three years; amongst the latter were colonel Thomas Stradling, Sir Henry Stradling, colonel Button and major Butler; of the first were colonel Laughern, colonel Poyer, and colonel Powell.

TWENTY thousand Scots being upon their march into England under the conduct of duke Hamilton, with about five thousand English, commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, some of us who had opposed the lieutenant-general's arbitrary proceedings, when we were convinced he acted to promote a selfish and unwarrantable design, now thinking ourselves obliged to strengthen his hands in that necessary work, which he was appointed to undertake, writ a letter to him to encourage him, from the consideration of the justice of the cause wherein he was engaged, and the wickedness of those with whom he was to encounter, to proceed with chearfulness, assuring him, that notwithstanding all our discouragements we would readily give him all the assistance we could. The house of commons declared the Scots who had invaded England to be enemies, and ordered the lieutenant-general to march towards them, and fight them; but the lords in this doubtful posture of affairs declined to concur with them in the same: yet both of them, with the city of London, joined in driving on a personal treaty with the king in the Isle of Wight; and to that end the lords and commons revoked the votes for non-addresses; whereby the king seemed to be on sure ground, for that if the Scots army failed, he might still make terms with the parliament. The king's party in Colchester were also much encouraged with hopes of relief from the Scots army, who were very numerous, and well furnished with all things but a good cause. To fight this formidable army the lieutenant-general could not make up much above seven thousand horse and foot, and those so extremely harassed with hard service and long marches, that they seemed rather fit for an hospital than a battle. With this handful of men he advanced towards the enemy, and about Preston in Lancashire both armies met on the 17th of August 1648. The English who were in the Scots army had the honour of the van, and for a time entertained ours with some opposition; but being vigorously pressed by our men, they were forced to retreat to a pass, which they maintained against us, whilst they sent to their general for succours, which he not sending, on purpose, as was said, that the English might be cut off, and his party kept entire to enable him to set up for himself, and give law to both nations, they began to shift for themselves: which made such an impression upon the Scots, that they soon followed their example, retreating in a disorderly manner. Ours followed them so close, that most of their foot threw down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners. Many of the principal officers of their foot were taken, with all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage: Hamilton, with four or five thousand horse in a body, left the field, and was pursued by colonel Thorney a member of parliament, and colonel of a regiment of horse, a worthy and a valiant man, who following them too close and unadvisedly, run himself upon one of their lances, wherewith he was mortally wounded, which he perceiving by the wasting of his spirits, to express his affection to his country, and joy for the defeat of the enemy, desired his men to open to the right and left, that he might have the satisfaction to see them run before he died. The enemy's body of horse kept themselves together for some days roving up and down the country about

about Leicestershire, which county the lord Grey of Grooby had raised, and brought together about three thousand horse and foot to preserve the country from plunder, and to take all possible advantages against the enemy: and though a body of horse from the army was in pursuit of the Scots, yet the Leicestershire party came up first to them at Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, where the body of the enemy's horse was; and whilst the Scots were treating with the other party from the army, the lord Grey's men, observing no guards kept, entered upon them before any conditions were made; whereupon Hamilton surrendered himself to colonel Wayte, an officer of the Leicestershire party, delivering to him his scarf, his george, and his sword, which last he desired him to keep carefully, because it had belonged to his ancestors. By the two parties the Scots were all made prisoners, and all their horses seized; the duke of Hamilton was carried prisoner to Windsor-castle, and all their standards of horse and foot were taken and sent up to London, where the parliament ordered them to be hung up in Westminster-hall. The house of lords who had avoided to declare the Scots enemies whilst their army was entire, now after their defeat prevented the house of commons, and moved that a day might be appointed to give God thanks for this success. The news of this victory being carried to the Isle of Wight, the king said to the governor, That it was the worst news that ever came to England; to which he answered, That he thought the king had no cause to be of that opinion, since if Hamilton had beaten the English, he would certainly have possessed himself of the thrones of England and Scotland: the king presently replied, "You are mistaken, I could have commanded him back with the motion of my hand." Which whether he could do or no was doubtful; but whatever reasons he had for this opinion, it seemed very unseasonable to own it openly in that conjuncture. Lieutenant-general Cromwell marched with part of his army to Edinburgh, where he dispossessed the Hamiltonian party of their authority, and put the power into the hands of the presbyterians; by whom he was received with great demonstrations of joy: and though lately they looked upon the independent party as the worst of their enemies, yet now they owned and embraced them as their best friends and deliverers; and having notice given them that the English army was about to return into England, they prevailed with the lieutenant-general to leave major-general Lambert with a body of horse, till they could raise more forces to provide for their own safety.

THE treaty with the king being pressed with more heat than ever, and a design visibly appearing to render all our victories useless thereby; by the advice of some friends I went down to the army, which lay at that time before Colchester; where attending upon the general Sir Thomas Fairfax, to acquaint him with the state of affairs at London, I told him, that a design was driving on to betray the cause in which so much of the people's blood had been shed: that the king being under a restraint, would not account himself obliged by any thing he should promise under such circumstances; assuring him, that most of those who pushed on the treaty with the greatest vehemency, intended

intended not that he should be bound to the performance of it, but designed principally to use his authority and favour in order to destroy the army; who, as they had assumed the power, ought to make the best use of it, and to prevent the ruin of themselves and the nation. He acknowledged what I said to be true, and declared himself resolved to use the power he had, to maintain the cause of the publick, upon a clear and evident call, looking upon himself to be obliged to pursue the work which he was about. Perceiving by such a general answer, that he was irresolute, I went to commissary-general Ireton, who had a great influence upon him, and having found him, we discoursed together upon the same subject, wherein we both agreed, that it was necessary for the army to interpose in this matter, but differed about the time; he being of opinion, that it was best to permit the king and the parliament to make an agreement, and to wait till they had made a full discovery of their intentions, whereby the people, becoming sensible of their own danger, would willingly join to oppose them. My opinion was, that it would be much easier for the army to keep them from a conjunction, than to oppose them when united; it being highly probable, that the first things they would fall upon after their union, would be such as were most taking with the people, in order to oblige them to assist in the disbanding of the army, under pretence of lessening their taxes: and then if the army should in any manner signify a dislike of their proceedings, they would be esteemed by the majority of the people, to be disturbers of the publick peace, and accused of designing nothing save their own particular advantages.

THE king's party in Colchester, expecting to be included in the peace which was treating between him and the parliament, held out to the utmost; but being in extreme want of provisions, and destitute of all hopes of relief since the defeat of the Scots, they were forced to surrender on the 28th of August 1648. upon articles, whereby some of the principal of them being prisoners at discretion, the court martial assembled and condemned Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Barnard Gascoin, to die; the last of whom being a foreigner, was pardoned, and the other two were shot to death, according to the sentence. The lord Goring and the lord Capel were sent prisoners to London, and committed to the Tower, by an order of the parliament.

THE two houses finding things in this posture, hastened the departure of their commissioners to the Isle of Wight, with powers and instructions to treat with the king, who principally insisted on that article concerning bishops, whom he accounted to be by divine right, or rather essentially necessary to the support of arbitrary power; whereupon ministers of each side were appointed to dispute touching that subject, in order to satisfy the king's conscience. But the army having now wonderfully dispersed their enemies on every part, began to consider how to secure themselves and the common cause, against those counsels that were carried on in opposition to them, under pretext of making peace with the king, and to that end drew up a declaration at St. Albans, dated the 16th of November, 1648. shewing that the grounds of
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their first engagement was to bring delinquents to justice; that the king was guilty of the blood shed in the first and second war; and that therefore they could not trust him with the government. This remonstrance they presented to the parliament on the 20th of November, 1648. The king and parliament seeing this cloud beginning to gather, endeavoured by all means possible to hasten their treaty to a conclusion. The army also were not wanting to fortify themselves against that shock, sending some of their own number to those members of parliament, whom they esteemed most faithful to the common cause, to invite them down to the army, after they should in a publick manner have expressed their dissatisfaction to the proceedings of those who had betrayed the trust reposed in them by the good people of England; and declared, that finding it impossible to be any farther serviceable in parliament, they had resolved to repair to the army, in order to procure their assistance in settling the government of the nation upon a just foundation. At a meeting of some members of parliament with the said officers from the army, it was resolved, That though the way proposed by them might be taken, in case all other means failed, yet seeing there was more than a sufficient number of members in the parliament to make a house, who were most affectionate to the publick cause, it would be more proper for the army to relieve them from those who rendered them useless to the publick service, thereby preserving the name and place of the parliament, than for the members thereof to quit their stations wherein they were appointed to serve, and to leave the civil authority in the hands of those who would be ready to fall in with any power that would attempt to frustrate what should be agreed on by them and the army. In prosecution of this result, the army drew to Colebrook, from whence commissary-general Ireton sent me word, that now he hoped they should please me; which I must acknowledge they did by the way which they were taking; not from any particular advantages that I expected from it, except an equal share of security with other men; but that the people of England might be preserved in their just rights, from the oppressions of violent men; the question in dispute between the king's party and us being, as I apprehended, "Whether the king should govern as a God by his will, and the nation be governed by force like beasts: or whether the people should be governed by laws made by themselves, and live under a government derived from their own consent?" Being fully persuaded that an accommodation with the king was unsafe for the people of England, and unjust and wicked in the nature of it. The former, besides that it was obvious to all men, the king himself had proved, by the duplicity of his dealing with the parliament, which manifestly appeared in his own papers taken at the battle of Naseby, and elsewhere. Of the latter I was convinced by the express words of God's law; "That blood defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it," Numb. xxxv. 33. And therefore I could not consent to the counsels of those who were contented to leave the guilt of so much blood upon the nation, and thereby to draw down the just vengeance of God upon us all; when it was most evident that the war had
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been occasioned by the invasion of our rights, and open breach of our laws and constitution, on the king's part.

THE commissioners that were appointed to manage the treaty with the king, returned with the king's answer, containing neither a positive grant, nor an absolute denial. As to the bishops, he still retained his principle of their divine right; and therefore declared, that he would not dispense with the abolition of them; but for present satisfaction, hoping by giving ground to gain a better opportunity to serve them, he consented that those who had bought their lands should have a lease of them for some years: and for satisfaction for the blood that had been shed, he was willing that six should be excepted; but withal care was taken, that they should be such as were far enough from the reach of justice. By another article, the militia was to remain in the parliament for ten years: thereby implying, if I mistake not, that the right of granting it was in the king; and consequently that we had done him wrong in contending with him for it. By such ways and means did some men endeavour to abuse the nation.

SOME of our commissioners who had been with the king, pleaded in the house for a concurrence with him, as if they had been employed by him; though others with more ingenuity acknowledged that they would not advise an agreement upon these terms, were it not to prevent a greater evil that was like to ensue upon the refusal of them. But Sir Henry Vane so truly stated the matter of fact relating to the treaty, and so evidently discovered the design and deceit of the king's answer, that he made it clear to us, that by it the justice of our cause was not asserted, nor our rights secured for the future; concluding, that if they should accept of these terms, without the concurrence of the army, it would prove but a feather in their caps: notwithstanding which, the corrupt party in the house having bargained for their own and the nation's liberty, resolved to break through all hazards and inconveniences to make good their contract, and after twenty-four hours debate, resolved by the plurality of votes, "That the king's concessions were ground for a future settlement." At which some of us expressing our dissatisfaction, desired that our protestation might be entered; but that being denied, as against the orders of the house, I contented myself to declare publicly, that being convinced that they had deserted the common cause and interest of the nation, I could no longer join with them; the rest of those who dissented also expressing themselves much to the same purpose. The day following some of the principal officers of the army came to London, with expectation that things would be brought to this issue; and consulting with some members of parliament and others, it was concluded, after a full and free debate, that the measures taken by the parliament were contrary to the trust reposed in them, and tending to contract the guilt of the blood that had been shed upon themselves, and the nation: that it was therefore the duty of the army to endeavour to put a stop to such proceedings; having engaged in the war, not simply as mercenaries, but out of judgment and conscience, being convinced that the cause in which they were engaged was just, and that the good of the

people was involved in it. Being come to this resolution, three of the members of the house, and three of the officers of the army, withdrew into a private room, to consider of the best means to attain the ends of our said resolution, where we agreed, that the army should be drawn up the next morning, and guards placed in Westminster-hall, the court of requests, and the lobby; that none might be permitted to pass into the house but such as had continued faithful to the publick interest. To this end we went over the names of all the members one by one, giving the truest characters we could of their inclinations, wherein I presume we were not mistaken in many; for the parliament was fallen into such factions and divisions, that any one who usually attended and observed the business of the house, could, after a debate upon any question, easily number the votes that would be on each side, before the question was put. Commissary-general Ireton went to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and acquainted him with the necessity of this extraordinary way of proceeding, having taken care to have the army drawn up the next morning by seven of the clock. Colonel Pride commanded the guard that attended at the parliament doors, having a list of those members who were to be excluded, preventing them from entering into the house, and securing some of the most suspected under a guard provided for that end; in which he was assisted by the lord Grey of Grooby and others, who knew the members. To justify these proceedings the army sent a message to the house, representing, "That whereas divers members had been expelled the house upon account of the violence done to the parliament by the city of London, and others, in 1647. yet upon the absence of many well-affected members, by reason of their employments in the army and elsewhere against the enemy, the said persons were re-admitted without any trial or satisfaction in the things whereof they were accused; whereby the Scots had been drawn to invade this kingdom, and the house prevented by the intruders and their accomplices from declaring against the invaders, who had made up the number of ninety odd votes to that purpose: and whereas, by the prevalency of the same corrupt counsels, justice had been obstructed, and a settlement of affairs hindered: and lastly, the king's concessions declared to be a ground for the settlement of peace, notwithstanding the insufficiency and defects of them; they therefore most humbly desired that all those members who are innocent in these things, would by a publick declaration acquit themselves from any guilt thereof, or concurrence therein; and that those who shall not so acquit themselves, may be excluded or suspended the house till they have given clear satisfaction therein; that those who have faithfully performed their trust, may proceed without interruption to the execution of justice, and to make speedy provision for an equal succession of representatives, wherein differences may be composed, and all men comfortably acquiesce, as they for their parts thereby engaged and assured them they would. The house, wherein there was about six score, was moved to send for those members who were thus excluded by the army; which they did, as I presume, rather upon the account of decency, than from any desire they had that their message should be obeyed; and that it might
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clearly appear that this interruption proceeded from the army, and not from any advice of the parliament; to the end that what they should act separately, might be esteemed to be only in order to prevent such inconveniencies as might otherwise fall upon the nation, if the whole power should be left in the hands of an army; and that their actions appearing to be founded upon this necessity, they might the better secure the respect and obedience of the people. Upon such considerations, when the serjeant returned, and acquainted them that the excluded members were detained by the army, the house proceeded in the business before them.

LIEUTENANT-general Cromwell the night after the interruption of the house arrived from Scotland, and lay at Whitehall, where, and at other places, he declared that he had not been acquainted with this design; yet since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.

MAJOR-general Harrison being sent by the army with a party of horse to bring the king from the Isle of Wight, colonel Hammond, who was entrusted with the custody of him by the parliament, disputed to deliver him; but finding that those about him inclined to comply, he thought it not convenient to make any farther opposition: so that the king was conducted from the island to Hurst-castle, and from thence to Windsor, by major-general Harrison. Being on his way, he dined at Mr. Leviston's, in Bagshot-park, who had provided a horse for him to make his escape; but this design also was discovered, and prevented. The king being at Windsor, it was debated what should be done with him: the army were for bringing him to a trial, for levying war against the parliament and people of England, and the common-council of the city of London presented a petition to the parliament, by the hands of colonel Titchburn, to that effect; but some of the commonwealth's-men desired that before they consented to that method, it might be resolved what government to establish, fearing a design of the army to set up some one of themselves, in his room; others endeavoured to persuade them that the execution of justice ought to be their first work, in respect of their duty to God and the people; that the failure therein had been already the occasion of a second war, which was justly to be charged on the parliament for neglecting that duty; that those who were truly commonwealth's-men, ought to be of that opinion, as the most probable means to attain their desires in the establishment of an equal and just government; and that the officers of the army, who were chiefly to be suspected, could not be guilty of so much impudence and folly, to erect an arbitrary power in any one of themselves, after they had in so publick a manner declared their detestation of it in another.

IN order to the accomplishment of the important work which the house of commons had now before them, they voted, "That by the fundamental laws of the land, it is treason for the king of England for the time being, to levy war against the parliament and kingdom." To which the lords not concurring, they passed it the next day without their consent; and the day after declared, "That the people are, under God, the original of all just Power: that the house of commons being chosen by, and representing the people,

people, are the supreme power in the nation : that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the commons in parliament, hath the force of a law, and the people are concluded thereby, though the consent of king and peers be not had thereto."

THIS obstruction being removed, several petitions were brought to the parliament, (for so the house of commons now stiled themselves) from the city of London, borough of Southwark, and most of the counties in England, requesting that the king might be brought to justice ; in order to which they passed an act, authorising the persons therein named, or any thirty of them, to proceed to the arraignment, condemnation, or acquittal of the king ; with full power, in case of condemnation, to proceed to sentence, and to cause the said sentence to be put in execution.

THIS high court of justice met on the 8th of January, 1648. in the painted chamber, to the number of about four-score, consisting chiefly of members of parliament, officers of the army, and gentlemen of the country ; where they chose serjeant Aske, serjeant Steel, and doctor Dorrislaus to be their counsel ; Mr. John Coke of Gray's-inn to be their solicitor, and Mr. Andrew Broughton their secretary ; and sent out a precept under their hands and seals for proclaiming the court to be held in Westminster-hall, on the 10th of the said month : which was performed accordingly by serjeant Dendy, attended by a party of horse, in Cheapside, before the Old-exchange, and in Westminster-hall. On the 10th they chose serjeant Bradshaw to be their president, with Mr. Lisle and Mr. Say to be his assistants ; and a charge of high-treason being drawn up against the king, the court appointed a convenient place to be prepared at the upper end of Westminster-hall for his publick trial, directing it to be covered with scarlet cloth, and ordered twenty halberdiers to attend the president, and thirty the king.

ALL things being thus prepared for the trial, the king was conducted from Windsor to St. James's : from whence on the 20th of January he was brought to the bar of the high court of justice, where the president acquainted the king with the causes of his being brought to that place : For that he, contrary to the trust reposed in him by the people, to see the laws put in execution for their good, had made use of his power to subvert those laws, and to set up his will and pleasure as a law over them : that, in order to effect that design, he had endeavoured the suppression of parliaments, the best defence of the people's liberties : that he had levied war against the parliament and people of England, wherein great numbers of the good people had been slain, of which blood the parliament presuming him guilty, had appointed this high court of justice for the trial of him for the same. Then turning to Mr. Broughton clerk of the court, he commanded him to read the charge against the king ; who, as the clerk was reading the charge, interrupted him, saying, " I am not intrusted by the people, they are mine by inheritance ;" demanding by what authority they brought him thither. The president answered, That they derived their authority from an act made by the commons of England assembled in parliament. The king said, the commons could not give an oath ; that they

they were no court, and therefore could make no act for the trial of any man, much less of him their sovereign. It was replied, That the commons assembled in parliament could acknowledge no other sovereign but God, for that upon his and the people's appeal to the sword for the decision of their respective pretensions, judgment had been given for the people; who conceiving it to be their duty not to bear the sword in vain, had appointed the court to make inquisition for the blood that had been shed in that dispute. Whereupon the president being moved by Mr. solicitor Coke in the name, and on the behalf of the good people of England, commanded the clerk of the court to proceed in the reading of the charge against him: which being done, the king was required to give his answer to it, and to plead guilty, or not guilty. The king demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, affirming that no man, nor body of men had power to call him to an account, being not intrusted by man; and therefore accountable only to God for his actions; entering upon a large discourse of his being in treaty with the parliament's commissioners at the Isle of Wight, and his being taken from thence he knew not how, when he thought he was come to a conclusion with them. This discourse seeming not to the purpose, the president told him, that as to his plea of not being accountable to man, seeing God by his providence had over-ruled it, the court had resolved to do so also; and that if he would give no other answer, that which he had given should be registered, and they would proceed as if he had confessed the charge: in order to which the president commanded his answer to be entered, directing serjeant Dendy, who attended the court, to withdraw the prisoner; which as he was doing, many persons cried out in the hall, "Justice, Justice." The king being withdrawn, the court adjourned into the painted chamber, to consider what farther was fit to be done; and being desirous to prevent all objections tending to accuse them of haste and surprize, they resolved to convene him before them publickly twice more; after which, if he persisted in his demurrer to the jurisdiction of the court, then to give judgment against him. And that nothing might be wanting, in case he should resolve to plead, they appointed witnesses to be examined to every article of the charge. At the king's second appearance before the court, which was on the 22d of January, he carried himself in the same manner as before; whereupon his refusal being again entered, and he withdrawn, the court adjourned to the painted chamber. On the 23d of January, the king was brought a third time before the commissioners, where refusing to plead, as he had done before, his refusal was entered, and witnesses examined publickly, to prove the charge of his levying war against the parliament: after which solicitor-general Coke demanded of the court that they would proceed to the pronouncing of sentence against the prisoner at the bar: whereupon the court adjourned into the painted chamber, and upon serious consideration, declared the king to be a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a publick enemy to the commonwealth: that his condemnation extend unto death, by severing his head from his body, and that a sentence grounded upon those votes be prepared; which being agreed upon, the king should be ordered on the next day following to receive it.

it. The sentence being engrossed, was read on the 27th of January; and thereupon the court resolved, that the same should be the sentence, which should be read and published in Westminster-hall the same day; that the president should not permit the king to speak after the sentence pronounced; that he should openly declare it to be the sense and judgment of the court, and that the commissioners should signify their consent by standing up. In the afternoon the king was brought to the bar, and desired that he might be permitted to make one proposition before they proceeded to sentence; which he earnestly pressing, as that which he thought would tend to the reconciling of all parties, and to the peace of the three kingdoms, they permitted him to offer it: the effect of which was, that he might meet the two houses in the painted chamber, to whom he doubted not to offer that which should satisfy and secure all interests; designing, as I have been since informed, to propose his own resignation, and the admission of his son to the throne, upon such terms as should have been agreed upon. This motion being new and unexpected to the court, who were not willing to deny or grant any thing without serious deliberation, they withdrew to consider of it into the inner court of wards; and being satisfied upon debate, that nothing but loss of time would be the consequence of it, they returned into the court with a negative to his demand, telling him, that they met there as a court of justice, commissioned by the parliament, of whose authority they were fully satisfied: that by their commission they were not authorised to receive any proposals from him, but to proceed to the trial of him; and in order thereto, his charge had been read to him, to which if he would have pleaded, the counsel for the commonwealth were ready to have proved it against him: that he had thrice demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, which demurrer the court had over-ruled and registered, ordering to proceed against him, as if he had confessed the charge; and that if he had any proposition to make, it was proper for him to address it to the parliament, and not to them. Then the president enlarged upon the horrid nature of those crimes of which he had been accused, and was now convicted; declaring, "That the only just power of kings was derived from the consent of the people: that whereas the people had intrusted him to see their laws put in execution, he had endeavoured, throughout the whole course of his reign, to subvert those good laws, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government in the room of them: that to cut off all hopes of redress, he had attempted from the beginning of his reign, either wholly to destroy parliaments, or to render them only subservient to his own corrupt designs: that though he had consented, the publick necessities so requiring, that this parliament should not be dissolved but by an act of themselves, he had levied war against them, that he might not only dissolve them, but by the terror of his power for ever discourage such assemblies from doing their duty: that in this war many thousands of the good people of England had lost their lives: that in obedience to what God commanded, and the nation expected, the parliament had appointed this court to make inquisition for this blood, and to try him for the same: that his charge had been read to him, and he required

required to give an answer to it; which he having thrice refused to do, he acquainted him, that the court had resolved to pronounce sentence against him; and thereupon commanded the clerk to read it, which he did, being to this effect: "That the king, for the crimes contained in the charge, should be carried back to the place from whence he came, and thence to the place of execution, where his head should be severed from his body:" which sentence being read, the commissioners testified their unanimous assent by their standing up. The king would have spoken something before he was withdrawn; but being accounted dead in law immediately after sentence pronounced, it was not permitted. The court withdrew also, and agreed that the sentence should be put in execution on the Tuesday following, which would be the 30th of January, 1648. The king having refused such ministers as the court appointed to attend him, desired that Dr. Juxton late bishop of London might be permitted to come to him; which being granted, and adjutant-general Allen sent to acquaint the doctor with the king's condition and desires, he being altogether unprepared for such a work, broke out into these expressions, "God save me, what a trick is this, that I should have no more warning, and I have nothing ready!" But recollecting himself a little, he put on his scarf and his other furniture, and went with him to the king; where having read the common prayer, and one of his old sermons, he administered the sacrament to him; not forgetting to use the words of the confession set down in the liturgy, inviting all those that truly repent to make their confession before the congregation then gathered together; though there was none present but the king and himself.

THE high court of justice appointed a committee to inspect the parts about Whitehall for a convenient place for the execution of the king, who having made their report, it was agreed that a scaffold should be erected to that purpose near the banqueting-house, and order given to cover it with black: the same day, being the 29th of January, they signed a warrant for his execution, to which about threescore of the commissioners set their hands and seals, directing it to colonel Hacker, colonel Hunks, and colonel Phaier, or either of them. The duke of Gloucester and the lady Elizabeth waited on the king the same day to take their leave of him. An extraordinary ambassador from the United Provinces had his audience in the parliament; his business was to intercede with them for the life of the king, and to preserve a fair correspondence between England and the States. The next day about eight in the morning the king, attended by a guard, was brought from St. James's through the park to Whitehall, where having drank a glass or two of red wine, and staid about two hours in a private room, he was conducted to the scaffold out of a window of the banqueting-house; and having made a speech, and taken off his george, he kneeled down at the block, and the executioner performed his office. The body was ordered to be interred at Windsor: the duke of Lenox, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, with some others, having leave from the parliament, attended it to the grave.

A REPORT of the proceedings of the high court of justice being made to the parliament, they declared, "That the persons employed in that important service had discharged their trust with courage and fidelity; that the parliament was well satisfied with the account of their proceedings, ordering them to be engrossed, and recorded amongst the parliament-rolls, in order to transmit the memory thereof to posterity; and resolved that the commissioners of the great seal should issue a Certiorari to their clerk to record those proceedings in the chancery; and that the same should be sent to the other courts at Westminster, and to the Custos Rotulorum of each county." Judge Jenkins, Sir John Stowel, and divers other persons who were prisoners, and had carried themselves very insolently, now finding the parliament to be in earnest, began to come to a better temper. Colonel Middleton, who was also a prisoner at Newcastle upon parole, ran away to Scotland; and being required to return, answered, "That his life was dearer to him than his honour." Sir Marmaduke Langdale made his escape also; and Sir Lewis Dives through a house of office in Whitehall. The lord Capel got out of the Tower; but being discovered by a waterman as he crossed the Thames, he was seized in a house at Lambeth. Duke Hamilton also escaped out of Windsor-castle, and came to Southwark; where knocking at the door of an inn, he was seized by a soldier, who knew him, and was passing by that way; whereupon he was committed to the Tower. The house of lords becoming now the subject of the consideration and debate of the parliament, lieutenant-general Cromwell appeared for them, having already had a close correspondence with many of them; and, it may be, presuming he might have farther use of them in those designs he had resolved to carry on: but they not meeting in their house at the time to which they had adjourned, much facilitated their removal; so that the question being put, Whether the house of commons should take advice of the house of lords, in the exercise of the legislative power, it was carried in the negative, and thereupon resolved, "That the house of peers was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished; and an act was soon after passed to that effect. After this they proceeded to declare, "That the office of a king in this nation, is unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and publick interest of the people; and therefore ought to be abolished; and that they will settle the government of the nation in the way of a commonwealth." To this end they ordered a declaration to be published, whereby it was declared treason for any person to endeavour to promote Charles Stuart to be king of England, or any other single person to be chief governor thereof: they also ordered the great seal, and other seals, which had the image of the late king on them, to be defaced; and appointed new ones to be made, with the stamp of the house of commons on one side, accompanied with this inscription, "The great seal of the parliament of the commonwealth of England:" On the other side was engraven the cross and the harp, being the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription, "God with us:" Ordering all writs formerly running in the king's name, to be issued out "in the name of the keepers of the liberty of England." A high court of justice was constituted

tuted by act of parliament for the trying of duke Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring, the lord Capel, and Sir John Owen. Duke Hamilton pleaded that he entered into England as an enemy, being of another nation, and born before the act of union, and consequently not to be tried by the laws of this; besides he had surrendered himself upon conditions. The rest of the lords pleaded articles also, and so did Sir John Owen: but that allegation appeared to be of no weight, by the testimony of the general, in relation to the lords Goring and Capel, and by the evidence of colonel Wayte touching duke Hamilton; the like being affirmed by other witnesses against the earl of Holland and Sir John Owen: for if there had been any promise made to any of them, either implicitly or by word of mouth, it could only extend to protect them from the military, not the civil sword: and as to the plea for duke Hamilton, that he was born before the two nations were united, it was answered, that they tried him not as duke Hamilton, but as earl of Cambridge, in which capacity he had fate as a peer of England, and therefore a subject thereof: so that, upon full evidence, they were all sentenced by the court, to have their heads struck off for high-treason, in levying war against the parliament of England. Earnest solicitations and petitions were made for them to the parliament; but they thought not fit to reprieve the duke, the earl of Holland, or the lord Capel. Touching the lord Goring the house was equally divided, and the speaker having upon such occasions the determining voice, gave it for his reprieve. Commissary-general Ireton observing no motion made for Sir John Owen, moved the house to consider that he was a commoner; and therefore more properly to have been tried in another way by a jury: whereupon the house reprieved him also. The other three were executed a day or two after, in New Palace-yard, before Westminster-Hall, in pursuance of a warrant signed by the court to that purpose, the parliament refusing to hearken to the earl of Denbigh, who proposed, on behalf of duke Hamilton, his brother-in-law, to give them a blank signed by the said duke, to answer faithfully to such questions as should be there inserted. The parliament having resolved to constitute a council of state, the better to carry on the executive part of the government, authorised five of their members to agree upon the number and persons of such as they thought fit to be proposed to the parliament for their approbation. The five empowered to this end by the parliament, were Mr. John Lisle, Mr. Cornelius Holland, Mr. Luke Robinson, Mr. Thomas Scott, and me, who though sensible of my unfitness for so great a work, and of the envy it would be attended with, yet being required by my country to assist in this service, I resolved to use the best of my endeavours therein. The number agreed upon was thirty-five, which we filled up with such persons as we thought best qualified with integrity and abilities suitable to so important a station. Four of them were lords, and the rest commoners. The house agreed to our report, only they were pleased to add us five to the number proposed by us. The parliament being desirous to exclude from their places those who were likely to undo what they had done, and yet unwilling to lose the assistance of many honest men, who had been in the country

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during the late transactions, passed an order, that such members as had not sat since the trial of the king, should not be admitted to sit till the house should be particularly satisfied concerning them; appointing the former five, or any three of them, to be a committee to receive satisfaction touching the affections of the publick interest, of every member who had not sat since the time aforesaid, and the reasons of his absence; and to make their report to the parliament concerning them.

PRINCE CHARLES finding his affairs in England to be in a desperate condition, concluded an agreement with the Irish rebels, granting them full indemnity for what they had hitherto acted, and encouraging them to carry on their cruelties against the English by his commission. The lord Inchequin had already declared for him, and joined with the Irish rebels. The earl of Ormond was dispatched to Ireland for the same purpose; and as a pledge that prince Charles would follow, his baggage and horses were sent thither before.

THE SCOTS, fearing their clergy would not be permitted long to insult over the people, expressed themselves highly dissatisfied with our proceedings in England, and chose rather to espouse the interest of prince Charles than to enjoy the fruit of what they had contended for against his father, publicly declaring, that they were obliged by the covenant to promote the government of a king, lords and commons; which government the parliament of England had thought fit to alter. We endeavoured to satisfy their commissioners, by shewing them the reasons of our late resolutions; but they refusing to hear them, returned home to their own country, where they found things disposed to an accommodation with prince Charles, upon presumption that when by his assistance they had destroyed the sectarian party, as they called them, they should be able to govern him well enough; but he supposing he had an easier part to act with the Irish, whose principles were more suitable to his inclinations, refused to hearken to them at that time.

COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM, colonel Richard Dean, and colonel Robert Blake, were appointed by the parliament to command the fleet; the latter being designed with a squadron to cruize upon the Irish coast, in order to meet and fight the ships commanded by prince Rupert. Colonel Popham was sent towards Lisbon, to intercept the Portugal fleet coming home from their islands, because they had protected some ships that had revolted from us, and sheltered them from our fleet that was in pursuit of them, and had offered some affronts to our agent Mr. Vane, who was sent thither to endeavour a right understanding between the two nations. General Dean with another squadron was ordered to remain for the service of the channel. This they did, well understanding how great reputation a considerable fleet would give to their affairs, and of what importance it is to this nation always to guard the seas, and more particularly in that conjuncture.

THE parliament much inclining to preserve a good correspondence with the states general of the United Provinces, sent Dr. Dorislaus into Holland to be their agent there, who, a little after his arrival at the Hague, was assaulted by
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about ten assassins, English and Scots, who broke into his lodgings and murdered him : And though this action was so infamous, and contrary to the right of nations, yet the Dutch were not very forward to find out the criminals, in order to bring them to justice.

MR. ASCHAM, who was sent into Spain with a publick character also, was used in the like manner, by three persons coming to his house at Madrid, where, pretending to be English merchants, they were admitted ; and as he saluted the first of them, was struck into the head by him with a poinard ; and his secretary endeavouring to make his escape, was killed with him. The murderers took sanctuary in a church ; but by an order of state they were forced from thence, and committed to prison ; of which the churchmen loudly complained, after their usual manner, as an injurious violation of their immunities. The squadron commanded by colonel Blake being first ready, set sail for the Irish coasts, where prince Rupert, thinking himself not in a condition to fight him, retired with his ships into the harbour of Kingsale, under the protection of the fort. Colonel Popham was next dispatched with his squadron for Portugal, and was pleased to employ a brother of mine as lieutenant of that ship which was commanded by himself. The Spanish ambassador was the first that made application to us from any foreign state. But the parliament not being satisfied with the address of his credentials, refused to receive them till it should be directed " to the parliament of the commonwealth of England : " declaring, that though they did not affect any flattering titles, yet they resolved to have their authority owned by all those who made their addresses to them. With which the court of Spain being made acquainted, the ambassador received instructions from the king his master to that end, and framed the direction according to our desires.

OUR affairs beginning to acquire reputation, and to carry a fair probability of success, divers members of parliament who had been long absent, addressed themselves to the committee before-mentioned, in order to their admission to sit in parliament, and some of them would not scruple to give any satisfaction that was desired to the questions proposed unto them ; which were, " Whether they joined in, or approved that vote, declaring the king's concessions a ground for a future settlement ? Whether they approved of the proceedings against the king ? and, Whether they would engage to be true to a commonwealth government : " But we apprehending such extraordinary expulsions as had been lately used, to be extremely hazardous to the publick safety, made it our endeavour to keep those from a readmission, who might necessitate another occasion of using the like remedy. And therefore, though all possible satisfaction were given in words, we did, by weighing the former deportment of every particular member who presented himself, desire to be in some measure assured, that they would be true to what they promised, in case the commonwealth interest should come to be disputed, before we would report their condition to the house. Some of the house of lords having procured themselves to be chosen by the people, sat in parliament upon the foot of their election : in which number was Philip earl of Pembroke, who being
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chosen by the freeholders of the county of Berks, upon his admission to the house, signed the engagement, as the rest of the members who sat there had done; the contents of which was, "To be true and faithful to the commonwealth, as it was established without a king or house of lords." The same engagement was taken by the earl of Salisbury and the lord Edward Howard, when they took their places in parliament, after they had been elected to serve there.

WHILST we were thus providing for our security in England, our affairs in Ireland had not the same success, the earl of Ormond having reconciled the English in Munster to the supreme council of the Irish rebels, the Scots also in the north falling in with them against us: with whom some gentlemen of those parts joined, though they had engaged themselves to the contrary. Yet one thing happened tending very much to the preservation of Dublin, and those few places that were kept for the parliament, which was, that Owen Roe O Neal, who was general of the old Irish, as they were termed, could by no means be brought to a conjunction with the English. Sir Charles Coote being besieged in Londonderry, agreed to supply the besiegers with powder, upon their engaging to furnish him with such provisions as he wanted, which was performed on both sides: and the lord Inchequin, who was besieging Dundalk, promised to do the like for colonel Monk, who then commanded in that place, upon the same conditions; which was performed on Monk's part; but as his men were carrying off the ammunition, they were fallen upon by a party of Inchequin's horse, the ammunition taken away, and many of them killed. The Scots drawing about Dundalk, most of the garrison revolted to them; whereupon Monk delivered up the place, upon condition that he should be permitted to return into England; where being arrived, he met with a cold reception from the parliament, upon suggestion, that he had corresponded with the Irish rebels.

ABOUT this time an agent from Owen Roe O Neal came privately to London, and found out a way to acquaint the council of state, that if they thought fit to grant him a safe conduct, he would make some propositions to them that would be for their service. The council, to avoid any misconstruction of their actions, refused to hear him; but appointed a committee to speak with him, of which I was one, ordering us to report to them what he should propose. His proposition was, that the party commanded by O Neal should submit to, and act for the parliament, if they might obtain indemnity for what was passed, and assurance of the enjoyment of their religion and estates for the time to come. We asked him, why they made application to us, after they had refused to join with those who had been in treaty with the king? He answered, that the king had broken his word with them; for though they had deserved well of him, and he had made them many fair promises; yet when he could make better terms with any other party, he had been always ready to sacrifice them. We asked him further, Why they had not made their application sooner? He told us, because such men had been possessed of the power, who had sworn their extirpation; but that now it was believed to be the

the interest of those in authority to grant liberty of conscience; promising, that if such liberty might be extended to them, they would be as zealous for a commonwealth as any other party, instancing in many countries where they were so. We informed him, that it was our opinion that the council would not promise indemnity to all that party, they being esteemed to have been the principal actors in the bloody massacre at the beginning of the rebellion; neither did we think that they would grant them the liberty of their religion, believing it might prove dangerous to the publick peace. The council, upon our report of what had passed at the conference, concurred with our opinion; so that having no more to do with the agent, he was required to depart within a limited time. The earl of Ormond, general Preston, and the lord Inchequin, beginning to draw their forces towards Dublin, resolved first to reduce Tredah: in order to which they sent colonel Worden thither with a strong detachment of horse and foot, who attempting to take it by assault, entered with most of his men, but was beat out again by an inconsiderable numbers of ours. Notwithstanding which the garrison, wanting men to defend their works, their provisions also being almost consumed, was obliged to capitulate, and surrender upon condition that the soldiers should have liberty to march to Dublin, the rest to return home, and to enjoy protection there.

DUNDALK and Tredagh being surrendered to the enemy, and Dublin threatened with a speedy siege by the forces of the royalists and Irish, combined together for the destruction of the English, the parliament taking into their serious consideration the deplorable state of their distressed friends, resolved to send them relief with all expedition: in the mean time the enemy marched towards Dublin, having sent a party of horse before to invest the place, and to prevent any relief from Meath side; upon whose approach colonel Jones, with the forces he had with him, was obliged to retire to Kilcullen. A party of horse from the town made a sally upon the enemy, and were repulsed with some loss; but being reinforced from England by a regiment of horse commanded by colonel Reynolds, and two regiments of foot, colonel Jones being also come into the town, they resolved upon a vigorous defence. Immediately after the landing of these supplies, Dublin was formally besieged by the enemy, who had a great army provided with all necessaries for the carrying on of the siege, and furnished by the country with provisions in great abundance, their head-quarters being at Rathmims, a mile from Dublin towards Wicklow. They took Rathfarnham by storm, and sent fifteen hundred men to fortify Baggatrath, in order to hinder our army from landing at Ringsend, being within a quarter of a mile of it, and lying triangular with it and Dublin. Baggatrath had a rampart of earth about it, and the enemy had wrought upon it, to augment its strength, a whole night before they were discovered. But the next morning colonel Jones perceiving their design, concluded it absolutely necessary to endeavour to remove them from thence before their works were finished. To that end he drew all his forces both horse and foot to the works that faced the enemy; and leaving as many as he thought necessary for the defence of the town, sallied out with the rest, being between four and five

five thousand, and falling upon them, beat them from their works, killing Sir William Vaughan who commanded them, and most of the men that were with him, closely pursuing the rest who fled towards their main army, where the earl of Ormond thought fit at last to throw down his cards, which he had before refused to do, in contempt of our forces; and with his royal army, as it was called, retreated in great disorder towards Rathmims: colonel Jones pursued him close, finding little opposition, except from a party of the lord Inchequin's horse that had formerly served the parliament, who defended a pass for some time, but were after some dispute broken and forced to fly. Having routed these, he marched with all diligence up to the walls of Rathmims, which were about sixteen foot high, and contained about ten acres of ground, where many of the enemy's foot had shut up themselves; but perceiving their army to be entirely routed, and their general fled, they yielded themselves prisoners. After this our men continuing their pursuit, found a party of about two thousand foot of the lord Inchequin's, in a grove belonging to Rathgar, who after some defence obtained conditions for their lives, and the next day most of them took up arms in our service. This success was the more remarkable, because unexpected on both sides, our handful of men being led step by step to an absolute victory; whereas their utmost design at the beginning of the action was only to beat the enemy from Baggatrath; and so surprising to our enemies, that they had not time to carry off their money, which lay at Rathfarnham for the paying of their army, where colonel Jones seized four thousand pounds very seasonably for the payment of his men.

THE parliament having an army ready to send to Ireland, a formidable fleet to put to sea, another army to keep at home for their own defence, and a considerable force to guard the north against the Scots, who had declared themselves enemies, and waited only an opportunity of shewing it with advantage, thought themselves obliged to expose to sale such lands as had been formerly possessed by deans and chapters, that they might be enabled thereby to defray some part of the great charge that lay upon the nation. To this end they authorised trustees to sell the said lands, provided they could do it at ten years purchase, at the least; but such was the good opinion that the people had conceived of the parliament, that most of the lands were sold at the clear income of fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen years; one half of the sums contracted for being paid down in ready money: besides which the woods were valued distinctly, and to be paid for according to the valuation. All impropriations belonging to the said deans and chapters, as well as those of the bishops, either in possession or reversion, were reserved from sale to enlarge the maintenance of poor ministers. Yet this was not sufficient to restrain that generation of men from inveighing against the parliament, and conspiring with their enemies both at home and abroad, to weaken their hands, and if possible, to render them unable to carry on the publick service. The fee-farm rents, formerly belonging to the crown, were also sold; and yet such was the necessity of affairs, that notwithstanding all this, the parliament found

found themselves obliged to lay a tax of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds a month upon the nation; which burden they bore for the most part without regret, being convinced that it was wholly applied to the use of the publick, and especially because those who imposed it, paid an equal proportion with the rest. The crown-lands were assigned to pay the arrears of those soldiers who were in arms in the year 1647. which was done by the influence of the officers of the army that were in the present service, whereby they made provision for themselves, and neglected those who had appeared for the parliament at first, and had endured the heat and burden of the day.

IN the month of September, 1649, the army embarked and set sail for Ireland; commissary-general Ireton with one part of them designing for Munster, and lieutenant-general Cromwell, being appointed lieutenant of Ireland, with the rest, for Dublin: but the wind blowing a strong gale from the south, they were both put into the bay of Dublin, where they were received with great joy: for though the enemy's army had been beaten from the siege of that place, and colonel Jones, with the small forces he had with him, had made the best improvement he could of that advantage, by reducing some garrisons that lay nearest to him; yet the enemy was still in possession of nine parts in ten of that nation, and had fortified the most considerable places therein. After our army had refreshed themselves, and were joined by the forces of colonel Jones, they mustered in all between sixteen and seventeen thousand horse and foot. Upon their arrival the enemy withdrew, and put most of their army into their garrisons, having placed three or four thousand of the best of their men, being most English, in the town of Tredah, and made Sir Arthur Ashton governor thereof. A resolution being taken to besiege that place, our army sat down before it, and the lieutenant-general caused a battery to be erected against an angle of the wall, near to a fort, which was within, called the Windmill-fort, by which he made a breach in the wall; but the enemy having a half-moon on the outside, which was designed to flank the angle of the wall, he thought fit to endeavour to possess himself of it, which he did by storm, putting most of those that were in it to the sword. The enemy defended the breach against ours from behind an earth-work, which they had cast up within, and where they had drawn up two or three troops of horse which they had within the town, for the encouragement and support of their foot: the fort also was not unserviceable to them in the defence of the breach. The lieutenant-general, well knowing the importance of this action, resolved to put all upon it; and having commanded some guns to be loaded with bullets of half a pound, and fired upon the enemy's horse, who were drawn up somewhat in view; himself with a reserve of foot marched up to the breach, which giving fresh courage to our men, they made a second attack with more vigour than before: whereupon the enemy's foot being abandoned by their horse, whom our shot had forced to retire, began to break and shift for themselves: which ours perceiving, followed them so close, that they overtook them at the bridge that lay across the river, and separated that part where the action was from the principal part of the town;

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and preventing them from drawing up the bridge, entered pell-mell with them into the place, where they put all they met with to the sword, having positive orders from the lieutenant-general to give no quarter to any soldier. Their works and fort were also stormed and taken, and those that defended them put to the sword also, and amongst them Sir Arthur Ashton, governor of the place. A great dispute there was amongst the soldiers for his artificial leg, which was reported to be of gold, but it proved to be but of wood, his girdle being found to be the better booty, wherein two hundred pieces of gold were found quilted. The slaughter was continued all that day and the next; which extraordinary severity, I presume, was used to discourage others from making opposition. After that the army besieged Wexford, and having erected a battery against the castle, which stood near the wall of the town, and fired from it most part of the day, whereby a small breach was made; commissioners were sent in the evening from the enemy to treat about the surrender of it. In the mean time our guns continued firing, there being no cessation agreed, whereby the breach in the castle being made wider, the guard that was appointed to defend it quitted their post, and thereupon some of our men entered the castle, and set up their colours at the top of it, which the enemy having observed, left their stations in all parts: so that ours getting over the walls, possessed themselves of the town without opposition, and opened the gates that the horse might enter, though they could do but little service, all the streets being barred with cables: but our foot pressed the enemy so close, that crouding to escape over the water, they so overloaded the boats with their numbers, that many of them were drowned. Great riches were taken in this town, it being accounted by the enemy a place of strength; and some ships were seized in the harbour, which had much interrupted the commerce of that coast. Commissioners were appointed by the lieutenant-general to take care of the goods that were found in the town belonging to the rebels, that they might be improved to the best advantage of the publick. After these successes the army grew sickly, many dying of the flux, which they contracted by hard service, and such provisions as they were not accustomed to. The plague also, which had been for some time amongst the inhabitants of the country and the Irish army, now began to seize upon ours. Of one or both these distempers, colonel Michael Jones, who, by his courage and conduct in the service of his country, had justly deserved the applause of all, and had been lately made lieutenant-general of the horse by the parliament, fell so desperately sick, that being no longer able to continue in the army, he was carried, not without reluctance, to Wexford, where in a few days he died, much lamented by the army, and by all that desired the prosperity of the English interest. In the mean time the parliament was careful to send money, recruits, and all manner of supplies necessary to Ireland; which they were the better enabled to do by those great sums of money daily brought in by the purchasers of the lands of deans and chapters, which they thought fit, for the reasons before-mentioned, to expose to sale; which, as it was an advantage to the nation in general, by easing them of
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some part of their contributions, so was it no detriment to any of those purchasers who were heartily engaged in the publick service; since if the tide should turn, and our enemies become prevalent, such persons were likely to have no better security for the enjoyment of their own paternal estates. Upon this consideration, I contracted with the trustees commissioned by the parliament, for the manors of Eastknoel and Upton in the county of Wilts, wherein I employed that portion which I had received with my wife, and a greater sum arising from the sale of a part of my patrimonial estate.

THE winter approaching, and the season being very tempestuous, general Blake was obliged to enter into harbour, by which means prince Rupert, with the ships that were with him, having an opportunity to escape, set sail for Lisbon, where they were received and protected; but general Popham, who had waited some time for the Portugal fleet bound thither from the islands, took eighteen of them laden with sugars and other valuable merchandizes, which he sent to England under a convoy, entrusting the conduct thereof to my brother, who, as I said before, was his lieutenant, and died in his voyage homewards. With the rest he continued cruising on the coast of Portugal, attending prince Rupert's fleet, which being drawn up under the protection of their guns, and most of the men on shore, ours took that occasion to seize one of their frigates, by surprising the watch, and keeping the rest of the men under deck; by which means they brought her off safe to the fleet.

OUR army in Ireland, though much diminished by sickness, and harassed by hard duty, continued their resolution to march into the enemy's quarters, where they reduced Ross with little opposition: Goran also was surrendered to them, together with the officers of that place, by the soldiers of the garrison, upon promise of quarter for themselves; their officers being delivered at discretion, were shot to death. The next town they besieged was Kilkenny, where there was a strong castle, and the walls of the town were indifferent good: having erected a battery on the east side of the wall, our artillery fired upon it for a whole day without making any considerable breach; on the other side, our men were much annoyed by the enemy's shot from the walls and castle: But the garrison, being admonished by the examples made of their friends at Tredah and Wexford, thought fit to surrender the town timely, upon such conditions as they could obtain, which was done accordingly. Youghall, Cork, and Kinsale, were delivered to the forces of the parliament, by the contrivance of some officers and well-affected persons in those places; and thereupon the lieutenant-general sent a detachment under the command of the lord Broghil to their assistance, in case any thing should be attempted by Inchequin, or any other, to their disturbance; whilst he with the rest of the army marched towards Clonmel. Being upon his march thither, he was met by the corporation of Feather, with a tender of their submission, wherewith the lieutenant-general was so satisfied, the army being far advanced into the enemy's quarters, and having no place of refreshment, that he promised to maintain them in the enjoyment of their privileges. Having left our sick men here,

he marched and sat down before Clonmel, one side of which was secured by a river, and the rest of the town encompassed with a wall that was well furnished with men to defend it. Our guns having made a breach in the wall, a detachment of our men was ordered to storm; but the enemy, by the means of some houses that stood near, and earth-works cast up within the wall, made good their breach, till night parted the dispute, when the enemy, perceiving ours resolved to reduce the place, beat a barley, and sent out commissioners to treat. Articles were agreed and signed on both sides, whereby it was concluded, that the town, with all the arms and ammunition therein, should be delivered up next morning, to such of our forces as should be appointed to receive the same. After this agreement was made and signed, the general was informed, that colonel Hugh O Neal, governor of the place, with all the garrison, had marched out at the beginning of the night towards Waterford, before the commissioners came out to treat. It something troubled the commanders to be thus overreached; but conditions being granted, they thought it their duty to keep them with the town. Dungarvan and Carrick, were next reduced, where colonel Reynolds being left with his regiment of horse, the lieutenant-general with the army marched towards the county of Waterford. The enemy having observed ours marching on the other side of the river, took that advantage to draw together a considerable body of horse and foot, with which they marched with all diligence to Carrick, and stormed it, not at all doubting to carry the place, wherein there was nothing but horse, armed only with swords and pistols, to defend a wall of great compass. Yet did our men manage their defence so well, making use of stones and whatsoever might be serviceable to them, that the enemy was beaten off with loss; so that though forces were sent from the army to relieve their friends upon the first notice of their danger, yet they found the work done at their arrival.

THE army began now to prepare for the siege of Waterford, but by the hard service of this winter, and other accidents, being much diminished, and those that remained being but in a sickly condition, it was thought fit to send orders to Dublin, requiring the forces there, who were in better health, to march towards Wexford, in order to reinforce the army before Waterford. The lord Inchequin, who had notice of their march, having formed a body of two thousand five hundred horse, and some foot, resolved to fall upon them, which he did between Arclo and Wexford, our forces not amounting to more than fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse. The enemy charged our horse with such fury and numbers, that they were forced to retreat to their foot; after which, falling upon our foot, they obliged them to retire to the rocks that were on the shore, in great disorder; but some of our horse, with part of our foot, rallying again, charged a body of their horse with such vigour, that they broke them, and killed many of them, amongst whom were divers considerable persons; which so discouraged the rest, that though they were the choicest of the enemy's men, and many of ours so distempered with the flux, that they were forced to fight with their breeches down,

down, yet durst they not make any further attempt against them, but drew off, and permitted ours to march to their designed rendezvous, without any farther interruption. By which it eminently appeared of what importance it is towards the obtaining success, to fight in the cause of our country; for these very men, as long as they were engaged with us, performed wonders against the rebels; and now being engaged with them, were almost as easily overcome, as they had beaten the Irish before: and this was so visible even to the Irish themselves, that some time after, at a consultation of the chief officers of Leinster, where it was debated what course to take, in order to destroy our army, some advising to draw into a body and fight us, others to betake themselves to the woods and bogs, and from thence to break our forces by parties; the lord of Glanmaleiro assured them of a way, which, if taken, would certainly effect it, and that was to induce us to make peace with them; for, said he, they are a successful army, and our men are dispirited, and not likely to get any thing by fighting with them; and to weary them out by our surprises and depredations is impossible, as long as the way from England is open for their supplies; but the other way proposed will infallibly ruin them: for did not our ancestors by the same means render the conquests of queen Elizabeth fruitless to England? And have we not thereby ruined the earl of Ormond and Inchequin already, who, having been always successful when against us, have been famous for nothing since their conjunction with us, but the losses and repulses which they have sustained? So that if we can persuade this army to make a truce or league with us, they will become as unfortunate as the former.

WHILST the lieutenant-general was making preparations for the siege of Waterford, a letter was brought to him from the parliament, requiring his attendance in England: in order to which he left the command of the army with commissary-general Ireton, to carry on the remaining part of the work; going himself to visit those places in Munster which had lately submitted to the parliament, with intention to settle the civil as well as military affairs of that province. To this end, he empowered John Coke, Esq; to be chief justice of Munster; and having accomplished such things as he designed, embarked for England, and soon after landed at Bristol. In the mean time, the treaty between prince Charles and the presbyterian party in Scotland hastening towards a conclusion, the forces which they had raised by the encouragement of our army, after they had rescued them from the power of the Hamiltonian party, fell upon Montrose, killed many of his men, and took him, with divers other officers, prisoners, and amongst them major-general Hurry, and captain Spotiswood, who was said to have been concerned in the assassination of doctor Dorislaus our agent in Holland. They were all three condemned to death, and hanged; Montrose being carried to the place of execution in an ignominious manner, with the declarations issued out by him for the king tied about his neck, where he was executed on a gibbet of thirty foot high. His quarters were placed upon the gate through which their king was to pass at his coming to Edinburgh, which could not but move his indignation;

nation, if he had the least sense of honour, because he had acted by his commission, and in order to vest him with that absolute and incontrollable power which kings think to be most for their advantage: but the king being instructed with other maxims, struck up the bargain with the presbyterians, and engaged to take the covenant, whereupon they cried him up for a great convert.

SOME sycophants in the English parliament, a race of men never wanting in great councils, pressed earnestly for settling two thousand five hundred pounds a year upon the lieutenant-general, according to a vote formerly passed in the house; or that it might at least be read once or twice before his arrival at Westminster, he being then upon his way from Bristol. Upon this motion I took the liberty to acquaint the house, that though I would not oppose that motion, yet it was but reasonable to make good their promises also, to persons that had served them usefully in their former occasions, desiring them to remember the past services of those that they knew continued still to be faithful to them, though not then in actual employment; and particularly not to forget the important services of major-general Skippon, nor the vote they had passed to settle one thousand pounds a year upon him, which hitherto had been insignificant to him. Upon this motion the parliament ordered that the said sum should be paid yearly to him out of the receipt at Goldsmiths-hall, till so much should be settled upon him out of the forfeited lands in Ireland, by act of parliament. In consideration of this piece of justice, the major-general did me ever after the honour to call me his real friend.

AND now the parliament, being desirous to let the people see, that they designed not to perpetuate themselves after they should be able to make a complete settlement of affairs, and provide for the security of the nation, from enemies both abroad and at home, whom they had yet in great numbers to contend with, resolved that the house would upon every Wednesday turn themselves into a grand committee, to debate concerning the manner of assembling, and power of future successive parliaments; the number of persons to be appointed to serve for each county, that the nation might be more equally represented than hitherto had been practised; and touching the qualifications of the electors as well as those to be elected: which order was constantly observed, and considerable progress from time to time made therein.

THE lieutenant-general being arrived, and having resumed his place in the house, the parliament ordered their speaker to give him thanks in their name, for the services he had done for the commonwealth in the nation of Ireland. And now the council of state concluding it highly necessary to make some preparations against the storm which threatened us from the north, and knowing that the satisfaction of their general was of great importance to that service, desired the lord Fairfax, to declare his resolution concerning the same, who after a day or two's consideration, at the instigation chiefly (as ~~was~~ thought) of his wife, upon whom the presbyterian clergy had no small influence, seemed unwilling to march into Scotland; but declared, that
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in case the Scots should attempt to invade England, he would be ready to lay down his life in opposing them. We laboured to persuade him of the reasonableness and justice of our resolution to march into Scotland, they having already declared themselves our enemies, and by publick protestation bound themselves to impose that government upon us, which we had found necessary to abolish; and to that end had made their terms with prince Charles, waiting only an opportunity, as soon as they had strengthened themselves by foreign assistance, which they expected, to put their design in execution, after we should be reduced to great difficulties, incident to the keeping up of an army in expectation of being invaded by them; assuring him, that we thought ourselves indispensably obliged in duty to our country, and as we tendered the peace and prosperity of it, as well as to prevent the effusion of the blood of those who had been, and we hoped, upon better information, would be our friends, to march into Scotland, and either to understand from them that they are our friends, or to endeavour to make them so; chusing rather to make that country the seat of the war than our own. But the lord Fairfax was unwilling to alter his resolution, in consideration of any thing that could be said. Upon this lieutenant-general Cromwell pressed, that notwithstanding the unwillingness of the lord Fairfax to command upon this occasion, they would yet continue him to be general of the army; professing for himself, that he would rather chuse to serve under him in his post, than to command the greatest army in Europe. But the council of state not approving that advice, appointed a committee of some of themselves to confer farther with the general, in order to his satisfaction. This committee was appointed upon the motion of the lieutenant-general, who acted his part so to the life, that I really thought him in earnest; which obliged me to step to him, as he was withdrawing with the rest of the committee out of the council-chamber, and to desire him, that he would not in compliment and humility obstruct the service of the nation by his refusal; but the consequence made it sufficiently evident, that he had no such intention. The committee having spent some time in debate with the lord Fairfax, without any success, returned to the council of state, whereupon they ordered the report of this affair to be made to the parliament. Which being done, and some of the general's friends informing them, that though he had shewed some unwillingness to be employed in the expedition himself, yet being more unwilling to hinder the undertaking of it by another, he had sent his secretary, who attended at the door, to surrender his commission, if they thought fit to receive it; the secretary was called in, and delivered the commission, which the parliament having received, they proceeded to settle an annual revenue of five thousand pounds upon the lord Fairfax, in consideration of his former services, and then voted lieutenant-general Cromwell to be captain-general of all their land-forces, ordering a commission forthwith to be drawn up to that effect, and referred to the council of state to hasten the preparations for the northern expedition. A little after, as I sat in the house near general Cromwell, he told me, that having observed an alteration in my looks and carriage towards

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him, he apprehended that I had entertained some suspicions of him; and that being persuaded of the tendency of the designs of us both to the advancement of the publick service, he desired that a meeting might be appointed, wherein we might with freedom discover the grounds of our mistakes and misapprehensions, and create a good understanding between us for the future. I answered, that he had discovered in me what I had never perceived in myself; and that if I troubled him not so frequently as formerly, it was either because I was conscious of that weight of business that lay upon him, or that I had nothing to importune him withal, upon my own or any other account; yet since he was pleased to do me the honour to desire a free conversation with me, I assured him of my readiness therein. Whereupon we resolved to meet that afternoon in the council of state, and from thence to withdraw to a private room, which we did accordingly in the queen's guard-chamber, where he endeavoured to persuade me of the necessity incumbent upon him, to do several things that appeared extraordinary in the judgment of some men, who, in opposition to him, took such courses as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as him and the publick cause, affirming his intentions to be directed entirely to the good of the people, and professing his readiness to sacrifice his life in their service. I freely acknowledged my former dissatisfaction with him and the rest of the army, when they were in treaty with the king, whom I looked upon as the only obstruction to the settlement of the nation; and with their actions at the rendezvous at Ware, where they shot a soldier to death, and imprisoned divers others upon the account of that treaty, which I conceived to have been done without authority, and for sinister ends: yet since they had manifested themselves convinced of those errors, and declared their adherence to the commonwealth, though too partial a hand was carried, both by the parliament and themselves, in distribution of preferments and gratuities, and too much severity exercised against some who had formerly been their friends, and as I hoped would be so still, with other things that I could not entirely approve, I was contented patiently to wait for the accomplishment of those good things which I expected, till they had overcome the difficulties they now laboured under, and suppressed their enemies that appeared both at home and abroad against them; hoping that then their principles and interest would lead them to do what was most agreeable to the constitution of a commonwealth, and the good of mankind. He owned my dissatisfaction with the army, whilst they were in treaty with the king, to be founded upon good reasons, and excused the execution done upon the soldier at the rendezvous, as absolutely necessary to keep things from falling into confusion; which must have ensued upon that division, if it had not been timely prevented. He professed to desire nothing more than that the government of the nation might be settled in a free and equal commonwealth, acknowledging that there was no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon us; declaring, that he looked upon the design of the Lord in this day, to be the freeing of his people from every burden, and that he was now accomplishing what was prophesied
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in the 110th Psalm; from the consideration of which he was often encouraged to attend the effecting those ends, spending at least an hour in the exposition of that psalm; adding to this, that it was his intention to contribute the utmost of his endeavours to make a thorough reformation of the clergy and law: but, said he, the sons of Zerviah are yet too strong for us; and we cannot mention the reformation of the law, but they presently cry out, "We design to destroy propriety:" whereas the law, as it is now constituted, serves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encourage the rich to oppress the poor; affirming, that Mr. Coke, then justice of Ireland, by proceeding in a summary and expeditious way, determined more causes in a week, than Westminster-hall in a year; saying farther, that Ireland was as a clean paper in that particular, and capable of being governed by such laws as should be found most agreeable to justice; which may be so impartially administered, as to be a good precedent even to England itself; where, when they once perceive propriety preserved at an easy and cheap rate in Ireland, they will never permit themselves to be so cheated and abused as now they are. At last he fell into the consideration of the military government of Ireland, complaining that the whole weight of it lay upon major-general Ireton; and that if he should by death or any other accident be removed from that station, the conduct of that part would probably fall into the hands of such men, as, either by principle or interest, were not proper for that trust, and of whom he had no certain assurance. He therefore proposed that some person of reputation and known fidelity might be sent over to command the horse there, and to assist the major-general in the service of the publick, that employment being next in order to his own, desiring me to propose one whom I thought sufficiently qualified for that station. I told him, that, in my opinion, a fitter man could not be found than colonel Algernon Sidney; but he excepted against him by reason of his relation to some who were in the king's interest, proposing colonel Norton and colonel Hammond, yet making objections against them at the same time: that against colonel Hammond, I remember, was, that by his late deportment with relation to the king, he had so disoblinded the army, that he apprehended he would not be acceptable to them. After this he entered upon a large commendation of the country, and pressed me earnestly to think of some person capable of that employment. By this time I perceived something of his intentions concerning me; but the condition of my affairs was such, having lately married, and by purchasing some lands contracted a great debt, that I resolved not to accept of it.

THE time for the general's departure for the expedition of Scotland drawing near, he moved the council of state, that, since they had employed him about a work which would require all his care, they would be pleased to ease him of the affairs of Ireland; which they refusing to do, he then moved, that they would at least send over some commissioners for the management of the civil affairs, assuring them also that the military being more than major-general Ireton could possibly carry on, without the assistance

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of some general officer to command the horse, which employment was become vacant by the death of the brave lieutenant-general Jones, it was absolutely necessary to commissionate some person of worth to that employment, and to authorise him to be one of their commissioners for the civil government; telling them, that he had endeavoured to find out a person proper for that service, and to that end had consulted with one there present, desiring him to recommend one fit for the same; but that neither of them had proposed any that he could approve so well as the person himself; and therefore moved that he might be appointed to that employment; acquainting them, that though he himself was impowered by virtue of his commission from the parliament, to nominate the lieutenant-general of the horse, yet, because the gentleman he proposed, upon which he named me, was a member of parliament, and of the council of state, he desired for the better securing the obedience of the army to me, that the parliament might be moved to nominate and appoint me to that charge. I endeavoured as well as I could to make the council sensible of my unfitness for an employment of so great importance, acquainting them, that upon the general's desire I had recommended one to him of such abilities, as I doubted not they would judge better qualified for it than myself, who, besides my want of experience sufficient for that service, was so incumbered with debts and engagements at that time, that I could not possibly undertake it without hazarding the ruin of my family and estate. But the council refused to allow my excuse, which indeed was real and unfeigned; telling me, that it would be more proper to represent those things to the parliament, when the report should be made to them from the council; which was agreed upon to this effect; "That the house should be moved to appoint me lieutenant-general of the horse in Ireland; and that general Cromwell, major-general Ireton, myself, colonel John Jones, and major Richard Salloway, or any three of us, should be authorised by act of parliament to be commissioners for the administration of the civil affairs in that nation. The news of this transaction was unwelcome to some of my nearest relations and best friends, not only for the reasons above-mentioned, but upon suspicion that this opportunity was taken by the general to remove me out of the way, lest I should prove an obstruction to his designs. But I could not think myself so considerable; and therefore could not concur with them in that opinion. Yet I endeavoured to clear myself of this employment, and knowing that this affair was carried on chiefly by the general's influence, I applied myself to him, acquainting him with my present circumstances, and assuring him that it was altogether inconvenient, and might prove very prejudicial to me. He replied, that mens private affairs must give place to those of the publick; that he had seriously considered the matter, and that he could not find a person so fit for those employments as myself, desiring me therefore to acquiesce. It was not many days before the council of state made their report of this affair to the parliament, where I again pressed the reasons I had used before to the council with as much earnestness as I could; but they would not hearken to me, and without any debate, presently concurred

concurred with the council therein, with the addition only of Mr. John Weaver, a member of the house, to be one of the commissioners appointed to manage the civil government.

IN the mean time our army proceeded successfully in Ireland, where they reduced Waterford after a siege of some weeks; which place the enemy had considerably fortified; but their provisions failing they were forced to surrender it upon articles. During this siege the army was supplied with all necessaries by some of our ships that came into the harbour to that end. After the reduction of Waterford, a detachment was made from our army to besiege Duncannon, a place of considerable strength, having seven hundred men within to defend it, though one-third of their number had been sufficient for that purpose. This or some other cause produced the plague amongst them, which lessened their number, and made their provisions to hold out the longer: yet at last they were constrained to deliver up the place with all the arms and ammunition to our men. The lord of Esmond had been governor of this place for the English at the beginning of the war, and held it out for the space of six or seven months against the rebels, of whom he killed great numbers before it, during the siege that he sustained; but being driven to great extremities, he was obliged to surrender it to them; which went so near the gallant old gentleman's heart, that he soon after departed this life.

THE next place our army attempted was Carlo, an inland garrison, distant from Dublin about thirty miles, and lying upon the river Barrow. The place was esteemed by the enemy to be of great importance, and therefore fortified by them with divers works; besides, it had a small castle at the foot of the bridge, and a river running under the walls of the castle. The country beyond it were also their friends, and furnished them with provisions in great abundance. To prevent which, major-general Ireton found it necessary to employ the principal part of his forces on the other side of the river Barrow; yet by what means to secure a communication between the two parts of his army, was a great difficulty, they having neither boats nor casks sufficient for that purpose. In the end they fell upon this expedient, to bring together great quantities of the biggest reeds, and tying them up in many little bundles with small cords, they fastened them to two cables that were fixed in the ground on each side of the river, at the distance of about eight or ten yards from each other: these being covered with wattles, bore troops of horse and companies of foot, as well as a bridge arched with stone.

WHILST these things were doing, most of the earl of Ormond's forces retired into Connaught, and those of the lord Muskerry into Kerry: the lord Castlehaven also, after he had fired most of the small castles in Leinster and Munster, marched out of those parts.

BUT the enemy which most threatened the disturbance of the parliament, was that of Scotland, where all interests were united in opposition to the present authority in England. They had also many who favoured their design in our nation, as well presbyterians as cavaliers: the former of these were most bold and active, upon presumption of more favour in case of ill-

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success. The parliament being sensible of these things, published a declaration, shewing, that they had no design to impose upon the nation of Scotland any thing contrary to their inclinations: that they would leave them to choose what government they thought most convenient for themselves, provided they would suffer the English nation to live under that establishment which they had chosen: that it evidently appeared that the Scots were acted by a spirit of domination and rule; and that nothing might be wanting to compel us to submit to their impositions, they had espoused the interests of that family, which they themselves had declared guilty of much precious blood, and resolved to force the same upon England: that these and other things there mentioned had obliged them to send an army into Scotland for their own preservation, and to keep the Scots from destroying themselves, which they were about to do; resolving notwithstanding to extend all possible favour to such as were seduced through weakness, and misled by the malice of others. After this general Cromwell hastened to the army, which consisted of about twenty thousand horse and foot, where having removed a colonel or two, with some inferior officers, who were unwilling to be employed in that service, and made up a regiment for colonel Monk, with six companies out of Sir Arthur Haslerig's, and six out of colonel Fenwick's regiment, he marched into Scotland without any opposition, most of the people being fled from their habitations towards Edinburgh, whither all the enemy's strength was drawn together. The English army drew up within sight of the town, but the Scots would not hazard all by the decision of a battle, hoping to tire us out with frequent skirmishes and harassing our men, relying much upon the unsuitableness of the climate to our constitutions, especially if they should detain us in the field till winter. Their counsels succeeded according to their desires, and our army, through hard duty, scarcity of provisions, and the rigour of the season, grew very sickly, and diminished daily, so that they were necessitated to draw off, to receive supplies from our shipping, which could not come nearer to them than Dunbar, distant from Edinburgh about twenty miles. The enemy observing our army to retire, followed them close; and falling upon our rear-guard of horse in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to our rear-guard of foot. Which alarm coming suddenly upon our men, put them into some disorder; but a thick cloud interposing in that very moment, and intercepting the light of the moon for about an hour, our army took that opportunity to secure themselves, and arrived without any further disturbance at Dunbar, where having shipped their heavy baggage and sick men, they designed to return into England. But the enemy, upon confidence of success, had possessed themselves of all the passes, having in their army about thirty thousand horse and foot, and ours being reduced to ten thousand at the most. There was now no way left but to yield themselves prisoners, or to fight upon these unequal terms. In this extremity a council of war was called, and after some dispute it was agreed to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day, and accordingly the several regiments were ordered to their

their respective posts. Upon the first shock our forlorn of horse was somewhat disordered by their lancers; but two of our regiments of foot that were in the van behaved themselves so well, that they not only sustained the charge of the enemy's horse, but beat them back upon their own foot, and following them close, forced both horse and foot to retreat up the hill from whence they had attacked us. The body of the enemy's army finding their vanguard, which consisted of their choicest men, thus driven back upon them, began to shift for themselves, which they did with such precipitation and disorder, that few of them ventured to look behind them till they arrived at Edinburgh, taking no care of their king, who made use of the same means to secure himself as his new subjects had done. One party of their horse made a stand till some of ours came up to them, and then ran away after the rest of their companions. Many were killed upon the place, and many more in the pursuit: all their baggage, arms, artillery and ammunition fell into the hands of our army: many also were taken and sent prisoners into England. When the first news of this great victory was brought to London by Sir John Hipsley, it was my fortune, with others of the parliament, to be with the lord Fairfax at Hampton-court, who seemed much to rejoice at it. But the victory itself was not more welcome to me than the contents of the general's letter to the parliament; wherein, amongst many other expressions favouring of a publick spirit, there was one to this effect; That seeing the Lord, upon this solemn appeal made to him by the Scots and us, had so signally given judgment on our side, when all hopes of deliverance seemed to be cut off, it became us not to do his work negligently; and from thence took occasion to put us in mind, not to content ourselves with the name of a commonwealth, but to do real things for the common good, and not to permit any interest for their particular advantage to prevail with us to the contrary. Our army in Scotland having received some recruits, advanced toward Edinburgh; but the enemy being informed of their march, withdrew out of the town, and leaving a strong garrison in the castle, retreated towards Stirling. The parliament being very careful to supply their armies with all things necessary, caused great quantities of hay to be bought up in Norfolk and Suffolk, which they sent by sea to Scotland, where it was absolutely necessary, for the Scots army had so strongly intrenched themselves by the advantage of a wood, that ours could not possibly attack them without great hazard; and they were furnished with provisions from Fife and the adjacent parts, which are the most fruitful in that nation, by means of the bridge at Stirling: whereas our army, which lay encamped near them, had no other country from whence they might draw provisions, but such as had been already in the possession of the enemy: besides that, hay is generally scarce in Scotland; and that a great part of our forces consisted of horse.

OWEN ROE O NEAL, who commanded the old northern Irish in Ulster, that had been principally concerned in the massacre of the protestants, being dead, the popish bishop of Cloghar undertook the conduct of them, and being grown considerably strong, necessitated Sir Charles Coote to draw his forces together to defend his quarters, which they designed to invade, desperately resolving

resolving to put it to the issue of a battle. Their foot was more numerous than ours, but Sir Charles exceeded them in horse. The dispute was hot for some time; but at last the Irish were beaten, though not without loss on our side: amongst others colonel Fenwick, a brave and gallant man, was mortally wounded. The enemy's baggage and train of artillery was taken, though not many made prisoners, being for the most part put to the sword, with the bishop of Cloghar their general, whose head was cut off and set upon one of the gates of Londonderry. The news of this defeat being brought to those in Carlo, who had held out in hopes of relief from their friends in Ulster, together with a great scarcity of provisions in the place, besides the beating down of the little castle that stood at the foot of the bridge on the other side of the river, which happened about the same time, so discouraged those within, that they surrendered the place to the lord deputy Ireton upon articles; which he caused punctually to be executed, as his constant manner was.

PURSUANT to the order of parliament, appointing me lieutenant-general of the horse in Ireland, the general, as he was directed by the said order, sent me a commission to that end; which I received, and gave him an account of the reception, acquainting him also how sensible I was of my want of experience to manage so weighty an employment; but that on the other hand, I would not fail to endeavour to discharge my duty with the utmost fidelity. He replied, "That I might rely upon that God to carry me through the work, who had called me to it;" and in the close of his letter, recommended the procuring from the parliament a settlement upon Sir Hardress Waller, of the inheritance of some lands which he then held by lease from the earl of Ormond, and for which he paid two hundred pounds annual rent, as a thing that might be proper for me to do before my departure for Ireland. I was afterwards informed, that Sir Hardress Waller had earnestly solicited for this employment of lieutenant-general of the horse in Ireland, and that the general not thinking it convenient to entrust him with it, yet unwilling he should know so much, persuaded him to believe that the parliament had overruled him therein.

THE parliament then passed an act, constituting commissioners for the administration of civil affairs in Ireland, and agreed upon instructions of sufficient latitude for them to act by, in particular to lay a tax on that nation not exceeding the sum of thirty thousand pounds; to give order for the distribution of justice, as near to the rules of the law, as the necessity of the times would permit; and to consider of a method of proceeding in the courts of justice there, to be offered to the parliament for their approbation. The commissioners were those that I mentioned before, only major Salloway desiring to be excused from that service, Mr. Miles Corbet, a member of parliament, was inserted in his room.

SOME suspicions there were at this time that the presbyterian party in England, especially those about London, entertained a private correspondence with their brethren in Scotland: where, though that nation had received a
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great blow at Dunbar, yet it was resolved that their king should be crowned upon his taking the solemn league and covenant, and obliging himself thereby to endeavour the extirpation of popery and episcopacy. This action was performed with all the circumstances and solemnities that could be used in the condition of their affairs. The nobility swore fidelity to him, and the marquis of Argile put the crown upon his head with his own hands. And now having a king like other nations, and a covenanting king too, they doubted not of success under his conduct, presuming by this means most certainly to retrieve all their losses and reputation. But the parliament, who had removed one king, was not frightened with the setting up of another, and therefore proceeded in the settlement of their affairs both military and civil; and to that end ordered a thousand pounds to be advanced to the commissioners of the civil affairs in Ireland, directing them to receive also a thousand pounds yearly. They likewise gave orders for the payment of a thousand pounds to me by way of advance upon my pay as lieutenant-general of the horse, that I might be enabled to furnish myself with tents, horses, and other things necessary for that service. The committee of Irish affairs raised also a troop consisting of a hundred horse to accompany me, and armed them with back, breast, head-pieces, pistols, and musketoes, with two months pay advanced. The lord-deputy Ireton's lady, daughter to general Cromwell, prepared to go over with us to her husband, who had removed his head-quarters to Waterford, partly because he thought that place most convenient for the service, as the enemy then lay; and partly from some disgust conceived against Dublin, where the inhabitants had extorted unreasonable rates for their provisions and other necessities sold to our army at their arrival there for the relief of Ireland. Therefore resolving to pass through South-Wales, I hastened out of town before the rest of my company, in order to take leave of my friends in the west; and from thence going to Glamorganshire, I staid there with some relations of my wife, till the rest of the company came down.

BEFORE I left the parliament, some difference happening between the countess of Rutland and the lord Edward Howard of Escrick, colonel Gell, who was a great servant of the countess, informed major-general Harrison, that the lord Edward Howard being a member of parliament, and one of the committee of Haberdasher's-hall, had taken divers bribes for the excusing delinquents from sequestration, and easing them in their compositions; and that in particular he had received a diamond hatband, valued at eight hundred pounds, from one Mr. Compton of Suffex; concerning which he could not prevail with any to inform the parliament. Major-general Harrison, being a man of severe principles, and zealous for justice, especially such as betrayed the publick trust reposed in them, assured him, that if he could satisfy him that the fact was as he affirmed, he would not fail to inform the parliament of it: and upon satisfaction received from the colonel touching that matter, said in parliament, That though the honour of every member was dear to him, and of that gentleman in particular, naming the lord Howard,

Howard, because he had so openly owned the interest of the commonwealth, as to decline his peerage, and to sit upon the foot of his election by the people; yet he loved justice before all things, looking upon it to be the honour of the parliament, and the image of God upon them; that therefore he durst not refuse to lay this matter before them, though he was very desirous that the said lord might clear himself of the accusation. The parliament having received his information, referred the consideration of the matter to a committee, where it was fully examined; and notwithstanding all the art of counsel learned in the law, who are very skilful at putting a good appearance upon a bad cause, and all the friends the lord Howard could make, so just and equitable a spirit then governed, that the committee having represented the matter to the parliament as they found it to be, they discharged him from being a member of parliament, sent him to the Tower, and fined him ten thousand pounds.

ABOUT the beginning of January the commissioners of parliament, the lady Ireton, and myself, met at Milford, in order to embark for Ireland, three men of war lying ready for us in the harbour, with several ships for the transportation of my troop, with our goods and horses. We came to Milford on Saturday, and on Monday following, the lady Ireton and the commissioners set sail with a fair wind, leaving the Guinea-frigate for me, and to be convoy to those vessels that were appointed to transport the horse and other things, of which but one could be ready time enough to set sail with them, my troop being not yet mustered. The next day Mr. Lort, by order of the committee of parliament, mustered my troop, so that I began to ship them on Wednesday in the afternoon; and on Thursday morning they being all embarked, we set sail, and though the weather proved very calm, we arrived the next day under the fort of Duncannon, near Waterford; where I understood that the lady Ireton and the commissioners had landed there the day before, and were gone to the lord-deputy at Waterford.

IMMEDIATELY after my arrival I went to wait on the lord-deputy Ireton, who was much surpris'd at my landing so soon after the rest of the company, and ordered good quarters to be assigned to my troop, that they might be refresh'd before they entered upon duty: for it was observed, that the English horses were not so fit for service, till they had been seasoned for some time with the air and provisions of that country. Having received advice that the enemy was march'd out of Connaught and Limerick towards our quarters in Munster, he drew a party of horse and foot out of their winter-quarters, to which they had been lately sent, and with them endeavour'd to find out the enemy; who upon his advance retreated into their own quarters. The deputy being returned, was very careful to prepare all things that were necessary for the army, that they might be ready to march into the field early the next spring; making provision of tents, arms, cloaths, and bread for the soldiers; sending cannon and ammunition of all sorts up the Shannon towards Limerick, by vessels provided to that end; that being the first place which he design'd to attack the following year, having in his last march, by putting
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garrisons into Castle-Conel, Kilmallock, and other places, blocked them up in some measure.

THE commissioners of parliament, of whom the deputy was one, spent a considerable time in debating and resolving in what manner justice should be administered, for the present, in each precinct, till the state of affairs could be reduced into a more exact order; and accounting it most just, that those who had the most immediate advantage by the war, should bear the principal burden of it, they laid upon the nation of Ireland, a tax proportionable to their ability; for the raising of which, together with the excise and customs that by our authority from the parliament we were impowered to impose, we appointed commissioners for the precincts of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Clonmel, Kilkenny, and Ulster, who were to proceed according to such rules, as they should receive from time to time from the parliament's commissioners. The governor of each precinct was appointed one of the commissioners of that precinct, colonel Hewetson being for Dublin, Sir Charles Coote and colonel Venables for Ulster, colonel Daniel Axtell for Kilkenny, colonel Zanche for Clonmel, colonel Phaier for the county of Cork, and colonel Laurence for the county of Waterford: they appointed colonel Thomas Herbert and colonel Markham to be inspectors over the rest, and to go from place to place to see that their instructions were put in execution. Commissioners were also appointed in the several precincts, for the more equal distribution of justice; and a proclamation was published, forbidding the killing of lambs or calves for the year next ensuing, that the country might recover a stock again, which had been so exhausted by the wars, that many of the natives, who had committed all manner of waste upon the possessions of the English, were driven to such extremities that they starved with hunger; and, I have been informed, by persons deserving credit, that the same calamity fell upon them even in the first year of the rebellion, through the depredations of the Irish; and that they roasted men, and eat them, to supply their necessities. In conjunction with this evil, they were also afflicted with the plague, which was supposed to have been brought amongst them by a ship from Spain, and bound to Galway, from whence the infection spread itself through most parts of the country, and, amongst others, had reached Waterford, where several died of it, and particularly a kinswoman of mine, who, having been driven out of Ireland, with her husband and children, at the breaking out of the rebellion, took the opportunity to return thither with me, and died there, with one of her children, very suddenly, having dined with me the day before. The spring approaching, we removed to Kilkenny, that place lying most convenient for the distribution of tents, clothes, and all other things necessary for the use of the army: it was also near the enemy's quarters, and thereby thought most proper to favour any attempt against them from thence. Colonel Reynolds, who returned from England with us, being made commissary-general of the horse in Ireland, was sent with a party into the King and Queen's county, and put a garrison into Mariborough, appointing major Owen to be governor of the place. At his return, it was agreed that a detachment from Nenagh, where

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colonel Abbot commanded, another from Cashil and those parts, and a third from Kilkenny, should march from their respective garisons, and to contrive it so as to fall upon the quarters of colonel Fitzpatrick at the same time, which were advantageously situated, encompassed with woods and bogs, and inaccessible, except by three very narrow and difficult ways, by which they were ordered to attack him separately. This enterprize was so well effected, that the place was taken, with many of the enemy's horse, besides a great number of men killed or made prisoners. At this time it happened that colonel Axtell, than whom no man was better acquainted with the country of Ireland, was accused for not performing some conditions said to have been promised to the enemy, who pretended that after they had surrendered upon assurance of mercy, they were all put the sword, except a few that made their escape. The colonel endeavoured to prove, that no conditions had been granted; that they were taken by force, and that they who had shewed no mercy, could not deserve to receive any. Though the proof was not clear that he had promised them their lives, yet, because it appeared that some of the soldiers had thrown out some expressions tending that way to the enemy, the deputy was so great a friend to justice, even where an enemy was concerned, that though colonel Axtell was a person extraordinarily qualified for the service of that conjuncture; he, together with the council of war, at which the commissioners of the parliament were also present, suspended him from his employment.

THE lord Broghil, who had conceived great hopes of obtaining the command of the horse, or at least to be made a general officer, well knowing his own merit, and thereupon thinking himself neglected, made his complaint to the deputy, in a letter directed to him, and sent unsealed in another to adjutant-general Allen; wherein enumerating the services he had done, the losses he had sustained, and the slender encouragements he had received, he declared his resolution not to obey the commands of any other but of general Cromwell and him. In answer to this, the deputy by another letter acquainted him, that he was sorry to find such a spirit in him; and particularly, that he should discover it at such a time, when the season for action was drawing on, desiring him to come to the head-quarters, that they might confer together touching this matter. At his coming, the deputy consulted with the commissioners what course to take in this affair. I excused myself to them from giving my advice, (his principal objection being against me) telling them, I was convinced that he had some ground for his dissatisfaction, by reason of his interest and experience in the country; I being in those respects much inferior to him, should not have had the confidence to have undertaken the employment I possessed, but in pure obedience to those who were in authority. The deputy assured me, that they were abundantly satisfied with the clearness of my proceeding, and no less of my abilities to discharge the trust reposed in me, and to perform the duties of my employments, of which he was pleased to say, I had given sufficient demonstration, as well as of a constant and hearty affection to the publick interest. In conclusion, the debate concerning the lord Broghill was brought to this question; Whether he should be wholly laid aside, or whether something

something should be done in order to content him for the present, by conferring upon him some office of profit, and the title of a general officer. The latter was agreed upon, and he declared lieutenant-general of the ordnance in Ireland.

THE commissioners having settled affairs as well as they could, and finding the deputy to be employed in making all necessary preparations for the ensuing service, took that opportunity to go to regulate affairs at Dublin, where, after they had dispatched the publick business, in which they spent about a week, and provided houses to receive their families when they should arrive from England, they returned to Kilkenny. The enemy, who had a party of horse in those parts, had designed to surprize them in their way to Dublin, and again in their return to us; but finding them attended by a strong guard, they durst not venture to attempt it.

THE enemy's forces being retreated into Connaught, which province was covered by the Shannon, and keeping strong guards upon the bridges and fords of that river, the reduction of Limerick could not well be expected till we had blocked them up on both sides. In order to which it was resolved, that Sir Charles Coote, who had with him between four and five thousand horse and foot, should march into Connaught by the way of Ballyshannon, a passage on the other side of Ulster, not far distant from the sea; and commissary-general Reynolds was sent with his regiment of horse to his assistance.

Colonel Axtell and some others about this time going for England, were taken by a pirate belonging to Scilly, whither they were all carried prisoners: the Irish, who were many in the island, against whom colonel Axtell had been very active, and who had heard of the charge lately exhibited against him, pressed hard for the taking away his life. But upon consideration of the preparations making by the parliament to send a fleet with soldiers to reduce that island, it was not thought convenient to attempt any thing against him, though they had a strong inclination to it, for fear of an exemplary retaliation.

IN the mean time, the parliament sent a fleet with some land forces, to reduce the isle of Jersey, with the castle, which was kept by Sir Philip Carteret for Prince Charles. Colonel Haines, who commanded them, met with some opposition at his landing; but having brought his men ashore, the island generally submitted to the parliament. The castle, having made some resistance, was soon after surrendered also.

THE affairs of the commonwealth being thus successful, and their authority acknowledged by the applications of agents and ambassadors from foreign nations to them, it was resolved to send some ministers abroad to entertain a good correspondence with our neighbours, and to preserve the interests of the subjects of this nation, in those parts. To that effect, the lord chief justice St. Johns was dispatched, with the character of ambassador extraordinary to the states of the United Netherlands, with whom Mr. Walter Strickland, our resident there, was joined in commission; and to prevent such another attempt as had been made upon our former agent, forty gentlemen were appointed to attend him for his security and honour, ten thousand pounds being delivered to

the lord ambassador's steward for the expence of the embassy. Yet this great equipage was not sufficient to prevent a publick affront which was offered him by prince Edward, one of the Palatine family, as he was passing the streets. But the prince immediately retiring to some place out of the jurisdiction of the states, secured himself from any prosecution, though they pretended, upon the complaint of our ambassadors, that they were ready to do them what right they could. The negotiation of our ministers, which was designed to procure a nearer conjunction and coalition between the two states, proved also ineffectual, the province of Holland being not so much inclined to consent to it as was expected, and Friezeland, with most of the rest of the provinces, entirely against it; presuming that such a conjunction as was demanded, would be no less than rendering those countries a province to England: so that our ambassadors having used all possible means to succeed in their business, and finding the Dutch unwilling to conclude with us whilst the king had an army in the field, returned to England without effecting any thing but the expence of a great sum of money. This disappointment sat so heavy upon the haughty spirit of the lord chief justice St. Johns, that he reported these transactions with the highest aggravations against the states, and thereby was a principal instrument to prevail with the council of state to move the parliament to pass an act, prohibiting foreign ships from bringing any merchandizes into England, except such as should be of the growth or manufacture of that country to which the said ships did belong. This law, though just in itself, and very advantageous to the English nation, was so highly resented by the Dutch, who had for a long time driven the trade of Europe by the great number of their ships, that it soon proved to be the ball of contention between the two nations.

DURING these transactions, the deputy of Ireland, labouring with all diligence to carry on the publick service, ordered the army to rendezvous at Cashil; from whence he marched by the way of Nenagh to that part of the river Shannon which lies over-against Killalo, where the earl of Castlehaven lay with about two thousand horse and foot, disposed along the side of the river, and defended by breastworks cast up for their security, resolving to endeavour to obstruct our passage into Connaught. The deputy, as if he had intended to divert the course of the river, set the soldiers and pioneers at work to make the ground lower on our side, that the water venting itself into the passage, the river might become fordable; which so alarmed the enemy, that they drew out most of their men to oppose us. Whilst they were thus amused, the deputy taking me with him, and a guard of horse, marched privately by the side of the Shannon, in order to find a convenient place to pass that river. The ways were almost impassable by reason of the bogs, though colonel Reeves, and others who commanded in those parts, had repaired them with hurdles as well as they could. Being advanced about half way from Killalo to Castle-conel, we found a place that answered our desires, where a bridge had formerly been, with an old castle still standing at the foot of it on the other side of the river. We took only a short view of the place, lest we should give occasion to the enemy to suspect our design. The way hither from our camp was so full of bogs,

bogs, that neither horse nor man could pass without great danger; so that we were necessitated to mend them, by laying hurdles and great pieces of timber across, in order to bear our carriages: which we did under pretence of making a passable way between our camp and Castle-conel, a garrison of ours, where provisions were laid up for the army. It was about ten days before all things necessary to this design could be prepared, and then colonel Reeves was commanded to bring three boats which he had, to a place appointed for that purpose, by one o'clock in the morning. At the beginning of the night three regiments of foot, and one of horse, with four pieces of cannon, marched silently towards the place where the boats were ordered to lie, and arrived there an hour before day. They found but two boats waiting for them, yet they served to carry over three files of musqueteers and six troopers, who having unsaddled their horses, caused them to swim by the boat, and were safely landed on the other side. Two centinels of the enemy were in the castle, of whom one was killed by our men, and the other made his escape. Our boats had transported about sixty foot and twenty horse before any enemy appeared; but then some of their horse coming up, skirmished with ours, wherein one Mr. How, a hopeful daring young gentleman, who had accompanied me into Ireland, distinguished himself. About a thousand of the enemy's foot advancing, our horse was commanded to retire, which they did, not without some reluctance; but the hasty march of their foot was retarded by our guns, which we had planted on a hill on our side of the river, from whence we fired so thick upon them, that they were forced to retreat under the shelter of a rising ground; where, after they had been a while, and considered what to do, finding ours coming over apace to them, instead of attacking us, they began to think it high time to provide against our falling upon them; and, having sent to all their guards upon the river to draw off, they retreated farther through the woods into their own quarters. We were no sooner got over the river, but we received advice that Sir Charles Coote and commissary-general Reynolds were entered into Connaught, and advanced as far as Athenree. Our ships were also come up the river of Limerick, with our artillery, ammunition, provisions, and all things necessary for the siege of Limerick. And now the deputy thinking himself abundantly provided for the reduction of that important place, and not knowing what necessities the party with Sir Charles Coote might be driven to, the chief of the enemy's strength being drawn that way, he resolved to send a party of horse to him. But not being able to spare above a thousand horse for that service, he was unwilling to desire me to command them, though he had no person with him that he could conveniently make use of therein, most of the colonels of horse being employed in their respective precincts, to secure them from the incursions of the enemy. This I perceived, and offered to march with them: whereupon the deputy furnished me with three majors, who were major Warden of my own regiment of horse, major Owen of the regiment of commissary-general Reynolds, and major Bolton of a regiment of dragoons, a brave and diligent officer. We began our march about five in the afternoon, and by twelve at
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night, having marched between sixteen and seventeen miles, we dismounted, to forage our horses, and rest ourselves. Before day we mounted, and continued our march through a desolate country, the people being fled, and no provisions to be had but what we carried with us. About ten in the morning our forlorn perceived a creaght, as the country people call it, where half a dozen families, with their cattle, were got together. Some of those who saw them first, presuming all the Irish in that country to be enemies, began to kill them; of which having notice, I put a stop to it, and took a share with them of a pot of four milk, which seemed to me the most pleasant liquor that ever I drank. In the afternoon we found the ways exceeding bad, and almost impassable, many of the hurdles which had been laid upon them being drawn away, as we supposed, by the enemy: yet, in a little more than twenty-four hours, we had marched about forty miles, and were informed that Sir Charles Coote was besieging Portumna, a house of the earl of Clanrickard, and that the enemy were about Athenree. Upon this notice, leaving my party advantageously posted, in a place furnished with provisions for themselves and horses, I took with me sixty horse, and went to Portumna, to be informed more particularly concerning the state of affairs. At my arrival I understood that an attempt had been made upon the place, wherein our men had been repulsed; but that the enemy, having a large line to keep, and many poor people within, fearing to hazard another assault, had agreed to surrender upon articles next morning; which was done accordingly. And now having found Sir Charles Coote's party in good condition, and able to deal with the enemy on that side, I returned to my body of horse, with which, and five hundred more that joined me, commanded by commissary-general Reynolds, I followed, and endeavoured to find out the enemy; but they removed from one place to another with such expedition, that we could not overtake them, having left their carriages, in order to march the lighter, at a castle belonging to one Mr. Brabston, situated upon a considerable pass. This place I endeavoured to reduce; and though it was indifferently strong, and we very ill provided for such an attempt, yet after some resistance the enemy delivered it upon articles, whereby they were permitted to carry off whatsoever belonged properly to them; the tents and draught-oxen remaining in our possession, with several other things belonging to the earl of Clanrickard, whom the earl of Ormond had constituted his deputy in those parts. Having put a garrison into this place, and sent back commissary-general Reynolds with his party to Portumna, I marched with my horse towards Limerick, and came to Gourtenshogore, a castle belonging to Sir Dermot O Shortness, who was then gone to Galway, but had left his tenants with some soldiers, and one Foliot, an Englishman, to command them, in the castle. At my coming before it I summoned them to submit, offering them, that in case they would dismiss their soldiers, and promise to live quietly in the obedience of the parliament, I would leave no garrison in the place, nor suffer any prejudice to be done to them. They pretending they had already submitted to Sir Charles Coote, refused to deliver the castle to any other. Though I took this to be only a pretence, yet, to leave them without excuse,

excuse, and to prevent all exceptions, I sent to Sir Charles Coote, to desire him to let me know how the matter stood, and to direct them to deliver the place to me. Having received an answer to my letter from Sir Charles Coote, I sent it to them, telling them, that now I expected their obedience; but instead of that, they sent me a defiance, and sounded their bagpipes, in contempt of us; to which they were chiefly encouraged by one of the country, whom I had sent to bring in to me some iron bars, sledges, and pickaxes, and who, under colour of going to fetch them, ran away to the enemy, and acquainted them with our want of artillery and instruments to force them. I gave orders to take up all the horses from grafs, to bridle and saddle them, and to tie them to the tents of their respective troops, commanding two troops to mount the guard, and to send out scouts to discover if the enemy were near. The rest of the men I drew into several parties, and assigned them their particular attacks: every soldier carried a faggot before him, as well to defend himself, as to fill up the enemy's trenches, or to fire the gates, as there should be occasion. On one side of the wall there was an earthwork about eleven foot high, with a trench of equal breadth without. The wall of the court was about twelve foot high, well flanked. On the other side the place was secured by a river. Upon our first approach the enemy shot very thick upon us, and killed two of our men, which so enraged the rest, that they ran up to the works, and helping one another to the top of them, beat off the enemy, following them so close, that by means of some ladders which those within had made use of, they got into the court, and put to the sword most of those they found there, the enemy not daring to open the gate to receive their friends. Those of ours who had entered the court, having no instruments to force the house, made use of a wooden bar which they found, and with which they wrested out the iron bars of a strong stone window about six foot from the ground, and forced the enemy by their shot out of that room, where being entered, they put to the sword those that were there. Lieutenant Foliot finding his case desperate, resolved to sell his life at as dear a rate as he could, and charged our men, who were nine or ten in number, with a tuck in one hand, and a stiletto in the other, defending himself so well with the one, and pressing them so hard with the other, that they all gave ground; but he closing with one of them whom he had wounded, and probably might have killed, gave an opportunity to another to run him through the body, by which wound he fell, and the house was quickly cleared of the rest. Most of the principal of the enemy being got into the castle, our men fired a great number of faggots at the gates, which burned so furiously, that the flame took hold of the floors and other timber within, through the iron grate, which being perceived by those in the castle, they hung out a white flag, begging earnestly for mercy, and that we would take away the fire. I commanded my men to leave shooting, and acquainted the besieged, that if they expected any favour from us, they must throw down their arms; which they presently did: whereupon I ordered the fire to be taken away, and gave a soldier twenty shillings to fetch out two barrels of powder that was near the fire, which continued to burn so fiercely, that
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we could not put it out, but were obliged to throw up skains of match into the chambers, by which those in the castle descended to us, being about fourscore in number, besides many women and children. We secured the men till the next morning, when I called a council of war; and being pressed by the officers, that some of the principal of them might be punished with death for their obstinacy, I consented to their demand, provided it might not extend to such as had been drawn in by the malice of others. Those who were tenants to Sir Dermot O Shortness, and countrymen, I dismissed to their habitations, upon promise to behave themselves peaceably, and to engage against us no more: the rest of them we carried away with us. Whilst we were spending our time in sending to Sir Charles Coote, and expecting his answer, I had sent a party of horse to find out some of the enemies that were marched towards the barony of Burren; and tho' they could not overtake them, yet they met with four or five hundred head of cattle, and seized them, which proved a great refreshment to our party, and to the army that was besieging Limerick, whither we returned and gave an account of our proceedings to the deputy, who expressed himself well satisfied with the same.

AT my return, I found that our army had possessed themselves of one of the enemy's forts that stood in the midst of the Shannon upon the Fishing Ware, in this manner. A small battery of two guns being erected against it, one of them was fired into a room, and breaking the leg of a soldier there, so frightened the rest, that, betaking themselves to their boats, they abandoned the place; which ours perceiving, fired so thick upon them with their shot, that all those who were in one of the boats, whether moved by fear or promise of life I know not, surrendered to our men; yet some of them were put to the sword, at which the deputy was much troubled, judging that they would not have quitted the means they had in their hands for their preservation, but upon terms of advantage, and therefore referred the matter to be examined by a court martial.

THOSE in the town having considered of the summons sent to them by the deputy for the surrender of the place, agreed to treat concerning articles, supposing that they might obtain more favourable conditions than when they should be driven to extremities. Accordingly six commissioners were appointed on each side. Those for the enemy were major-general Purcel, Mr. Stockdale recorder of the town, colonel Butler, Jeffrey Barrow, who had been one of their supreme council, Mr. Baggot, and one more, whose name I do not remember. The commissioners nominated by the deputy were major-general Waller, colonel Cromwell, major Smith, adjutant-general Allen, myself, and one more, whom I have also forgot. We met them in a tent placed between the town and our camp, where we dined together, and treated of conditions for several days; but they having great expectations of relief, either by the king's success against us in Scotland, or by the drawing together of their own parties in Ireland, who were able to form an army more numerous than ours, insisted upon such excessive terms, that the treaty was broken up without coming to any conclusion. The fort which we were preparing in order to block them
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up on one side of the town being almost finished, and materials ready for building a bridge to be laid over the Shannon, to preserve a communication between our forces on each side, we resolved to endeavour the reduction of a castle possessed by the enemy, and standing beyond their bridge. To that end a battery was erected, and a breach being made, the deputy, remembering the vigour of the troopers in the action at Gourtenshogore, desired that one might be drawn out of each troop to be an example to the foot that were to storm: which being done, they were armed with back, breast, and head-piece, and furnished with hand-granadoes. One Mr. Hacket, a stout gentleman of the guard, was made choice of to lead them on, who were in all not above twenty. This design succeeded beyond expectation; for our men having thrown in their granadoes, marched up to the breach, and entered with Mr. Hacket at the head of them, being followed by those who were ordered to sustain them. The enemy not being able to stand before them, quitted the place, and retired by the bridge into the town. The castle was immediately searched, and four or five barrels of powder were found in a vault ready to take fire by a lighted match left there by the enemy on purpose to blow up our men. The deputy gave Mr. Hacket and the rest of the troopers a gratuity for their good service, and upon the encouragement of this success, formed a design to possess himself of an island that lay near the town, containing about forty or fifty acres of ground, and encompassed by the river: In order to which boats were prepared, and floats sufficient to transport three hundred men at once, and orders given to fall down the river about midnight. Three regiments of foot and one of horse were appointed to be wafted over. The first three hundred, being all foot, were commanded by lieutenant-colonel Walker, who being landed on the island with his men, marched up to the enemy's breastwork, which they had cast up quite round the place; but they having discovered our men before their landing, had drawn most of their forces together to oppose them; so that being oppressed by the enemies number, they were most of them forced into the water, and all either killed or drowned, except two or three only who came back to the camp. Our bridge being finished, and a small fort to defend it erected at the foot of it, the deputy, with most part of the army, marched over to the other side of the river, where he marked out ground for three bodies of men to encamp separately, each to consist of about two thousand, giving orders for the fortifying of those places, assigning to each regiment their proportion, and quartering them by brigades in the most convenient manner he could, either to defend themselves, to relieve each other, or to annoy the enemy: and as soon as the great fort on which our men had been long working was rendered defensible, he drew off all our forces from this side of the river, except a thousand foot and about three hundred horse.

IN the mean time, the enemy was endeavouring to draw their forces together to relieve the place, well knowing of what importance it was to their affairs. To that end the lord Muskerry had brought together about five thousand horse and foot in the counties of Cork and Kerry, and David Rock between two or three thousand more in the county of Clare. The lord Broghil and major

Wallis were sent to oppose the lord Muskerry, whilst I with another detachment was ordered to look after the other. The lord Broghil soon met with the lord Muskerry, and after some dispute entirely defeated him, killing many of the Irish, and taking others prisoners, with little loss on our side. I passed the river at Inchechroghnan, of which the enemy having advice, drew off their forces from Caricgoholt, a garrison of ours, which they were besieging, whereby captain Lucas, who had been governor of the place, wanting provisions, took that opportunity to quit it; and being joined by captain Taff's dragoons, came safe to us. Whilst I was endeavouring to find out the enemy, advice was brought to me, that they, to the number of three thousand horse and foot, were marching with all diligence to possess themselves of the pass at Inchechroghnan, thereby designing to obstruct our return to the army before Limerick: which being confirmed by a letter we intercepted, I drew out two hundred and fifty horse with sixty dragoons, and sent them before, with orders to take possession of the pass, marching after them with the rest of my party. When I was almost come to the pass, I was informed by those sent before, that they had found a small number of the enemy's horse there, who immediately retreated upon the advance of our men, some of whom were in pursuit of them. Presently after, advice was brought, that the enemy made good a pass leading to some woods and bogs, which they used for a retreat; whereupon I went to take a view of their posture, that if it were necessary I might order a greater force to succour our men. Being come up to the place where the dispute was, I found that Connor O Brian, deputed by the lord Inchequin to command in the county of Clare, had been shot from his horse, and carried away by his party. The enemy retreated to a pass, and fired thick upon us; but we advancing within pistol-shot of them, they quitted their ground, and betook themselves to their woods and bogs. Divers of them were killed in the pursuit; yet the ground was so advantageous to them, and their heels so good, that though we pursued them with all possible diligence, and sent out parties several ways, yet we could not take above two or three of them prisoners. Having dispersed this party, and relieved the garrison of Caricgoholt, I returned to the army before Limerick, where I found a considerable progress made in our works on the other side of the town, and a reinforcement from England of between three and four thousand foot, whose arrival was very seasonable and welcome to us, having lost many men by hard service, change of food, and alteration of the climate. The deputy, fearing that the plague, which raged fiercely in Limerick, might reach our army, and to the end that care might be taken of our sick and wounded men, caused an hospital to be prepared, and furnished with all things necessary; and whilst the works were finishing against the town, he went to visit the garrison of Killalo, and to order a bridge to be made over the river at that place, for the better communication of the counties of Tipperary and Clare. I accompanied him in this journey, and having passed all places of danger, he left his guard to refresh themselves, and rode so hard that he spoiled many horses, and hazarded some of the men; but he was so diligent in the public service, and so careless of every thing that belonged to himself, that

that he never regarded what clothes or food he used, what hour he went to rest, or what horse he mounted.

IN the mean time, our army in Scotland lying near the enemy's camp at Torwood, who were plentifully furnished with provisions from the county of Fife, it was resolved that a party of ours, commanded by colonel Overton, should be sent in boats from Leith and Edinburgh into that county, to contrive some way to prevent the enemies supplies from thence. This party was followed by four regiments of horse and foot commanded by major-general Lambert. Of which the enemy having notice, sent Sir John Brown, who was esteemed to be a person of courage and conduct, with part of their army to oppose them. It was not long before the two parties came to an engagement, wherein the enemy was totally routed; Sir John Brown who commanded them, with about two thousand of his men, killed, many made prisoners, and all their baggage taken. The Scots being deprived of their usual supplies from Fife, and not expecting any from foreign parts, by reason of the number of our ships cruising on their coast, resolved to march into England, having received encouragement so to do from their old and new friends there. They passed the river Tweed near Carlisle, there being a strong garrison in Berwick for the parliament, and were considerably advanced in their march before our army in Scotland were acquainted with their design. Major-general Harrison, with about four thousand horse and foot, somewhat obstructed their march, though he was not considerable enough to fight them; and being joined by major-general Lambert with a party of horse from the army, they observed the enemy so closely as to keep them from excursions, and to prevent others from joining with them. The Scots, who were in great expectation of assistance from Wales, and relied much upon colonel Massey's interest in Gloucestershire, advanced that way. Few of the country came in to them; but, on the other side, so affectionate were the people to the commonwealth, that they brought in horse and foot from all parts to assist the parliament; insomuch that their number was by many thought sufficient to have beaten the enemy without the assistance of the army; some even of the excluded members appearing in arms, and leading regiments against the common enemy.

AT the same time, upon notice that the earl of Derby was at the head of fifteen hundred horse and foot in Lancashire, colonel Lilburn was sent that way with about eight hundred men, who meeting with the earl's forces near Wigan, after a sharp dispute for about an hour, totally routed them. The number of the slain was considerable on the enemy's side: The lord Widdrington, with other persons of quality, were killed. All their baggage was taken, and three or four hundred made prisoners, with the loss only of one officer, and about ten private soldiers of colonel Lilburn's. The earl of Derby himself was wounded, and escaped to Worcester; but bringing not above thirty tired horse with him, the townsmen began to repent their revolt from the parliament.

THE Scots having possessed themselves of the city of Worcester, and fortified it as well as they could in so short a time, resolved to attack our army, which

was

was now advanced to that place, and posted on each side of the Severn, ready to receive them, with general Cromwell at their head. Their first attack was made upon lieutenant-general Fleetwood's quarters that were on the other side of the river, who with some forces of the army, and a reinforcement of the militia, made a vigorous resistance. The general fearing he might be overpowered, dispatched some troops to his assistance by a bridge laid over the river, commanding major-general Lambert to send another detachment to the same purpose; but he desired to be excused, alledging, that if the enemy should alter their course, and fall upon those on this side, they might probably cut off all that remained: which was not unlikely, for soon after, most of the enemy's strength fell upon that part of the army where the general and major-general Lambert were. The battle was fought with various success for a considerable time; but at length the Scots army was broken, and, quitting their ground, retreated in great disorder to the town, where they endeavoured to defend themselves. Major-general Harrison, colonel Croxton, and the forces of Cheshire, entered the place at their heels; and being followed by the rest of the army, soon finished the dispute, and totally defeated the enemy. Three English earls, seven Scots lords, and above six hundred officers, besides ten thousand private soldiers, were made prisoners. The king's standard, and a hundred fifty-eight colours, with all their artillery, ammunition and baggage, was also taken. On our side, quarter-master-general Mosely, and captain Jones, with above a hundred private soldiers, were killed, and captain Howard, with one captain more, and about three hundred soldiers, wounded. This victory was obtained by the parliament's forces on the 3d of September, being the same day of the same month that the Scots had been defeated at Dunbar the preceding year. Colonel Massey escaped into Leicestershire, but being dangerously wounded, found himself not able to continue his way, and fearing to be knocked on the head by the country, delivered himself to the countess of Stamford, mother to the lord Grey of Grooby, who caused his wounds to be carefully dressed, and sent notice of his surrender to the army. Whereupon a party was dispatched with orders to conduct him from thence to London, as soon as he should be fit to travel, which was done, and he committed prisoner to the Tower. The Scots king with the lord Wilmot were concealed by three countrymen, till they could furnish him with a horse; with which he crossed the country to one Mr. Gunter's near Shoreham in Suffex, carrying one Mrs. Lane behind him; from whence in a small bark he escaped to France.

THE general, after this action, which he called the crowning victory, took upon him a more stately behaviour, and chose new friends. Neither must it be omitted, that, instead of acknowledging the services of those who came from all parts to assist against the common enemy, though he knew they had deserved as much honour as himself and the standing army, he frowned upon them, and, the very next day after the fight, dismissed and sent them home; well knowing, that an useful and experienced militia was more likely to obstruct than to second him in his ambitious designs. Being on his way to London, many members of the parliament, attended by the city, and great numbers

numbers of persons of all orders and conditions, went some miles out of town to meet him; which tended not a little to heighten the spirit of this haughty gentleman.

LIEUTENANT-general Monk, whom the general had raised to that employment, and ordered to command in Scotland during his absence, took Stirling castle; and then marched with about four thousand horse and foot before Dundee. But being advised, that general Lesley, the earl of Crawford, and others, were met at Elliot to consult of means to relieve that town, he sent a party of horse and dragoons, commanded by colonel Alured and colonel Morgan, to surprize them: which they did; and the principal of them being taken, were sent prisoners to London, where they were committed to the Tower. After this, he summoned the town of Dundee. But the place being well fortified, and provided with a numerous garrison, refused to surrender; whereupon he stormed it; and being entered, put five or six hundred to the sword, and commanded the governor, with divers others, to be killed in cold blood.

THOUGH the news of these successes much discouraged our enemies in Ireland, yet those in Limerick were not without some hopes, that either the plague, or scarcity of provisions, together with the badness of the weather, might constrain us to raise the siege; and therefore refused to accept such conditions as we were willing to grant. The line which we had made about the town, and the forts, being in a condition of defence, the deputy resolved to look after the enemy in the county of Clare, and, if possible, to get some provisions from thence for the relief of the army. He took me with him, knowing I had been in those parts before, and between three or four thousand horse and foot. At our approach to the places where the enemy usually were, we divided our body; the deputy being at the head of one, and I at the head of the other party; hoping by this means so to encompass the enemy, that they should not escape us. But though we sometimes came within sight of them, and used our utmost endeavours to engage them; yet, by reason of the advantages they made of the woods, rocks, hills, and bogs, for their retreat, we could do them little hurt, save by seizing their horses and cattle. In the absence of this party from the army, the enemy with two thousand foot made a sally out of Limerick so unexpectedly upon our men, that they had almost surprized our guard of horse. But ours immediately mounting, and being not accustomed to be beaten, charged them, and notwithstanding the inequality of the forces, they being much superior to us in number, put them to a stand, till a party of horse and foot came to their relief, and forced the enemy to retreat under the walls of the town; from whence their men fired so thick upon ours, that their own men had time to get into the town.

WHEN this account was brought from Sir Hardress Waller to the deputy, he was upon his return to the army before Limerick; having left me with about two thousand horse and foot, as well to ease our quarters about the town, not knowing how long we might lie before it, as to endeavour to persuade the garrison of Clare castle, a strong place, and situated upon the river, to surrender. To that end, being arrived in the army, he sent one lieutenant-colonel White, who

who had served the enemy, and now had a commission to raise forces for the king of Spain, with an order to me, to permit him to go to the said garrison, that he might inform them of the impossibility of their receiving any relief, and of the necessities to which Limerick was already reduced, and thereby prevail with them to make speedy provision for themselves, and to lift under him. But his design proving ineffectual, I found myself obliged to return to the camp before Limerick; where we made provision for a winter-siege.

GREAT numbers of people endeavoured to get out of the town, sent out by the garrison either as useless persons, or to spread the contagion amongst us. The deputy commanded them to return, and threatened to shoot any that should attempt to come out for the future. But this not being sufficient to make them desist, he caused two or three to be taken out in order to be executed, and the rest to be whipped back into the town. One of those that were to be hanged, was the daughter of an old man, who was in that number which was to be sent back. He desired that he might be hanged in the room of his daughter; but that was refused, and he with the rest driven back into the town. After which a gibbet was erected in the sight of the town-walls, and one or two persons hanged up, who had been condemned for other crimes, that those within might suppose that execution to be for coming out. And by this means they were so terrified, that we were no farther disturbed on that account.

THE deputy, upon information received, that some in the town were desirous to surrender, and that others did violently oppose them, endeavoured by letters and messages, to foment the division; declaring against several persons by name that were most active and obstinate for holding out, that they should have no benefit by the articles to be agreed upon; severely inveighing against a generation of men whom he called *soldiers of fortune*, that made a trade of the war, and valued not the lives or happiness of the people. This wrought the desired effect; and so encouraged the complying party, that it was carried for a treaty, and commissioners again appointed on each side. We insisted, that about seventeen of the principal persons in the place should be excepted out of the articles; of which number were colonel Hugh O Neal the governor, the mayor of the city, the bishops of Limerick and Emmene, major-general Purcell, Sir Geoffrey Galloway, Sir Jeffrey Barrow, one Wolfe a priest, Sir Richard Everard, and others. But these made so strong a party, that the treaty was broke up without any agreement, and no other way left to reduce them but by force. In order to which, the deputy caused the great guns to be landed from the ships, and others to be brought from the adjacent garrisons. With these he erected a battery against the town in the most convenient place that could possibly have been found, being against a part of the wall; which though it was of the same height and thickness with the rest of it, and also as well flanked; yet it proved not to be lined with earth within, as all the other parts were, nor had any counterescarp without.

IN the mean time, the parliament, seeing a period put to the war in England and Scotland, and that of Ireland drawing towards a conclusion, resolved to gratify such officers as the general recommended to their favour; and thereupon settled

1000l. yearly on major-general Lambert, 300l. on major-general Overton, the same on colonel Pride and colonel Whalley, 500l. annually on commissary-general Reynolds, and 1000l. per annum on the lord Broghil. They also settled 4000l. a year on the lord-general himself, out of the estates of the duke of Buckingham and Marquis of Worcester, besides the 2500l. a year formerly granted. This they did to oblige him, by all means possible, to the performance of his duty, or to leave him without excuse if he should depart from it. They ordered also an act to be brought in for settling 2000l. per annum on the lord deputy Ireton. The news of which being brought over, was so unacceptable to him, that he said, "They had many just debts, which he desired they would pay before they made any such presents; that he had no need of their land, and therefore would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure." And truly I believe he was in earnest; for as he was always careful to husband those things that belonged to the state to the best advantage, so was he most liberal in employing his own purse and person in the public service.

OUR battery being now in order, and the regiments that were appointed to storm disposed to their several posts, we began to fire, directing all our shot to one particular part of the wall, wherein we made such a breach, that the enemy, not daring to run any farther hazard, beat a parley; and soon came to a resolution to surrender upon the articles we had offered before, delivering up the east-gate of the out-town, which was separated by a river, having a draw-bridge over it from the other town. The deputy ordered all the arms and ammunition to be carefully preserved, and the soldiers who were not of the town, to be drawn up between the place and our army, that such as desired it might have convoys to conduct them to their respective parties; and that those who would return to their habitations, might have passes granted to that effect. The governor colonel Hugh O Neal met the deputy at the gate; where he presented him with the keys of the city, and gave order for the marching out of the soldiers, who were not townsmen, according to the articles. They were in number about two thousand five hundred men. As they were marching out, two or three of them fell down dead of the plague. Several of them also lay unburied in the church-yard. The governor waited on the deputy, to shew him the stores of arms, ammunition, and provisions, which were sufficient to have lasted near three months longer. He shewed him also the fortifications, and whatsoever else he desired of him; withal acquainting him, that nine or ten of those who were excepted from the benefit of the articles, had surrendered themselves to his mercy, and were waiting his orders in a certain house which he named. Upon which the deputy commanded a guard to be set upon them; and committed the governor also to their custody. The bishop of Emmene and major-general Purcell, with Wolfe the priest, were taken in the pest-house, where they had hid themselves. Jeffrey Barrow and Sir Geoffrey Galloway surrendered themselves. Two days after the delivery of the town, the mayor came to the place of worship, where our court of guard was met:
and

and whether by his words or actions he gave cause of suspicion, I cannot tell; but they seized him, and, upon examination, found who he was; whereupon they committed him to prison. The bishop of Limerick was the only person excepted that was yet undiscovered; but we afterwards understood him to be one of a more peaceable spirit than the rest. A court-martial was assembled; and the bishop of Emmene, with major-general Purcell, required to acquaint them, if they had any thing to say why they should not die according to the sentence passed upon them. The bishop said, That having many sins to confess, he desired time to prepare himself to that purpose; which was granted. Major-general Purcell fell upon his knees and begged earnestly for his life; but that was denied. This poor man was of so low a spirit, that wanting courage at the time of his execution, he stood in need of two musketeers to support him. The bishop died with more resolution; and Wolfe the priest was also executed. The Governor and Jeffrey Barrow were also condemned to die. But the deputy resolving to hear them, demanded of the governor what he had to say for himself; who answered, That the war had been long on foot before he came over; that he came upon the invitation of his countrymen; that he had always demeaned himself as a fair enemy; and that the ground of his exception from the articles, being his encouraging to hold out, though there was no hope of relief, was not applicable to him, who had always moved them to a timely surrender: as indeed he made it appear: and therefore hoped, that he should enjoy the benefit of the articles; in confidence of which he had faithfully delivered up the keys of the town, with all the arms, ammunition, and provisions, without imbezzlement, and his own person also, to the deputy. But the blood formerly shed at Clonmel, where this colonel O Neal was governor, had made such an impression on the deputy, that his judgment, which was of great weight with the court, moved them a second time to vote him to die; though some of us earnestly opposed it, for the reasons before mentioned by himself; and because whatsoever he had been guilty of before, had no relation to these articles; which did not at all exempt him from being called to an account by the civil magistrate for the same. The court having passed sentence of death a second time against him, the deputy, who was now entirely freed from his former manner of adhering to his own opinion, which had been observed to be his greatest infirmity, observing some of the officers to be unsatisfied with this judgment, referred it again to the consideration of the court; who by their third vote consented to save his life. Jeffrey Barrow having the same question put to him with the rest, answered, That it was not just to exclude him from mercy, because he had been engaged in the same cause as we pretended to fight for, which was, for the liberty and religion of his country. The deputy replied, That Ireland being a conquered country, the English nation might with justice assert their right and conquest: that they had been treated by the late government far beyond their merits, or the rules of reason; notwithstanding which they had barbarously murdered all the English that fell into their hands, robbed them of their goods which they had gained by their industry, and taken away the lands which

which they had purchased with their money: that, touching the point of religion, there was a wide difference also between us; we only contending to preserve our natural right therein, without imposing our opinions upon other men; whereas they would not be contented unless they might have power to compel all others to submit to their impositions upon pain of death. The council of war looking, upon what he had said for himself to be hereby fully refuted, adjudged him to die; as they did the mayor also: and the sentence was executed accordingly.

LIMERICK being taken, it was debated in a council of war, whether we should march to Galway, in order to reduce that place, which had been besieged for some time by Sir Charles Coote and commissary-general Reynolds. I concurred with the deputy, that the garrison being under a great consternation by the loss of Limerick, would probably be soon brought to reason; but most of the officers complaining of the ill condition of their men through sickness and hard service, representing also the near approach of winter, we being already entered into the month of November, the deputy contented himself to send only a summons to general Preston governor of Galway, with offers of such conditions as were first tendered to those of Limerick, assuring him at the same time, that if he refused them, he should have no better than they had been lately obliged to submit to. This proposition he rejected; but being unwilling to hazard the event, took shipping soon after, and went beyond sea.

WHILST the deputy was settling affairs at Limerick, he ordered me with a party to march into the county of Clare, to reduce some places in those parts. Accordingly I marched with about two thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse to Inchecroghnan, fifteen miles from Limerick; but it being late before we began our march, and night overtaking us before we could reach that place, as we were passing the bridge, one of my horses that carried my waters and medicines fell into the river, which proved a great loss to me, as things fell out afterwards. The next day, I came before Clare-castle, and summoned it, whereupon they sent out commissioners to treat, though the place was of very great strength; and after three or four hours debate, we came to an agreement, by which the castle was to be delivered to me the next morning, the enemy leaving hostages with us for the performance of their part. That night I lay in my tent upon a hill, where the weather being very tempestuous, and the season far advanced, I took a very dangerous cold. The next morning the enemy marched out of the castle, and received passes from me to return home, according to the articles. After which, having appointed colonel Foulk and a garrison to defend it, I marched towards Carickgoholt. That night my cold increased, and the next morning I found myself so much discomposed, that adjutant-general Allen, who was then with us, earnestly pressed me to go a board one of the vessels that attended our party with ammunition, artillery and provisions, and to appoint a person to command them in my absence. But being unwilling to quit the charge committed to my care, I clothed myself as warm as I could, putting on a fur coat over my buff, and an oiled one over that; by which means I prevented the farther increase of my distemper, and so

ordered our quarters that night, that I lay in my own bed set up in an Irish cabin, where about break of day I fell into so violent a sweat, that I was obliged to keep with me two troops of horse for my guard, after I had given orders for the rest of the men to march. In this condition I continued about two hours, and though my sweating had not ceased, I mounted in order to overtake my party, who had a bitter day to march in, the wind and the hail beating so violently in our faces, that the horses being not able to endure it, often turned about. Yet in this extremity of weather the poor foot were necessitated to wade through a branch of the sea, near a quarter of a mile over, up to the waste in water. At night we arrived within view of Carickgoholt, my distemper being but little abated, and my body in a continual sweat. The next day I summoned the garrison to surrender the castle: in answer to which they sent out commissioners to treat, who at first insisted upon very high terms; but finding us resolved not to grant their propositions, they complied with ours, and the next day surrendered the place. Liberty was given by the articles to such as desired it, to go and join the lord Muskerry's party in the county of Kerry: the rest to return home, with promise of protection as long as they behaved themselves peaceably, excepting only such who should appear to have been guilty of murder in the first year of the war, or afterwards. Having placed a garrison in Carickgoholt, I returned towards Limerick, and being on my march thither, I was met by an officer of the guard, with orders from the deputy for my return; who thinking it impossible to reduce this garrison by force in such a season, was unwilling that the soldiers should remain longer in the field, exposed to such cruel and sharp weather. The messenger also acquainted me, that the deputy was coming towards us, which he did, as well to view the country, in order to the more equal distribution of winter-quarters and garrisons, as to let us see that he would not command any service, but such as he was willing to take a share of himself. Upon this advice I hastened with a party to meet him, giving orders for the rest to follow as fast as they could conveniently. At our meeting I gave him an account of what I had done, with which he was very well satisfied. After two days march, without any thing remarkable but bad quarters, we entered into the barony of Burren, of which it is said, that it is a country where there is not water enough to drown a man, wood enough to hang one, nor earth enough to bury him; which last is so scarce, that the inhabitants steal it from one another, and yet their cattle are very fat; for the grass growing in turfs of earth, of two or three foot square, that lie between the rocks, which are of limestone, is very sweet and nourishing. Being in these parts we went to Lemmene, a house of that Connor O Bryan whom we had killed near Incheeroghnan; and finding it indifferent strong, being built with stone, and having a good wall about it, we put a garrison into it, and furnished it with all things necessary. The next day the deputy, with a party of horse, went to view some other places where he designed to appoint garrisons, in order to prevent the sending of provisions into Galway, to which this country lies contiguous. I was very desirous to attend him according to my duty, but he having observed my distemper to continue upon

me, would not permit it; and when I pressed it more earnestly, he positively commanded me to stay. That day there fell abundance of rain and snow, which was accompanied with a very high wind, whereby the deputy took a very great cold that discovered itself immediately upon his return; but we could not persuade him to go to bed, till he had determined a cause that was before him and the court-martial, touching an officer of the army, who was accused of some violence done to the Irish; and as in all cases he carried himself with the utmost impartiality, so he did this, dismissing the officer, though otherwise an useful man, from his command for the same. The next day, we marched towards Clare-castle, and found the way so rocky, that we rode near three miles together upon one of them, whereby most of our horses cast their shoes; so that though every troop came provided with horse-shoes, which were delivered to them out of the stores, yet before a day's march was over, a horse-shoe was sold for five shillings.

THE next morning, the lady Honoria Obryan, daughter to the late earl of Thomond, being accused of protecting the goods and cattle of the enemy, under pretence that they belonged to her, and thereby abusing the favour of the deputy's safeguard, which he had granted to her, came to him; and being charged by him with it, and told, that he expected a more ingenuous carriage from her; she burst out into tears, and assured him, if he would forgive her, that she would never do the like again, desiring me, after the deputy was withdrawn, to intercede with him for the continuance of his favour to her; which when I acquainted him with, he said, "As much a Cynick as I am, the tears of this woman moved me;" and therefore gave order that his protection should be continued to her. From thence I would have attended him to Limerick; but so much more care did he take of me than of himself, that he would not suffer it; desiring me to go that day, being Saturday, and quarter at Bon-ratto, a house of the earl of Thomond's, in order to recover my health, and to come to him on Monday morning at Limerick. Accordingly I came, and found the deputy grown worse, having been let blood, and sweating exceedingly, with a burning fever at the same time. Yet for all this he ceased not to apply himself to the public business, settling garrisons, and distributing winter-quarters, which was all that remained to be done of the military service for that year. I endeavoured to persuade him, as I had often done before, that his immoderate labours for his country would much impair, if not utterly destroy him; but he had so totally neglected himself during the siege of Limerick, not putting off his clothes all that time, except to change his linen, that the malignant humours which he had contracted, wanting room to perspire, became confined to his body, and rendered him more liable to be infected by the contagion. I was unwilling to leave him till I saw the event of his distemper; but he, supposing my family was by this time come to Dublin, would not permit me to stay, and I finding I could in no way be serviceable to him, submitted to his desires. I found the commissioners of parliament at Dublin, and acquainted them with the state of affairs in those parts from whence I came, and with the resolutions taken by the deputy at Limerick; but soon after my
Y 2 arrival,

arrival, the sad news of his death was brought to us, which was universally lamented by all good men, more especially because the public was thereby deprived of a most faithful, able, and useful servant.

THE commissioners of parliament taking into their consideration what method to observe in that conjuncture, and presuming that my command in the army was next to that of the deputy, resolved by a letter to acquaint the officers of our forces in Ireland with their judgment, and to require them to yield obedience to me accordingly. I earnestly desired them to forbear sending any such letter, which I did, not out of a feigned modesty, but from a real sense of the weight of such an undertaking, and my own inability to perform the duty of that important station: for though the work seemed to be almost finished, yet there remained great difficulties behind, the enemy possessing some strong places and islands, and having many thousands yet in the field; there being also in the parliament's pay between seven and eight thousand horse and dragoons, with above two and twenty thousand foot. For these and other reasons, I desired them that they would reserve the power to themselves, till the parliament should send over some person to undertake that employment; which they might do soon enough, the season of action being already past, the troops dispersed into their winter-quarters, and nothing of importance likely to be done before the next spring; acquainting them, that, being one of their number, I could be as serviceable in their deliberations and resolutions, as if I were entrusted with the sole power. But all that I could say was not sufficient to dissuade them from sending the letter before-mentioned; and though it met with a general submission, yet I resolved not to undertake any thing without their advice and consent, which they readily promised to afford me.

SOME of general Cromwell's relations, who were not ignorant of his vast designs now on foot, caused the body of the lord-deputy Ireton to be transported into England, and solemnly interred at Westminster in a magnificent monument, at the public charge: who, if he could have foreseen what was done by them, would certainly have made it his desire, that his body might have found a grave where his soul left it, so much did he despise those pompous and expensive vanities; having erected for himself a more glorious monument in the hearts of good men, by his affection to his country, his abilities of mind, his impartial justice, his diligence in the public service, and his other virtues, which were a far greater honour to his memory, than a dormitory amongst the ashes of kings, who, for the most part, as they had governed others by their passions, so were they themselves as much governed by them.

THE isles of Scilly and Man were reduced to the obedience of the commonwealth; but nothing extraordinary happening at their reduction, at least not coming to my knowledge, I purposely omit the relation of those actions.

ABOUT this time, we were informed that Sir George Ayscue, who had been sent by the parliament to the western islands, which still continued in arms against them, arrived at the Barbadoes on the 26th of October 1651, and having opened a passage into the harbour by firing some great shot, seized upon twelve of their ships without opposition. The next morning he sent a summons

mons to the lord Willoughby to submit to the authority of the parliament of England; but he not acknowledging any such power, declared his resolution to keep the island for the king's service. But the news of the defeat of the Scots and their king at Worcester being brought to Sir George Ayscue, together with an intercepted letter from the lady Willoughby, containing the same account; he summoned him a second time, and accompanied his summons with his lady's letter, to assure him of the truth of that report. But the lord Willoughby relying upon his numbers, and the fewness of those that were sent to reduce them, being in all but fifteen sail, returned an answer of the like substance with the former. Whereupon Sir George Ayscue sent two hundred men on shore, commanded by captain Morrice, to attack a quarter of the enemy that lay by the harbour, which they executed successfully by taking the fort and about forty prisoners, with four pieces of cannon, which they nailed up, and returned on board again. At this time the Virginia fleet arriving at the Barbadoes, it was thought fit to send a third summons to the lord Willoughby; but finding that neither this, nor the declarations sent to them by the commissioners of parliament to the same purpose, produced any effect, Sir George Ayscue landed seven hundred men from his own and the Virginia fleet, giving the command of them to the same captain Morrice, who fell upon thirteen hundred of the enemy's foot and three troops of their horse, and beat them from their works, killing many of their men, and taking about a hundred prisoners, with all their guns. The loss on our side was inconsiderable, few of ours being killed upon the place, and not above thirty wounded. Yet these successes were not sufficient to accomplish the work, there being above five thousand horse and foot in the island, and our Virginia fleet preparing to depart for want of provisions. In this conjuncture colonel Muddiford, who commanded a regiment in the island, by the means of a friend that he had in our fleet, made his terms, and declared for the parliament. Many of his friends following his example, did the like, and in conjunction with him encamped under the protection of our fleet. Upon this the most part of the island were inclined to join us; but the lord Willoughby prevented them by placing guards on all the avenues to our camp, and designed to charge our men with his body of horse, wherein he was much superior to them, had not a cannon-ball that was fired at random, beat open the door of a room, where he and his council of war were sitting; which taking off the head of the sentinel who was placed at the door, so alarmed them all, that he changed his design, and retreated to a place two miles distant from the harbour. Our party, consisting of two thousand foot and one hundred horse, advancing towards him, he desired to treat; which being accepted, colonel Muddiford, colonel Collyton, Mr. Searl and captain Pack, were appointed commissioners by Sir George Ayscue; and by the lord Willoughby, Sir Richard Pierce, Mr. Charles Pym, colonel Elis and major Byham. By these, it was concluded, that the islands of Barbadoes, Mevis, Antego, and St. Christophers, should be surrendered to the parliament of England: that the lord Willoughby, colonel Walrond, and some others, should be restored to their estates; and that the inhabitants

inhabitants of the said isles should be maintained in the quiet enjoyment of what they possessed, on condition to do nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth. This news being brought to Virginia, they submitted also, where one Mr. George Ludlow, a relation of mine, served the parliament in the like manner, as colonel Muddiford had done at the Barbadoes.

THE parliament of England being desirous, after all these successes, to convince even their enemies, that their principal design was to procure the happiness and prosperity of all that were under their government, sent commissioners to Scotland to treat concerning an union of that nation with England in one commonwealth; directing them to take care, till that could be effected, that obedience should be given to the authority of the parliament of the commonwealth of England. The commissioners appointed to this end on the part of the parliament, were Sir Henry Vane, the chief justice St. Johns, Mr. Fenwick, major Salloway, major-general Lambert, colonel Titchborn, major-general Dean, and colonel Monk. This proposition of union was cheerfully accepted by the most judicious amongst the Scots, who well understood how great a condescension it was in the parliament of England, to permit a people they had conquered, to have a part in the legislative power.

THE states-general being highly displeased with the late act of navigation passed by the parliament, which they accounted to be a great obstruction to their trade, resolved to leave no means unattempted to procure it to be repealed. To this end they sent three ambassadors to England, who, pretending a desire to finish the treaty, begun formerly between the two states, requested that things might be as they were at the time of our ambassador's departure from Holland, designing thereby, that the act lately passed for the encouragement of our seamen should be suspended, and all such merchandizes restored as had been seized from the Dutch by virtue of the said act. The parliament refusing to consent to this proposal, the states-general gave orders for the equipping a considerable fleet, consisting of about a hundred ships of war, giving notice to the parliament, by their ambassadors, of these preparations, and assuring them that they were not designed to offend the English nation, with whom they desired to maintain a friendly correspondence, and that they were provided to no other end, than to protect their own subjects in their trade and navigation. But the parliament being unwilling to rely upon the promises of those, who by their past and present actions had manifested little friendship to us, resolved to make what preparations they could to defend themselves.

THIS alarm awakened us to a diligent performance of our duty in Ireland, fearing that the Hollanders might transport some foreign forces by their fleet, to the assistance of the Irish, who were not only still numerous in the field, but had also divers places of strength to retreat to. Our suspicions were farther increased by the advices we received of a treaty on foot between the duke of Lorain and Theobald viscount Taff, with other Irish, to bring the forces of that duke into Ireland against us, in order to extirpate all heretics out of that nation, to re-establish the Romish religion in all parts of it, and to restore the Irish to their possessions; all which being performed, he should deliver up
the

the authority to the king of Great Britain, and assist him against his rebellious subjects in England: that all Ireland should be engaged for his reimbursement: that Galway, Limerick, Athenree, Athlone, Waterford, and the fort of Duncannon, should be put into his hands as cautionary places, with other things of the same nature. The report of this agreement being spread amongst the Irish, encouraged them to make all possible opposition against us, in expectation of the promised succours. The commissioners of the parliament, on the other hand, laboured with all diligence to dispose their affairs in the best manner they could for the public service; in order to which they sent to the several commanders of our army, to excite them to the discharge of their duty, making provision of arms, ammunition, clothes, tents, and all things necessary to the carrying on the war in the ensuing spring. A general meeting of officers was also appointed to be held at Kilkenny, to consult about the best method of employing our arms against the enemy: and because the propositions offered by the late lord deputy to those of Galway, had been no farther prosecuted by reason of his death, orders were dispatched to Sir Charles Coote, authorizing him to conclude with them, in case they should accept the conditions at or before the ninth of the next January. According to their orders, the officers met at Kilkenny, by whom being informed of what they thought necessary for the ensuing service, we acquainted the parliament and council of state with the particulars of such things as were requisite, desiring them to send them over with all convenient speed, that no time might be lost, when the season of the year should permit us to take the field. We published two proclamations to prevent the country from supplying the enemy with arms and other necessaries; wherein, drawing a line as it were about the Irish quarters, we required all persons to withdraw themselves and their goods from the places of their resort within a limited time; which if they refused to do, we declared them enemies, and ordered all officers and soldiers to treat them accordingly: commanding also all smiths, armourers and saddlers that lived in the country, to retire in twenty days, with all their families, forges and instruments, into some garrison of the parliament, on pain of forfeiture of their goods and tools, besides six months imprisonment for the first offence, and of death for the second. We ordered also, that all those who had withdrawn themselves out of our protection, and joined with the enemy, since the coming over of general Cromwel, should be deprived of the benefit of quarter. Having published these and other orders of the like tenor, we appointed the lord Broghil, commissary-general Reynolds, Sir Hardress Waller, colonel Axtell, and the rest of the officers, to cause them to be put in execution, as occasion should require.

HAVING finished our affairs at Kilkenny, and dismissed the officers to their respective quarters, I resolved to go to Portumna, to make all things ready for the siege of Galway. Being on my march, on the other side of Nenagh, an advanced party found two of the rebels, one of whom was killed by the guard before I came up to them, the other was saved; and being brought before me at Portumna, and I asking him, if he had a mind to be hanged? he only answered,

swered, "If you please;" so insensibly stupid were many of these poor creatures. The commissioners having done their business in this place, and given directions for the carrying on the siege of Galway, with power to treat, as before mentioned, to Sir Charles Coote, we returned to Dublin, and at our arrival were informed, that the barony of Burren, relying upon the security of their places of retreat, had refused to pay the contributions which they had promised; upon which, Sir Hardress Waller had been obliged to lay the country waste, and to seize what he could find, that it might be no longer useful to the enemy. We had advice also from Ulster, that some of our troops had killed and drowned about a hundred and forty tories, who infested that province with their robberies.

THE time limited by the proclamation, requiring the Irish to withdraw from the places mentioned therein, being expired, I marched with a party of horse and foot into the fastnesses of Wicklo, as well to make examples of such as had not obeyed the proclamation, as to place a garrison there, to prevent the excursions of the enemy. Talbot's town was the place I thought fittest for that end; which having rendered defensible against any sudden attempt, and furnished with all things necessary, I marched farther into the country. The next morning I divided my men into three parties, sending away colonel Pretty with one of them to his own quarters, lest the enemy should fall upon them in his absence; with the other two we scoured, by different ways, the passes and retreats of the Irish, but met not with many of them; our parties being so big, that the Irish, who had centinels placed upon every hill, gave notice of our march to their friends: so that upon our approach, they still fled to their bogs and woods. When I came to Dundrum, a place lying in the heart of the enemy's quarters, I perceived the walls and roof of an old church standing, wherein I placed captain Jacob with his company; who was afterwards very serviceable against the enemy. The like methods being taken by the lord Broghil, colonel Zanche, colonel Abbot, and other officers, the Irish were reduced to great extremities.

ABOUT fourscore of the inhabitants of Galway went privately out of the town, and seizing a hundred head of cattle, designed to drive them thither; but being upon their return, they were met by a party of ours, who killed threescore of them, and recovered all the cattle. This disappointment was attended with another much greater; for two vessels laden with corn endeavouring to get into the harbour of Galway, being pursued by two of our frigates, one of them was taken, and the other forced upon the rocks near the isle of Arran, where she was lost.

THE parliament having received an account of the hopeful condition of their affairs in Ireland, and of the great appearance there was of a speedy determination of that war, appointed a committee to summon before them those adventurers, who, in the year 1641, had advanced monies upon the lands in Ireland. The said persons being met at Grocers Hall, chose twenty-eight deputies to manage the business with the committee, in the names of all the rest. In conformity to this proceeding, the commissioners of parliament in Ireland began

began to consider of qualifications and heads under which the Irish should be brought, that the innocent might be freed from their fears and apprehensions; that justice might be done, and the guilty punished according to the different nature of their crimes: of which the Irish having notice, and considering the declining condition of their affairs in all parts, sent a letter directed to the commissioners of the parliament of England from the principal, as they called themselves, of the kingdom of Ireland, and subscribed by Gerald Fitz-Gerald, on the behalf of their assembly held at Glanmaliero in the province of Leinster; representing, "That being advised that the commonwealth of England is in a condition to give honourable and sure terms to them, they are in an entire disposition to receive them; and to that effect desire in the name of that and the rest of the provinces, a safe conduct for every one of them, with blanks subscribed to that end, that they may empower and send some of their members to present propositions to the commissioners that are or should be authorized to that purpose." To this the commissioners answered in substance, "That though the letter was subscribed by one, under the pretext of an authority which they could not own without prejudice to that of the parliament; yet, for the satisfaction of those concerned, they thought fit to declare, that the establishment of this nation doth of right belong only to the parliament of England, who will distinguish those who have always lived peaceably, or have already submitted to their authority, and put themselves under their protection, from such as have committed and countenanced the murders and massacres of the protestants during the first year of the rebellion, as well as from those who continue still in arms to oppose their authority: that they cannot in justice consent to an act so prejudicial to the peace of the country, as would involve quiet and peaceable people in the same prosecution with those who are in open hostility: that they cannot grant safe conducts to such as persist in their opposition to the parliament, to assemble from all provinces, and to communicate their designs to each other: but that all those who will lay down their arms, and submit to the commonwealth, shall have as favourable conditions they can justly expect.

THIS resolution of the commissioners being made publick, the Irish fell upon another expedient: in pursuance of which the earl of Clanrickard, who had been left deputy by the earl of Ormond, sent a letter directed to me, then commander in chief of the forces of the parliament in Ireland, in the words following.

S I R,

" **M**ANY of the nobility, clergy, and other persons of quality, subjects
 " of this kingdom, with the corporation of Galway, having considered
 " the present state of affairs, and the ruinous effects which this long war hath
 " produced, have solicited me to desire of you a conference for the establish-
 " ment of the repose of this nation, and to obtain a safe conduct for the
 " com-

“ commissioners, whom, by their advice, I shall judge capable to be sent to
 “ you for that end. It is this which hath obliged me to send you an express,
 “ with this protestation, that I shall not abandon them, till I see such condi-
 “ tions granted them, as they may with honour accept: for want of which I
 “ am resolved to continue the authority and protection of his majesty over
 “ them, even to extremity, not doubting but by divine assistance, with the
 “ forces we have already, and the succours which shall be sent us by his ma-
 “ jesty and allies, we shall be found in a condition to change the present state
 “ of affairs, or at least to render your former conquests of little advantage;
 “ and in the end to sell our lives at a dear rate, if we shall be forced thereto:
 “ the which leaving to your consideration, and expecting your certain answer
 “ and resolution, I remain,

S I R,

24 March, 1652.

your servant,

CLANRICKARD.

P O S T S C R I P T.

“ If you please to send a safe conduct, I desire it may be addressed to Sir
 “ Charles Coote, or whom you shall think fit near to this place, with a pass
 “ for the number of five commissioners, and their retinue of about twenty
 “ persons, to the end that, having notice thereof, I may send a list of the names
 “ of the said commissioners.”

To this I returned the following answer.

My lord,

“ I N answer to yours of the 24th of March, by which you propose a treaty
 “ for the settlement of this country, and desire a safe conduct for the com-
 “ missioners you shall judge fit to employ in the management of that affair, I
 “ think fit, in pursuance of the advice of the commissioners of the parliament
 “ of England, and of many officers of the English army, to advertise you, as
 “ hath been already answered to those who have sent propositions of the like
 “ nature, that the settlement of this nation doth of right belong to the parlia-
 “ ment of the commonwealth of England, to whom we are obliged in duty to
 “ leave it; being assured, that they will not capitulate with those who ought
 “ to submit to them, and yet oppose themselves to their authority, and upon
 “ vain and frivolous hopes have refused such offers of favour as they would
 “ gladly accept at present: so that I fear they will be constrained to proceed
 “ against

“ against them with the highest severity; which that you may prevent by
“ your timely submission, is the desire of,

my lord,

your humble servant,

EDMUND LUDLOW.

THAT passage in my answer, touching their readiness to accept such terms as they had formerly rejected, was grounded upon notice sent by Sir Charles Coote, that the town of Galway, since the time limited by the commissioners for their submission was expired, desired a treaty: whereupon I had acquainted him, that seeing the besieged had refused the conditions formerly offered, they ought not now to expect the like, after such an addition of trouble and charge as they had lately put us upon; yet, for all this caution, Sir Charles Coote concluded a treaty with them, immediately after the return of my answer to the earl of Clanrickard, upon conditions much more advantageous to them than those formerly proposed, and very prejudicial to the publick, undertaking to get them ratified by the commissioners of parliament within twenty days, and in the mean time promising that they should be inviolably observed. The commissioners of parliament having received the articles, and conceiving it to be unjust as well as imprudent to give the best terms to those who made the longest opposition, and of what dangerous consequence it might be, if that place were not fully secured to the English interest, spent the whole night in consultation with the officers of the army, and in the end resolved, That they could not consent, that any should receive the benefit of those articles, who had been any way concerned in the murdering of the English in the first year of the war: that they would not oblige themselves to permit any to live in Galway, whom they should hereafter think fit to remove from thence for the security of the place: that they cannot consent that the burgeses shall enjoy any more than two-thirds of their estates lying near the town: that they will not suffer the habitations of such as have been forced to quit the place upon the account of their affection to the parliament, to be detained from them. With these and some other alterations, they declared their consent to the rest of the articles before-mentioned; which if those of the town refused, they ordered that our men should not enter; and if entered, that they should restore the possession of it to the garrison: but notwithstanding this expedition, the messenger that was dispatched with the resolutions of the commissioners, came too late, and all that could be obtained, was a promise, from Sir Charles Coote, to endeavour to persuade those of Galway to accept of the articles, with the amendments made by the commissioners.

THE parliament having resolved upon the incorporation of Scotland with the nation of England into one free state or commonwealth, and to reimburse themselves some part of that treasure they had expended in their own defence against the invasions of the Scots, declared the goods and lands formerly be-

longing to the crown of Scotland to be confiscated, and also those that were possessed by such persons as had assisted in the invasion of England by duke Hamilton, in the year 1648, or had appeared in arms since, under the king of Scots, in order to subvert the present government; excepting those who since the battle of Dunbar had abandoned the king of Scots, and by their merits and services had rendered themselves worthy of favour: that all such who are not comprehended under the said qualifications, and shall concur with them in their just enterprize, shall receive the benefit of their protection, and enjoy their liberties and goods equally with the free people of England. In pursuance of this declaration of the parliament, their commissioners in Scotland published another, wherein they discharge from confiscation all merchants and tradesmen, who possess not in lands or goods above the value of five hundred pounds, and are not prisoners of war, soldiers of fortune, moss-troopers, or such as have killed or committed outrages against the English soldiers, contrary to the laws and customs of war. They also emitted a proclamation, abolishing, in the name of the parliament, all manner of authority and jurisdiction, derived from any other power but that of the commonwealth of England, as well in Scotland as in all the isles belonging to it. After this, they summoned the counties, cities, and boroughs, to agree to the incorporation before-mentioned; of which eighteen of one and thirty counties, and twenty-four of fifty-six cities and boroughs consented to send their deputies to the parliament of England, most of the rest excusing themselves for want of money to defray the expences of their representatives.

THIS business being accomplished, and an act passed for the incorporation of England and Scotland into one commonwealth, the parliament were prevailed with, by the importunities of some of their own members, and in particular of general Cromwell, that so he might fortify himself by the addition of new friends for the carrying on his designs, to pass an act of general pardon and amnesty: whereby though it had thirty-eight several exceptions, many persons who deserved to pay towards the reimbursement of the publick, no less than those who had been already fined, escaped the punishment due to their misdemeanours, and the commonwealth was defrauded of great sums of money, by which means they were rendered unable to discharge many just debts, owing to such as had served them with diligence and fidelity.

IN Ireland the rebels were so pressed by our forces in all parts, that they began to think it necessary to treat about conditions of submission, and many of them obtained liberty to be transported into foreign service; wherein the commissioners of parliament assisted them with ships: so that the Irish officers were in many places deserted by their own soldiers. Colonel Fitzpatrick was the first who submitted, on condition to be transported, with his regiment, into the service of the king of Spain, which was a great blow to the Irish confederacy, who were very desirous to treat in conjunction, hoping to obtain more favourable terms, in consideration of their numbers; insomuch that they published declarations against him, and the Irish clergy excommunicated him, and all those who joined with him. Notwithstanding which, colonel Odowyer,

commander in chief of the Irish in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, followed his example, and proposed a treaty to colonel Zanche, who, having received instructions from the commissioners, concluded an agreement with him; the principal articles whereof were to this effect: that the arms and horses belonging to the brigade of colonel Edmund Odowyer shall be delivered up at a certain price: that he and his party shall enjoy their personal estates, and such a proportion of their real estates, as others under their qualification shall be permitted to do: that the benefit of the articles shall not extend to such as have murdered any of the English, or had been engaged in the rebellion during the first year; or to any Romish priests, or to those who had been of the first general assembly; those also who had taken away the life of any of ours after quarter given, and those who had deserted us and joined themselves to the enemy, were excepted out of the treaty: all others to have liberty to live in our quarters, or to transport themselves into the service of any foreign state in friendship with the commonwealth of England.

WHILST the ambassadors from Holland were in treaty with the commissioners appointed by the parliament to that end, the Dutch fleet consisting of forty-three ships of war, commanded by the heer Van Tromp, came into the Downs. Major Bourn, having with him a squadron of eight men of war, perceiving two of the Dutch ships making sail towards him, sent to them to demand the reason of their approach; and an answer being returned, that they had a message to deliver from admiral Van Tromp to the English commander of that squadron, they were permitted to come up to that purpose. The captains of the two Dutch ships, after they had saluted major Bourn by striking the flag, went on board him, and acquainted him, that they were sent by their admiral to let him know, that riding with his fleet near Dunkirk, he had lost many cables and anchors by bad weather, and was now brought by a north wind more southward than he designed, of which he thought himself obliged to give him notice to prevent any misunderstanding. Major Bourn told them, he was willing to believe what was said, and that the truth of it would best appear by their speedy retreat. With this answer the two captains returned to their fleet; which coming within cannon-shot of Dover castle with their sails up, and flag at the top-mast, not saluting the fort according to custom, the garrison was constrained to fire three guns at the Hollanders, to put them in mind of their duty: but their admiral made no answer, and still keeping up his flag, lay in the road till the next day about noon, at which time he weighed anchor, and set sail towards Calais. The rest of the English fleet, consisting only of thirteen men of war, commanded by general Blake, who had been upon the coast of Sussex, returning into the Downs soon after the departure of the Dutch, was joined by major Bourn, and those eight ships he had with him. But admiral Van Tromp being obliged to take care of some rich merchant ships bound home to Holland from the Straits, returned towards the Downs; and being come within cannon-shot of our fleet without striking their flag, general Blake commanded three several guns, one after the other,

to

to be fired at him. Whereupon he answered with one gun, which shot through the English flag, and followed it with a whole broadside, setting up the red standard on his topmast, as a signal to the whole fleet to prepare to fight. The engagement began about four in the afternoon, and lasted till nine at night, with great loss to the enemy, and little damage on our side, though their fleet was double our number. We took two of their men of war in the fight, one of which was brought away, and the other being very much shattered, sunk down as our men were carrying her off. The council of state having received an account of this action, made their report of it to the parliament, who passed a vote for the justification of general Blake; and resolving to have satisfaction for this assault, placed a guard upon the Dutch ambassadors, at their lodgings in Chelsea, and sent general Cromwell, and Mr. Denis Bond, a member of parliament, down to the fleet, with assurances that nothing should be wanting for their encouragement.

THE event of this undertaking, not answering the expectations of the Hollanders, serving only to provoke the English nation, and to publish their own dishonour, they endeavoured to make the world as well as the parliament believe, that the quarrel was begun by general Blake, or at least that what had been done was not by their orders; and therefore desired that the treaty might go on, and that the prisoners taken in the late fight might be restored. To this end, they sent over the heer Paw of Heemsted to carry on the treaty in conjunction with the ambassadors they had sent before into England. This minister was received with all the usual demonstrations of honour, and being admitted to audience, pressed for an accommodation of all differences, and a cessation of all acts of hostility between the two nations; assuring the parliament that his masters had given orders to their ships to strike to the English flag, in the same manner as had been practised in former times: but being demanded to shew his powers, he produced nothing save letters of credence and passports, referring himself to the other ambassadors in that point, with whom he made some general propositions to the parliament, and desired them to declare their demands. By these proceedings of the Dutch, the parliament perceiving that this difference was not likely to be decided by a treaty, contented themselves to require satisfaction for the injuries received, and assurance that nothing of that nature should be attempted for the future; which if the ambassadors would consent to, they declared themselves ready to proceed in the treaty, and to grant a cessation of arms. But so little were they disposed to give the satisfaction demanded, that they made no farther mention of the cessation which they had so earnestly pressed; and having taken their audience of leave, they broke off the treaty abruptly, and returned home.

IN Ireland, though the number of those that submitted on condition to be transported into foreign service, was so great, that they became a great burden to us before we could procure shipping for their transportation, and though the enemy had received several defeats by our forces during the winter, wherein many of them had been killed and taken; yet they continued to make incursions into our quarters, carrying away cattle and other booty: and having lately

lately seized upon the horses belonging to two troops of dragoons, they were so encouraged, that Sir Walter Dungan, commissary-general of the enemy's horse, and captain Scurlock a forward officer, and one who had done us much mischief, with five hundred foot and two hundred and fifty horse, marched into Wexford, with a design to plunder that county. Lieutenant-colonel Throgmorton, who commanded in those parts, having informed us of their march, we sent two troops of horse to his assistance, who with them and about four hundred foot charged the enemy upon their return, and after some dispute routed them, killing two hundred of them upon the place, and many more, with divers officers, in the pursuit; besides several of the Irish taken prisoners, with the loss of about twenty killed, and a hundred wounded on our side. The booty which the enemy had gotten, consisting chiefly in five hundred cows, was all recovered.

THE season of action advancing, the commissioners of parliament went to Kilkenny, as well to confer with the officers from all parts of Ireland, as to make the necessary preparations for the ensuing service; of which the earl of Westmeath, who commanded the enemy's forces in Leinster, having notice, sent to desire a safe conduct for commissioners to be named by them to treat with us at Kilkenny on their behalf; which being granted, they appointed commissary-general Dungan, Lewis viscount of Glanmaliere, Sir Robert Talbot, Sir Richard Barnwel, colonel Walter Bagnol, colonel Lewis Moor, and colonel Thomas Tyrrell, to be their commissioners. And on our part, commissary-general Reynolds, colonel Hewetson, colonel Lawrence, colonel Axtel, adjutant-general Allen, major Henry Owen, and Mr. James Standish, deputy-treasurer of the army, were commissioned to treat and conclude with them, in conformity to such instructions as they received from a general council; and after several days conference, the commissioners on each part came to an agreement, upon terms that were the same in substance with those formerly granted to colonel Edmund Odowyer and his party, with liberty left for the lord Muskerry, major-general Taaf, and other commanders of the Irish, in the provinces of Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, yet in arms, to come in and accept of the same conditions within a limited time. The articles were approved by the earl of Westmeath on the behalf of the Irish, and on the part of the commonwealth of England by me, as commander in chief of their forces in Ireland.

IN the mean time, the committee appointed by the parliament for the reformation of the law in England, made a considerable progress in that matter: judges were also sent into Scotland for the administration of justice there, which they performed to the great satisfaction of that people. The parliament also appointed a committee, to consider of means to set at work all the poor throughout the nation, and to make provision for such as were not able to work, that there might be no beggar in England.

IN Scotland our forces having reduced the castle of Dunotter, which was the last garrison of that nation that held out against the parliament of England, it was resolved to make four considerable forts, one at Inverness, another at Leith

Leith, a third at Ayre, and a fourth at St. Johnstoun: and because the enemy being entirely beaten out of the field, was retired to the mountainous parts, which to that time had been accounted inaccessible by the English; it was agreed to endeavour to clear those places of them also, being persuaded that where any went before, others might follow after. To this end our men were divided into three parties: the first consisted of colonel Overton's regiment of foot, and a regiment of horse, commanded by major Blackmore: the second of colonel Hacker's regiment of horse, and one of foot commanded by colonel Lilburn; and the third was composed of the regiment of horse of major-general Dean, and of a regiment of foot, belonging to lieutenant-general Monk. Each of these having a party of dragoons to attend them, rendezvoused at Lochaber, and from thence fell separately into the enemy's quarters, where they killed many of them, and burned their provisions, pursuing them so close, that as they fled from one party, they fell into the hands of another; by which means they were in a short time entirely dispersed.

THE Irish that submitted according to the articles, and delivered up their arms and horses to the commissioners appointed by me to receive them, were in all about three thousand. But many of them finding themselves within that exception concerning the murders of the English, or hoping to obtain better conditions, or, it may be, taking pleasure in their predatory life, continued still in arms. Of this number was the lord Muskerry, who commanded the Irish in Munster, and at the time of our treaty with those of Leinster, had sent one colonel Poor to Kilkenny, to acquaint us that he designed to come in upon the same conditions; but we suspecting his sincerity, by the means of some letters which we intercepted, were not wanting to prepare what was necessary in order to reduce him and his party by force; and having finished our affairs at Kilkenny, I removed with the commissioners to Clonmel, and from thence to Youghal, and so to Cork.

THE rebels in Connaught and Ulster, instead of submitting as was expected, got together a body of about five thousand men, under the conduct of the earl of Clanrickard and Sir Phelim O Neal, with which they besieged and took the fort of Ballishannon. Whereupon Sir Charles Coote and colonel Venables drew out what forces they could, and advanced towards them with such expedition, that they were near the place before the enemy had notice of their march; who finding themselves surprized, retreated to the bogs, leaving a small garrison in Ballishannon: but being pursued by our men, who killed and wounded about three hundred of them, in which number were thirty officers, and took from them seven or eight thousand cows, upon whose milk they chiefly subsisted, twelve hundred of them came in and laid down their arms: upon which the garrison they had placed in Ballishannon, surrendered upon articles.

MAJOR-GENERAL Lambert making great preparations to come over to us, in quality of deputy to general Cromwell, the commission of the said general to be lieutenant of Ireland expired. Whereupon the parliament took that affair into consideration; and though there were not wanting many amongst them, who

who affirmed the title and office of lieutenant to be more suitable to a monarchy than a free commonwealth, yet it was likely to have been carried for the renewing his commission under the same title. But he, having at that time another part to act, stood up, and declared his satisfaction with what had been said against constituting a lieutenant in Ireland, desiring that they would not continue him with that character. Upon which the question being put, the parliament, willing to believe him in earnest, ordered it according to his motion. He farther moved, that though they had not thought fit to continue a lieutenant of Ireland, they would be pleased, in consideration of the worthy person whom they had formerly approved to go over with the title of deputy, to continue that character to him. But the parliament having suppressed the title and office of a lieutenant in Ireland, thought it altogether improper to constitute a deputy, who was no more than the substitute of a lieutenant; and therefore refused to consent to that proposal, ordering that he should be inserted one of the commissioners for civil affairs, and constituted commander in chief of their forces in Ireland. In the management of this affair, Mr. Weaver, who was one of the commissioners of Ireland, but then at London, and sitting in parliament, was very active, to the great discontent of general Cromwell, who endeavouring to persuade the parliament that the army in Ireland would not be satisfied, unless their commander in chief came over qualified as deputy, Mr. Weaver assured them that, upon his knowledge, all the sober people of Ireland, and the whole army there, except a few factious persons, were not only well satisfied with the present government both civil and military of that nation, but also with the governors who managed the same; and therefore moved that they would make no alteration in either, and renew their commissions for a longer time. This discourse of Mr. Weaver tending to persuade the parliament to continue me in the military command, increased the jealousy which general Cromwell had conceived of me, that I might prove an obstruction to the design he was carrying on to advance himself by the ruin of the commonwealth. And therefore, since major-general Lambert refused to go over with any character less than that of deputy, he resolved by any means to place lieutenant-general Fleetwood at the head of affairs in Ireland. By which conduct he procured two great advantages to himself, thereby putting the army in Ireland into the hands of a person secured to his interest by the marriage of his daughter; and drawing major-general Lambert into an enmity towards the parliament, prepared him to join with him in opposition to them, when he should find it convenient to put his design in execution.

IN the mean time I was not wanting in my endeavours to reduce the enemy in Ireland, and to that end marched with about 4000 foot and 2000 horse towards Ross in Kerry; where the lord Muskerry made his principal rendezvous, and which was the only place of strength the Irish had left, except the woods, bogs and mountains; being a kind of an island, encompassed on every part by water, except on one side, upon which there was a bog not passable but by a causeway which the enemy had fortified. In this expedition I was accompanied by the lord Broghil, and Sir Hardress Waller, major-general of the foot.

Being arrived at this place, I was informed that the enemy received continual supplies from those parts that lay on the other side, and were covered with woods and mountains; whereupon I sent a party of two thousand foot to clear those woods, and to find out some convenient place for the erecting a fort, if there should be occasion. These forces met with some opposition; but at last they routed the enemy, killing some, and taking others prisoners; the rest saved themselves by their good footmanship. Whilst this was doing, I employed that part of the army which was with me in fortifying a neck of land, where I designed to leave a party to keep in the Irish on this side, that I might be at liberty with the greatest part of the horse and foot to look after the enemy abroad, and to receive and convoy such boats and others things necessary as the commissioners sent to us by sea. When we had received our boats, each of which was capable of containing a hundred and twenty men, I ordered one of them to be rowed about the water in order to find out the most convenient place for landing upon the enemy: which they perceiving, thought fit, by a timely submission, to prevent the danger that threatened them; and having expressed their desires to that purpose, commissioners were appointed on both parts to treat. The articles were the same in effect with those granted to the Irish in Leinster and other places. But much time was spent in the discussion of some particulars, especially that concerning the murder of the English, which was an exception we never failed to make; so that the Irish commissioners seeming doubtful whether by the wording that article they were not all included, desired that it might be explained; to which we consented, and it was accordingly done. They also made it their request, that instead of that article relating to their real estates, whereby they were to enjoy such a part as should be allotted to them by the qualifications to be agreed upon, it might be expressed, that they wholly submitted to the mercy of the parliament therein. The exercise also of their religion was earnestly insisted upon by them; but we refused to oblige ourselves to any thing in that particular, declaring only, that it was neither the principle or practice of the authority which we served, to impose their way of worship upon any by violent means. With these explanations the commissioners, after a fortnight's debate, concluded the agreement, the lord Muskerry and myself confirming it; his son with Sir Daniel Obryan were delivered to me as hostages for the performance of the articles: in consequence of which about five thousand horse and foot laid down their arms, and surrendered their horses.

WHILST this was doing in Munster, colonel Grace, with some forces that had not submitted, passed the Shannon, and being joined by many of the Irish of Connaught and Galway, began to grow considerable, being about three thousand, most of them foot. Colonel Ingoldsbey having notice of them, drew together a party about Limerick, and marching with them to find out the enemy, attacked them at a pass, which they disputed for some time; but our horse breaking in upon some of their foot, and encouraging the rest to fall on, the Irish quitted their post, and shifted for themselves. In this action many of them were killed and taken prisoners, the rest escaping to the bogs
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and woods. After this defeat colonel Grace and his party was forced to submit, and to that end treated with colonel Zanche, but found that his obstinate resistance so long had done him no service; for colonel Zanche, upon the surrender of Inch to him, and the submission of colonel Grace's forces, caused a captain, a lieutenant, and a serjeant, with other officers, to be shot to death, for revolting at Carrick to the enemy, according to the liberty he had reserved to himself in that case by the capitulation. In the north of Ireland colonel Theophilus Jones being sent out with seven troops of horse, one of dragoons, and three hundred foot, to get provisions for the relief of those parts, met with a party of the enemy, consisting of sixteen hundred foot and three hundred horse, whom he charged, and after a sharp dispute routed, and put to flight, killing many of their officers, and three hundred soldiers upon the place. All the arms of their foot were taken, and a hundred and fifty horse, with the loss only of six of our men killed, and about twenty wounded. The earl of Clanrickard, finding the Irish affairs in a desperate condition, with what forces he had left retired into the isle of Carrick, where being encompassed by our men on all sides, he submitted, and obtained liberty to transport himself with three thousand men to any foreign country in friendship with the commonwealth, within the space of three months.

THE parliament having already sent over to us five companies of foot under the command of lieutenant-colonel Finch, who had done very good service at the battle of Worcester, resolved to send eight hundred more out of the regiment of major-general Lambert, and an entire regiment commanded by colonel Clark; which forces were procured rather to promote the designs of general Cromwel, than from any need we had of them; our military service in Ireland, by the blessing of God, drawing towards a conclusion, most of the Irish forces having submitted and laid down their arms, no garrison of any strength holding out against us, and many thousands of the enemy sent into foreign service. The soldiers of Lambert's regiment were countermanded, upon his refusal to go to Ireland without the character of deputy; but the regiment of colonel Clark being thoroughly principled for Cromwel's design, continued their march by order of the parliament, who were persuaded to constitute lieutenant-general Fleetwood commander in chief of their forces in Ireland, and one of their commissioners for the civil affairs in that nation.

THE States-general, upon the return of their ambassadors from England, dispatched orders to their admiral to take all advantages against the English, and solicited the king of Denmark to break with us also, encouraging him to detain twenty-two English merchant ships which he had formerly seized coming through the Sound. The parliament, to prevent the dangers that might ensue by farther delay, gave orders to general Blake to fall upon the subjects of Holland wheresoever he should meet them, and particular to interrupt their fishery upon the northern coast, sending the regiments of colonel Ingoldsbey and colonel Goff on board the fleet. General Blake having received these instructions, set sail for the north, where meeting with about six hundred herring-busses, under a convoy of twelve men of war, he took and sunk the whole

convoy; and having seized the fish that the busses had taken, he released all the vessels with the seamen belonging to them. Which action was blamed by some, who thought that by the help of those ships we might have been enabled to erect a fishery, and thereby have made some reparation to the English nation for the damages which they had sustained from the Dutch; and that by detaining their mariners we might have weakened and distressed them considerably, they wanting men for the management of their shipping. In the mean time Sir George Ayscue, who was lately returned from the reduction of Barbadoes, and had convoyed into the river five merchant ships richly laden from the East Indies, fell upon a fleet of Hollanders consisting of forty merchantmen under the convoy of four men of war. Of this fleet he took seven, forced divers on shore, and the rest narrowly escaped. About the same time a ship from Guinea, valued at forty thousand pounds, was by some of ours taken from the Dutch, with many other rich ships, to the great prejudice and interruption of their trade. To apply some remedy to this, the Dutch admiral with his fleet came into the Downs, and anchored by Sir George Ayscue, who was retired under Dover castle, being much inferior in number to the enemy; but the Hollanders after a short stay left our fleet, and set sail without attempting any thing against us. At Leghorn some of their men of war preparing to seize such English merchant ships as lay in that port, the grand duke sent a message to the Dutch, to let them know, that if they committed any acts of hostility against the English nation in that harbour, their goods in the town should be responsible for it. Admiral Blake returned to the Downs, and being informed that a French fleet was going [to relieve Dunkirk, then besieged by the Spaniards, called a council of war, and by their advice sent a squadron after them, which coming up with the French, took divers of their ships, and dispersed the rest; by which means chiefly the town was soon after surrendered.

THE Irish being reduced to extremity, and most of the country in the hands of the English, the parliament resolved to give the adventurers possession of lands proportionable to the several sums they had advanced, and also to satisfy the arrears of the army out of the same, as they had formerly promised: which that they might be enabled to perform, they passed an act, confiscating so much of the estates of those who had acted against the English, as they judged the quality of their crimes to require, and extending their clemency to those who had carried themselves peaceably. In the mean time, that I might bring such as remained yet in arms against us to a necessity of submitting, I marched with a party of about four thousand horse and foot; and having scoured the counties of Wexford and Wicklo, placing garrisons where I thought convenient, I went to Tredagh, where I met the rest of the parliament's commissioners; and having staid eight days in that place to settle affairs, I continued my march into the county of Meath, and coming to Carrick Mac Ross, a house belonging to the earl of Essex, where the rebels had barbarously murdered one Mr. Blany a justice of peace in that country, I caused it to be fortified, and put a garrison in it, being advantageously situated to restrain the enemy's excursions.

sions. From hence I went to visit the garrison of Dundalk, and being upon my return, I found a party of the enemy retired within a hollow rock, which was discovered by one of ours, who saw five or six of them standing before a narrow passage at the mouth of a cave. The rock was so thick, that we thought it impossible to dig it down upon them, and therefore resolved to try to reduce them by smoke. After some of our men had spent most part of the day in endeavouring to smother those within by fire placed at the mouth of the cave, they withdrew the fire, and the next morning, supposing the Irish to be made incapable of resistance by the smoke, some of them with a candle before them crawled into the rock. One of the enemy who lay in the middle of the entrance fired his pistol, and shot the first of our men into the head, by whose loss we found that the smoke had not taken the designed effect. But seeing no other way to reduce them, I caused the trial to be repeated, and upon examination found, that though a great smoke went into a cavity of the rock, yet it came out again at other crevices; upon which I ordered those places to be closely stopped, and another smother made. About an hour and half after this, one of them was heard to groan very strongly, and afterwards more weakly, whereby we presumed that the work was done; yet the fire was continued till about midnight, and then taken away, that the place might be cool enough for ours to enter the next morning. At which time some went in armed with back, breast, and head-piece, to prevent such another accident as fell out at their first attempt; but they had not gone above six yards before they found the man that had been heard to groan, who was the same that had killed one of our men with his pistol, and who resolving not to quit his post, had been, upon stopping the holes of the rock, choaked by the smoke. Our soldiers put a rope about his neck, and drew him out. The passage being cleared, they entered, and having put about fifteen to the sword, brought four or five out alive, with the priest's robes, a crucifix, chalice, and other furniture of that kind. Those within preserved themselves by laying their heads close to a water that ran through the rock. We found two rooms in the place, one of which was large enough to turn a pike; and having filled the mouth of it with large stones, we quitted it, and marched to Castle-Blany, where I left a party of foot, and some horse, as I had done before at Carrick and Newry, whereby that part of the county of Monaghan was pretty well secured. We continued our march to Monaghan, and so to Aghur, where we cast up some works, and left a garrison to defend it. Near this place lay the creaght of lieutenant-general O Neal, son to that O Neal who after several years imprisonment in the Tower of London died there: he came over from the service of the king of Spain to be lieutenant-general to the army of Owen Roe O Neal; but upon some jealousy or particular discontent was laid aside. This man with his wife, who he said was niece to the dutchess of Artois, and some children, removed, as the Irish do generally in those parts, with their tenants and cattle, from one place to another, where there is conveniency of grass, water and wood; and there having built a house, which they do completely in an hour or two, they stay till they want grass, and then dislodge to another station. This way

way of living is accompanied with many inconveniencies to the public service; for they not only give shelter to the enemy, but take all advantages themselves both to plunder and kill, none knowing whence they come, or whither they go, and so can neither easily be prevented nor found out. From hence I marched to Inniskillin in the county of Fermagh, that I might take a view of the place, and likewise provide materials to fortify Lefneskey, otherwise Bally-Balfoar, and to reduce an island kept by the Irish in Loughern, with another fort they possessed near Bulturbet. Being at Lefneskey, I was met by commissary-general Reynolds, who with a party of horse and foot had dispersed the enemy in Letrim. Having fortified this place, and made some preparations for the reduction of the island before-mentioned, I received advice from the commissioners of parliament at Dublin, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood had landed at Waterford, and was gone to Kilkenny, where they designed to attend him. The news of his arrival was very welcome to me, having found my care and fatigues recompensed only with envy and hatred; and therefore having given orders where I was for the carrying on the public service, I hastened after the commissioners; and being come to Kilkenny, I saluted the commander in chief, and congratulated his safe arrival; after which I gave him an account of the affairs of the army, with assurances of my resolution to obey his orders. In this place colonel Walter Bagnal, who had been one of the hostages delivered to us, for the performance of the treaty concluded with those of the province of Leinster, was by the marshal detained prisoner, upon an accusation brought against him for the murder of an Englishman; which crime being excepted out of those articles, and all others at any time granted to the Irish, the commissioners thought themselves obliged in duty to put him upon his trial, and to that end caused him to be brought before them, where upon full proof they condemned him to be shot to death; which sentence was executed accordingly. The lieutenant-general remained some time at Kilkenny; but the commissioners having dispatched their affairs in those parts, returned to Dublin, and I accompanied them thither.

THE Holland fleet appearing off the Goodwin Sands, admiral Blake hastened the foot-soldiers aboard, and set sail after them; but they tacked about, and made away towards the French coast; where being joined by the ships commanded by vice-admiral De Ruyter, they returned towards our fleet, and came within six leagues of the north foreland. Captain Mildmay in the *Nonpareille*, about four in the afternoon, exchanged some shot with them; and soon after the English admiral, with a few more, came up also; the rest of the fleet, by reason of bad weather, being yet far behind. The Dutch kept themselves close together, firing several single shot at ours, which our admiral thought not fit to answer, till the rest of the fleet was come up to him, and then he began to fire on the admiral of Holland. The fight lasted from five till seven, when night parted them, the rear-admiral of the enemy having lost all his masts, and two more of their ships most part of their rigging. Captain Mildmay followed them close, and being come up with them, commanded his small shot to be fired into that ship that made most sail, immediately after which he boarded

boarded and took her. This done, he pursued another, and in half an hour overtook her, and forced her to yield also. In one of those ships was the Dutch rear-admiral, whom Captain Mildmay took out, with the rest of the men, and then let her sink, she being so disabled, that he despaired of bringing her off. The next morning our fleet pursued the Dutch, who made away with all possible speed, and about four in the afternoon bore up with them; but none of our great ships except the admiral being able to reach them, the night separated them again. The next day the Dutch recovered Goree and others of their harbours, so that our fleet thought fit to desist any farther pursuit of them. On our side we had but three of our men and captain Jarvis killed, with about twenty wounded. The enemy's loss was considerable, many of their men being killed and wounded, besides several taken prisoners; and three of their ships sunk and taken. Fourteen more were also brought into their ports much damaged in the engagement, with great numbers of wounded men on board. The fleet coming to Goree, the captains were forbidden to come ashore, till enquiry should be made touching those who had refused to fight in the first encounter with the English. Hereupon the enmity of the Dutch against the English nation grew to such a height, that to render them odious, and to encourage their own subjects to come in to serve against them, they caused the execution of the late king to be represented on the stage in a most tragical manner: insomuch that those of the prince of Orange's party were not without hopes, that the states of Holland would rather surrender their liberties to the prince, than quietly suffer England to live under the government of a commonwealth. Some prejudice we received in two encounters with the Dutch in the Mediterranean sea; but those slight successes were wholly owing to their number, and not at all to their courage or conduct.

THE parliament gave audience to ambassadors from Venice and Portugal, referring the consideration of their instructions to the council of state, who were required to report their opinions touching them to the parliament. They also ordered a letter to be drawn up and dispatched to the grand duke of Tuscany, to give him thanks for the good usage received from him by the English merchants at Leghorn. About the same time, thirty frigates were appointed to be built, as well to increase the fleet, as to secure the trade of the nation by cruising. Eighteen men of war were likewise sent into the Sound, under the conduct of captain Hall, who, at his arrival before Elsenore, delivered a letter to the governor of that place for the king of Denmark, with assurances that he was come thither for no other end than to convoy home two and twenty English merchant-ships, formerly seized by the said king at Copenhagen. The king of Denmark seemed much offended that captain Hall had entered the Sound without his leave, and sent four thousand men to Cronenburg and Elsenore, to reinforce those places, giving orders to his fleet to join with the Hollanders, who were not far off, and to fight the English, in case they attacked the Dutch. These great preparations obliged captain Hall to retire from thence, and to return to Newcastle. Hereupon the Danish ambassador at London had his audience of leave from the parliament, and his master began to prepare

prepare twenty ships of war for the assistance of the Dutch, alledging himself bound so to do by a treaty with them: in order to which he caused the goods belonging to the English to be taken out of the two and twenty ships before-mentioned, and to be sold, declaring openly for the Hollanders.

IN the mean time the reformation of the law went on but slowly, it being the interest of the lawyers to preserve the lives, liberties and estates of the whole nation in their own hands. So that upon the debate of "registering deeds in each county, for want of which, within a certain time fixed after the sale, such sales should be void, and being so registered, that land should not be subject to any incumbrance:" this word "incumbrance" was so managed by the lawyers, that it took up three months time before it could be ascertained by the committee.

THE act for putting a period to the parliament was still before a committee of the whole house, who had made a considerable progress therein, having agreed upon a more equal distribution of the power of election throughout England: and whereas formerly some boroughs, that had scarce a house upon them, chose two members to be their representatives in parliament, (just as many as the greatest cities in England, London only excepted) and the single county of Cornwall elected forty-four, when Essex and other counties bearing as great a share in the payment of taxes, sent no more than six or eight; this unequal representation of the people the parliament resolved to correct, and to permit only some of the principal cities and boroughs to chuse, and that for the most part but one representative, the city of London only excepted, which, on account of the great proportion of their contributions and taxes, were allowed to elect six. The rest of the four hundred, whereof the parliament was to consist, (besides those that served for Ireland and Scotland) were appointed to be chosen by the several counties, in as near a proportion as was possible to the sums charged upon them for the service of the state, and all men admitted to be electors who were worth two hundred pounds in lands, leases, or goods.

DIVERS informations were brought against the Irish for murders committed at the beginning of the rebellion, and since upon the English. The principal of the accused were colonel Maccarty Reagh, who was seized in the county of Cork; the lord Mayo, in the county of Galway; the mother of colonel Fitzpatrick in the province of Leinster, with many others. And for the encouragement of the plantations in Ireland, the parliament permitted the people of England to transport thither all sorts of cattle and grain, free of all custom; and ordered that their commissioners in Ireland should raise a revenue there for all such as had been wounded and disabled, and for the widows and children of those that had been killed in the public service.

THE vice-admiral of prince Rupert's fleet carrying forty pieces of cannon, was brought into Plymouth by the English seamen she had on board, who finding a favourable occasion, near Cape de Verd, seized the captain and the rest of the company, being all French and Dutch: upon which the council of state received orders from the parliament to reward the said seamen, and to prepare an act to encourage others to follow their example.

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THE Dutch admiral Van Tromp, with one hundred and ten ships of war, and some fire-ships, being joined by seventeen men of war from Zealand, sailed from Goree, with orders to convoy safe out of the channel a fleet of near five hundred merchant-ships, designed for France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Barbary, and the Levant, and to take all the advantages he could against the English. Hereupon the parliament passed an act for the sale of the estates of some, who having been adjudged delinquents, had refused to lay hold of the favour extended to them, of compounding; which they did to ease the people of some part of the charge of this war against the Dutch; yet their occasions were so pressing, that they were constrained to lay a tax, for some months, of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a month, which the people willingly paid, because they knew that it was wholly employed in their service.

MOST of the Dutch merchant-ships were, by bad weather and contrary winds, driven back into their harbours, but their men of war kept out at sea; and Van Tromp having received advice, that admiral Blake had sent away twenty of his ships to convoy a fleet of laden colliers from Newcastle, twelve towards Plymouth, and fifteen up the river, which had suffered some damage by storm, and that he had left with him but thirty-seven ships of war, came into the Downs with fourscore men of war, and thirty of the ablest merchant-men of the fleet he was appointed to convoy. Notwithstanding which inequality of number, it was unanimously resolved in a council of war to fight the Dutch fleet. Accordingly a day or two after, ours engaged them about noon, and the fight continued till night separated them. In this fight we lost two ships, the Garland of forty, and the Bonaventure of thirty-six guns; and though in recompence we burnt one of their admirals, and killed many of their men, particularly two secretaries who were on board their admiral, yet the Dutch were exceedingly elevated with this little success; and being informed that the English fleet was in great want of all sorts of naval stores, they published a placart to prohibit the exportation of them hither under severe penalties. They also threatened to drive us out of the islands which we possessed in America, and to that end sent some ships to join prince Rupert, which, with those revolted English, made up in all twenty-five sail. The king of Denmark likewise promised to assist them by the next spring with thirty ships of war, for the sum of one million of guilders, which they agreed to pay to him.

IN the mean time, the parliament having received information of the misbehaviour of some officers in the late engagement, appointed a committee, whereof Sir Henry Vane, Mr. John Carew, and Major Saloway, were the principal, empowering them to place and displace officers, and to regulate all matters relating to the sea, in such a manner as might be most conducing to the service of the state. These commissioners used such care and diligence in the discharge of this trust, that the face of affairs soon became much altered for the better; the ships that were unserviceable repaired, a considerable fleet put to sea well officer'd and well mann'd, the storehouses replenished with all manner of necessary provisions, and thirty frigates preparing to be built.

Lieutenant-general Monk was also added to the generals Blake and Dean, in the room of colonel Edward Popham lately deceased, to take care of the equipping and commanding the fleet. And that nothing might be wanting on our part, to preserve a correspondence with such foreign states as were in amity with us, the parliament sent the lord-commissioner Whitlock on an extraordinary embassy to the crown of Sweden, where he was received with all the honours due to his character.

THE commissioners for the Irish affairs being at Dublin, lieutenant-general Fleetwood came thither with his family; after whose arrival a commission was issued out, for the trials of such as were accused of having murdered the English, which was directed to persons of known ability and integrity in each province. To those formerly accused was added the lord Muskerry, who was charged to have put many Englishmen to death, in the way between his house of Mackroom and the city of Cork. Upon this accusation the said lord was seized, and ordered to be prosecuted by the court of justice at Dublin for the same. The commissioners also, by order of the parliament, published a declaration to inform the publick, and particularly the adventurers, who had advanced money upon the Irish lands, that the war in Ireland was concluded. This they did, as well that the said adventurers might have what was justly due to them, as that the poor wasted country of Ireland might have the assistance of their own purses and labour, to recover the stock and growth of the land; the Irish having all along eaten out the heart and vigour of the ground, and of late much more than ever, being in daily apprehensions of being removed.

ALL arrears due to the English army in Ireland were satisfied by the parliament out of the estates forfeited by the rebels, which were delivered to them at the same rates with the first adventurers. In this transaction those of the army shewed great partiality, by confining the satisfaction of arrears only to such as were in arms in August 1649, which was the time when the English army, commanded by lieutenant-general Cromwell, arrived in Ireland; and though the hardships endured by those who were in arms before had been much greater, yet nothing could be obtained but such a proportion of lands in the county of Wicklo, and elsewhere, as was not sufficient to clear the fourth part of what was due to them. Those who solicited the affairs of the army in Ireland with the parliament, having persuaded the adventurers, that there were forfeited lands enough in one moiety of nine principal counties, they accepted of them for their satisfaction, and the other moiety was assigned by the act for the satisfaction of the soldiers; the rest of Ireland was also disposed of, only the province of Connaught was reserved for the Irish, under the qualifications agreed upon by the parliament: according to which, they were to be put into possession of the several proportions of land which had been promised them in the said province; that so the adventurers, soldiers, and others to whom the parliament should assign their lands, might plant without disturbance, or danger of being corrupted by intermixing with the natives in marriages or otherwise, which, by the experience of former times, the Eng-

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lish had been found to be, rather than to have bettered the Irish either in religion or good manners: and that the natives being divided by the river Shannon from the other provinces, and having garrisons placed round and amongst them, in the most proper and convenient stations, they might not have those opportunities to prejudice the English as formerly they had. An act being drawn up to this purpose, the parliament passed it, reserving the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlo, and Cork, (together with the remaining part of the lands formerly belonging to the bishops, deans, and chapters of Ireland, whereof some had been already applied, to augment the revenues of the college of Dublin) to be disposed of as the parliament should think fit.

THE forfeited lands were divided between the adventurers and soldiers by lot, according to an estimate taken of the number of acres in the respective counties, in conformity to an order from the commissioners of parliament; by whom were appointed subcommissioners to judge of the qualifications of each person, and others, who, upon certificate from the subcommissioners for determining qualifications, were required to set out so much land, in the province of Connaught, as belonged to every one by virtue of the said act. They also established a committee to sit at Dublin, to receive and adjudge all claims of English and others to any lands, limiting a time within which they were obliged to bring in and make appear their respective claims to be legal; to the end that the adventurers, soldiers, and others, might be at a certainty, and after such a time free from any molestation in the possession of their lands; and that none through ignorance or absence might be surprized, they prorogued the said time twice or thrice to a longer day.

THE courts of justice erected at Dublin, and in other parts, proceeded vigorously in making inquisition after the murders that had been committed: Maccarty Reagh, after much search into the matter whereof he stood accused, was acquitted by the court sitting at Cork; and so was the lord Clanmalier by that of Kilkenny; but the mother of colonel Fitzpatrick was found guilty of the murder of the English, with this aggravation, that she said she would make candles of their fat. She was condemned to be burnt, and the sentence was executed accordingly. Colonel Lewis Moor and Lewis Demley were also found guilty of murder, for which they were hanged. Sir Charles Coote, with the rest of the court of justice in the province of Connaught, proceeded against the lord Mayo, and declared him guilty of the same crime, for which he was executed according to the sentence pronounced against him.

The trial of the lord Muskerry was long, by reason of a clause which he urged in his defence, from a printed copy of the articles made with him; which though it had been unjust for me to grant in the terms there mentioned, yet would have cleared him, and thrown the blame and guilt upon me; for articles given ought to be made good. But this clause, upon search into the original, which I kept, appeared to have been inserted by themselves in the print which they produced for evidence, under pretence of having lost the original articles signed by me. Notwithstanding which, it appearing that

though divers of the English were murdered by the convoy appointed to conduct them safe to Cork, the lord Muskerry had taken what care he could for their security, and had done what in him lay to bring the person who was guilty of that blood to justice, the court acquitted him, and he was permitted, according to his articles, to pass into Spain. I have heard, that upon his arrival in that kingdom, a faction appeared against him, upon account of his former opposition to the pope's nuncio in Ireland; so that he finding but cold entertainment there, entered into a treaty to put himself and his men into the service of the Venetians.

LUKE TOOK, the head of a sept in the county of Wicklo, being conscious of his guilt, had formerly desired my pass to come and treat with me about conditions for laying down the arms of himself and party; and to induce me to give him more favourable terms, said, he had a horse and saddle worth a hundred pounds, which he desired I would accept of. I refusing his present, he took it as an ill omen to him; for they are so accustomed to bribe their magistrates in that country, that if any one refuse their presents, they presently conclude him to be their enemy, and give their cause for lost; and therefore he submitted not at that time. But now supposing he could by no means avoid falling into our hands, by reason of the number of our garrisons placed in all parts amongst them, who by this time were as well acquainted with their retreats and fastnesses as themselves, and it may be thinking there would not appear sufficient evidence to prove him guilty, he submitted upon the same condition I had formerly offered to him, which was, "That he should be liable to be questioned for murder," whereof being accused before the court at Dublin, he was convicted, sentenced, and executed.

SIR Phelim O Neal, head also of a sept, and one who had as great a share as any in the contriving and carrying on the massacre and rebellion, fell into the hands of the lord Cawfield, whose brother he had caused to be murdered at the beginning of the rebellion, in this manner. O Neal being a neighbour of the lord Cawfield, came to him under the pretence of friendship, with about half a dozen friends, to his castle of Charlemont, where being received, he and those that were with him were carried to drink in the cellar by the lord Cawfield, (both of them being too much addicted to that which the world calls good fellowship.) After some time Sir Phelim O Neal fires a pistol, which was a signal agreed on, and immediately thirty Irish entered and surprized the castle, taking the lord, his mother, lady, and children, with the rest of the family, prisoners; and, after three or four days, murdered the lord Cawfield, the rest hardly escaping with their lives. But now the commissioners of parliament having, by their prescribed lines, within which all were obliged to inhabit, withdrawn provisions from the enemy, who could not be supplied without hazard of their lives, thought fit, as a further means to reduce them, to set a sum of money upon the heads of the principal of those who yet persisted in their rebellion; upon some twenty, others forty, and upon Sir Phelim O Neal a hundred pounds, to bring him dead or alive. This was such an encouragement to look after him, that one of the country people having notice that he

he was in an island in the north, gave intelligence thereof to the lord Cawfield, who having brought together a party of horse and foot, entered the island in boats and seized him there. From thence he carried him to Dublin, where divers of his cruelties to the English being proved against him, he was sentenced by the court of justice to be put to death, and his head to be set upon the gate that stands at the foot of the bridge, which was put in execution accordingly.

THUS the enemy, by the blessing of God upon the counsels of the parliament, and endeavours of their armies, was every where dispersed and conquered, and the nation likely to attain, in a short time, that measure of happiness which human things are capable of, when by the ambition of one man the hopes and expectations of all good men were disappointed, and the people robbed of that liberty which they had contended for at the expence of so much blood and treasure.

GENERAL Cromwell had long been suspected by wise and good men; but he had taken such care to form and mould the army to his humour and interests, that he had filled all places either with his own creatures, or with such as hoped to share with him in the sovereignty, and removed those who, foreseeing his design, had either the courage or honesty to oppose him in it. His pernicious intentions did not discover themselves openly till after the battle at Worcester, which, in one of his letters to the parliament, he called "The crowning victory." At the same time when he dismissed the militia, who had most readily offered themselves to serve the commonwealth against the Scots, he did it with anger and contempt, which was all the acknowledgment they could obtain from him for their service and affection to the publick cause. In a word, so much was he elevated with that success, that Mr. Hugh Peters, as he since told me, took so much notice of it, as to say in confidence to a friend, upon the road in his return from Worcester, "That Cromwell would make himself king." He now began to despise divers members of the house whom he had formerly courted, and grew most familiar with those whom he used to shew most aversion to; endeavouring to oblige the royal party, by procuring for them more favourable conditions than consisted with the justice of the parliament to grant, under colour of quieting the spirits of many people, and keeping them from engaging in new disturbances to rescue themselves out of those fears, which many who had acted for the king yet lay under; though at the same time he designed nothing, as by the success was most manifest, but to advance himself by all manner of means, and to betray the great trust which the parliament and good people of England had reposed in him. To this end he pressed the act of oblivion with so much importunity, that though some members earnestly opposed its bearing date till after some months, as well in justice to those of that party, who had already fined for their delinquency, that others as guilty as themselves might be upon an equal foot with them, as that the state might by that means be supplied with money, which they wanted, and that such who had been plundered by the enemy might receive some satisfaction from those who had ruined them, yet nothing could prevail upon the

the general; and so the act was passed: the parliament being unwilling to deny him any thing, for which there was the least colour of reason.

BUT though he had gained this point, and eagerly coveted his own advancement, he thought it not convenient yet to unmask himself; but rather to make higher pretences to honesty than ever he had done before, thereby to engage major-general Harrison, colonel Rich, and their party, to himself. To this end he took all occasions, in their presence, to asperse the parliament as not designing to do those good things they pretended to; but rather intending to support the corrupt interests of the clergy and lawyers. And though he was convinced, that they were hastening with all expedition to put a period to their sitting, having passed a vote that they would do it within the space of a year, and that they were making all possible preparations in order to it; yet did he industriously publish, that they were so in love with their seats, that they would use all means to perpetuate themselves. These and many other calumnies he had with so much art insinuated into the belief of many honest and well-meaning people, that they began to wish him prosperity in his undertaking. Divers of the clergy, from their pulpits, began to prophesy the destruction of the parliament, and to propose it openly as a thing desirable. Infomuch that the general, who had all along concurred with this spirit in them, hypocritically complained to quarter-master-general Vernon, "That he was pushed on by two parties to do that, the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair to stand on end." One of these, said he, is headed by major-general Lambert, who in revenge of that injury the parliament did him, in not permitting him to go into Ireland with a character and conditions suitable to his merit, will be contented with nothing less than their dissolution: of the other major-general Harrison is the chief, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, yet from the impatience of his spirit will not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent. Thus did he craftily feel the pulse of men towards this work, endeavouring to cast the infamy of it on others, reserving to himself the appearance of tenderness to civil and religious liberty, and of screening the nation from the fury of the parties before-mentioned.

THIS mine of his was not wrought with so much privacy, but it was observed by some discerning men of the parliament, especially by those who had the direction and management of the war with Holland. These men endeavoured to countermine him two ways: first, by balancing his interest in the army with that of the fleet, procuring an order from the parliament, whose ear they had upon all occasions, by reason of the importance of the war with the Dutch, to send some regiments of the army to strengthen the fleet; and secondly, by recommending, as an easy way to raise money in that exigency, the sale of Hampton-court, and other places, that were esteemed as baits to tempt some ambitious man to ascend the throne. The parliament having ordered these things to be done, the general, sensible of the design, and of the consequences of suffering the army to be new-moulded, and put under another conduct, made haste to execute his former resolutions, railing

to colonel Okey and other officers of the army, against divers members of the parliament, affirming that little good could be expected from that body where such men had so great an influence. At the same time he made the most solemn professions of fidelity to the parliament, assuring them, that if they would command the army to break their swords over their heads, and to throw them into the sea, he would undertake they should do it. Yet did he privately engage the officers of the army to draw up a petition to the parliament, That for the satisfaction of the nation, they would put that vote which they had made for fixing a period to their sitting, into an act; which whilst the officers were forming and debating, the general having, it seems, for that time, altered his counsels, sent colonel Desborough, one of his instruments, to the council of officers, who told them, that they were a sort of men whom nothing could satisfy; that the parliament were more ready to do any good than they to desire it; that they ought to rely upon their word and promise to dissolve themselves by the time prefixed; and that to petition them to put their vote into an act, would manifest a diffidence of them, and lessen their authority, which was so necessary to the army. The general coming into the council whilst Desborough was speaking, seconded him; to which some of the officers took the liberty to reply, that they had the same opinion of the parliament and petition with them, and that the chief argument that moved them to take this matter into consideration, was the intimation they had received, that it was according to the desires of those who had now spoken against it, and whose latter motion they were much more ready to comply with than their former. Thus was this business stifled for the present, none being so well able to lay the evil spirit as those that had raised it. But either the general's ambition was so great, that he could not forbear ascending the throne till the time limited by the parliament for their sitting was expired, or his fears hastened him to the accomplishment of his design, left the disinterested proceeding of the parliament, who were about to leave the nation under a form of government that provided sufficiently for the good of the community, might work the people into a greater aversion to his selfish design, certain it is, that he vehemently desired to be rid of this parliament that had performed such great things, having subdued their enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; established the liberty of the people, reduced the kingdom of Portugal to such terms as they thought fit to grant; maintained a war against the Dutch with that conduct and success, that it seemed now drawing to a happy conclusion; recovered our reputation at sea, secured our trade, and provided a powerful fleet for the service of the nation. And however the malice of their enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the glory which they justly merited, yet it will appear to unprejudiced posterity, that they were a disinterested and impartial parliament, who, though they had the sovereign power of the three nations in their hands for the space of ten or twelve years, did not in all that time give away amongst themselves so much as their forces spent in three months; no, not so much as they spent in one, from the time that the parliament consisted but of one house, and the government was formed into

into a commonwealth. To which ought to be added, that after so many toils and hazards, so much trouble and loss for the publick good, they were not unwilling to put an end to their power, and to content themselves with an equal share with others, for the whole reward of their labours. Of this Cromwell was very sensible, as well as of their great skill and experience in the management of publick affairs, and of the good esteem they had acquired amongst the most discerning part of the nation, and therefore was very desirous to lay them aside with as little noise as might be. To this end, after he had resolved not to suffer the act for their dissolution to be finished, he would needs persuade them to be the instruments of their own destruction, by putting a period to themselves, and at the same time investing a certain number with the supreme authority, not doubting, when they had so done, to find pretences enough to disperse any such, well knowing that when the face of civil authority was once taken away, the power would naturally fall into the hands of that person who had the greatest interest in the army, which he supposed to be himself. This made him join with major-general Harrison, being confident that when he had used him and his party to dissolve the present government, he could crush both him and them at his pleasure. And though it was no difficult matter to discover this, yet those poor, deluded, however well meaning men, would not believe it. But all were not so blind, for divers members of the parliament, whom he endeavoured to cajole into a good opinion of his design, being very sensible of the great mischiefs that must necessarily ensue from such courses, resolved either to dissuade him from them, or endeavour to countermine him therein. To this end they had several meetings with Cromwell, at one of which, when he and his party laboured to shew that it was impossible for the parliament, consisting, as they said, for the most part, of men interested in the corruptions of the law and the clergy, to effect those things that good men expected from them, major Saloway desired of them, that before they took away the present authority, they would declare what they would have established in its room; to which it was replied by one of the general's party, That it was necessary to pull down this government, and it would be time enough then to consider what should be placed in the room of it. So both parties understanding one another, prepared to secure themselves.

THE parliament now perceiving to what kind of excesses the madness of the army was like to carry them, resolved to leave as a legacy to the people the government of a commonwealth by their representatives, when assembled in parliament, and in the intervals thereof by a council of state, chosen by them, and to continue till the meeting of the next succeeding parliament, to whom they were to give an account of their conduct and management. To this end they resolved, without any farther delay, to pass the act for their own dissolution; of which Cromwell having notice, makes haste to the house, where he sat down and heard the debate for some time. Then calling to major-general Harrison, who was on the other side of the house, to come to him, he told him, "That he judged the parliament ripe for a dissolution," and this to be

be the time of doing it. The major-general answered, as he since told me; "Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it." "You say well," replied the general, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the bill being again to be put, he said again to major-general Harrison, "This is the time I must do it;" and suddenly standing up, made a speech, wherein he loaded the parliament with the vilest reproaches, charging them not to have a heart to do any thing for the publick good, to have espoused the corrupt interest of presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression, accusing them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power, had they not been forced to the passing of this act, which he affirmed they designed never to observe, and thereupon told them, That the Lord had done with them, and had chosen other instruments for the carrying on his work that were more worthy. This he spake with so much passion and discomposure of mind, as if he had been distracted. Sir Peter Wentworth stood up to answer him, and said, That this was the first time that ever he had heard such unbecoming language given to the parliament, and that it was the more horrid that it came from their servant, and their servant whom they had so highly trusted and obliged: but as he was going on, the general stepped into the midst of the house, where continuing his distracted language, he said, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating;" then walking up and down the house like a madman, and kicking the ground with his feet, he cried out, "You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament; I will put an end to your sitting; call them in, call them in: whereupon the serjeant attending the parliament opened the doors, and lieutenant-colonel Worley with two files of musqueteers entered the house; which Sir Henry Vane observing from his place, said aloud, "This is not honest, yea it is against morality and common honesty." Then Cromwell fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, "O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane." Then looking upon one of the members, he said, "There sits a drunkard;" and giving much reviling language to others, he commanded the mace to be taken away, saying, "What shall we do with this bauble? here, take it away." Having brought all into this disorder, major-general Harrison went to the speaker as he sat in the chair, and told him, "That seeing things were reduced to this pass, it would not be convenient for him to remain there." The speaker answered, "That he would not come down unless he were forced." "Sir," said Harrison, "I will lend you my hand;" and thereupon putting his hand within his, the speaker came down. Then Cromwell applied himself to the members of the house, who were in number between 80 and 100, and said to them, "It is you that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work." Hereupon alderman Allen, a member of parliament, told him, "That it was not yet gone so far, but all things might be restored again; and that if the soldiers were commanded out of the house, and the mace returned, the publick affairs might

go on in their former course:" but Cromwell having now passed the Rubicon, not only rejected his advice, but charged him with an account of some hundred thousand pounds, for which he threatned to question him, he having been long treasurer for the army, and in a rage committed him to the custody of one of the musqueteers. Alderman Allen told him, "That it was well known that it had not been his fault that his account was not made up long since; that he had often tendered it to the house, and that he asked no favour from any man in that matter." Cromwell having acted this treacherous and impious part, ordered the guard to see the house cleared of all the members, and then seized upon the records that were there, and at Mr. Scobell's house. After which he went to the clerk, and snatching the act of dissolution, which was ready to pass, out of his hand, he put it under his cloak, and having commanded the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall.

THIS villainous attempt was much encouraged by Nieuport and the other ambassadors lately arrived from Holland, with instructions to conclude a peace; who finding the parliament supported by the affections of the people, because acting for their interest, and therefore not to be forced, much less cheated into an unjust and disadvantageous agreement, instigated Cromwell to take the power into his hands, well understanding that he would soon be necessitated to make peace with them upon what terms they should think fit; in the mean time resolving to interrupt our trade, and to put the nation to a great expence to maintain a fleet for the guard of the seas, which they knew the people would be unwilling to keep when they should perceive that it served only to uphold and strengthen a tyranny. They also had made preparations to send over money, arms and men, with lieutenant-general Middleton, to enable the mountaineers of Scotland to give disturbance to the English interest there.

CROMWELL being returned to Whitehall, found the council of war in debate concerning this weighty affair, and informed them, that he had done it, and that they needed not to trouble themselves any farther about it. Some of the officers of the army well affected to the publick cause, and not of his juncto, of whom were colonel Okey and others, repaired to the general, to desire satisfaction in that proceeding, conceiving that the way they were now going tended to ruin and confusion. To these, having not yet taken off his mask, but pretending to more honesty and self-denial than ever, he professed himself resolved to do much more good, and with more expedition than could be expected from the parliament: which professions from him put most of them to silence, and moved them to a resolution of waiting for a further discovery of his design, before they would proceed to a breach and division from him. But colonel Okey being jealous that the end would be bad, because the means were such as made them justly suspected of hypocrisy, enquired of colonel Desborough what his meaning was to give such high commendations to the parliament, when he endeavoured to dissuade the officers of the army from petitioning them for a dissolution, and so short a time after to eject them with so much scorn and contempt; who had no other answer to make, but that if ever he had drolled in his life, he had drolled then.

WE who were in Ireland being not so well informed of these clandestine practices, and no less confident that the principles of some men who joined in this attempt were directed to the good of the nation; and that though some might be such arrant knaves as to have other designs, yet trusting that an impossibility of accomplishing the same would oblige them to fall in with the public interest, and not to be so very foolish to attempt the setting up for themselves, though we could not but have some doubts of the ill consequences of these things, yet thought ourselves by the rules of charity obliged to hope the best, and therefore continued to act in our places and stations as before.

CROMWELL having interrupted the parliament in the morning of the 20th of April, 1653, came in the afternoon to the council of state, (who were assembled to do their duty at the usual place) accompanied with major-general Lambert and colonel Harrison, and told them at his entrance; "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and since you cannot but know what was done at the house in the morning, so take notice, that the parliament is dissolved." To this serjeant Bradshaw answered; "Sir, we have heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it: but, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved; for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that." Something more was said to the same purpose by Sir Arthur Hallerig, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scot; and then the council of state, perceiving themselves to be under the same violence, departed.

SOON after Cromwell had thus barbarously treated the parliament, and effaced the civil authority, he sent for major Saloway and Mr. John Carew, to whom he complained of the great weight of affairs that by this undertaking was fallen upon him; "affirming, that the thoughts of the consequences thereof made him to tremble, and therefore desired them to free him from the temptations that might be laid before him; and to that end to go immediately to the chief justice St. Johns, Mr. Selden, and some others, and endeavour to persuade them to draw up some instrument of government that might put the power out of his hands." To this it was answered by major Saloway; "The way, Sir, to free you from this temptation is for you not to look upon yourself to be under it, but to rest persuaded that the power of the nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was." Cromwell perceiving by this answer that he was better understood than he could have wished, fell upon another expedient before he would openly discover himself, appointing a meeting of the chief officers of the army to be at Whitehall, in order to consider what was fit to be done in this exigency.

MAJOR-GENERAL Lambert, colonel Harrison, and divers other officers, were at this assembly, where major Saloway, though he had then no command, was desired to be present. Major-general Lambert moved that a few persons, not exceeding the number of 10 or 12, might be intrusted with the supreme power: major-general Harrison was for a greater number, inclining most to that of 70, being the number of which the Jewish sanhedrim consisted; but

after some debate it was resolved, that out of each county and city in England, Ireland, and Scotland, a certain number of persons, as near as might be proportionable to their payments toward the publick charge, should be nominated by the council of officers to be sent for to meet at Westminster, on a certain day, where all the authority of the nation should be delivered into their hands, by an instrument signed and sealed by the general and the officers, obliging themselves to yield obedience to their orders. The gentlemen who were summoned met at the time and place appointed, where after they had heard the general's harangue, in which he seemed to acknowledge the goodness of the Lord in that he saw that day wherein the saints began their rule in the earth, &c. they went into the house wherein the parliament used to sit, where they voted themselves to be the parliament of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. Many of the members of this assembly had manifested a good affection to the publick cause; but some there were among them who were brought in as spies and trappers; and though they had been always of the contrary party, made the highest pretensions to honesty, and the service of the nation. This assembly therefore being composed for the most part of honest and well meaning persons, (who having good intentions, were less ready to suspect the evil designs of others) thought themselves in full possession of the power and authority of the nation, and therefore proceeded to the making of laws relating to the publick; amongst others, one concerning the plantation of Ireland, settling the lands there upon the adventurers and soldiers, together with an act for mariners; one for payment of some publick debts, with divers others. They also made some progress in the reformation of the law, having appointed a committee to that end.

IN Ireland we disbanded some of our forces, to the number of about 5000 horse and foot, and summoned a council of officers to adjust the arrears of the soldiers, and to put them into possession of the land assigned for their satisfaction; who judging that it would not hold out to satisfy the whole, rated the best land of each county according to its intrinsic value, reserving the worst to be equally distributed amongst them, when the arrears should appear to be satisfied on the foot of the new valuation. The county of Dublin was in this estimate rated at 1500l. for 1000 acres; the county of Wexford at 800l. the county of Kilkenny at 1000l. All which counties being within the province of Leinster, were rated by the act at 600l. for 1000 acres. Instructions were also given to the committee for stating the accounts of the arrears of the soldiers, by which those who were disbanded in Connaught had their arrears assigned in lands about Slego, those in Munster in the county of Cork, &c. Those who had been for some time with the lord Inchequin, and therefore thought fit to be disbanded, had their arrears assigned (upon my desire) together, about Collen, in the county of Kilkenny, that they might be the better able to defend themselves, and assist their friends upon occasion. Colonel Theophilus Jones's regiment was reduced, his own troop and some others appointed to complete mine, and colonel Jones to be major of my regiment, in the room of colonel Warden, who was disbanded.

THE pay of some of the officers of the army was also reduced, but yet they now received the pay of seven days per week, whereas before they had but four; but the general-officers, who had been paid seven days for a week, had some ten shillings, others five shillings per day, abated of their pay; amongst whom it fell heavier on me than any other, for as my work was double both as a commissioner of parliament, and lieutenant-general of the horse, so were my expences also, being obliged to keep a more plentiful table than any other of the commissioners, and more than twenty horses continually in my stable ready for service: but indeed, could I have seen our victories employed to the good of the commonwealth, I should have been satisfied without any other encouragement: and I can clearly make it appear, that during the four years I served in Ireland, I expended 4,500 l. of my own estate more than all the pay that I received.

THE commissioners for the management of affairs by sea, having not finished the time limited by the parliament for their acting, nor clearly seeing to what extremities things would be driven, continued to act in their station; which they did with that diligence and vigour, that since the late engagement in the Downs they had equipped a very considerable fleet, and furnished it with all sorts of provisions, ammunition, and men. This fleet was commanded by Dean and Monk as admirals, by Penn as vice-admiral, and by Lawson as rear-admiral. On the 22d of June, 1653, early in the morning, they attacked the Dutch fleet commanded by Van Tromp, Evertson, De Witt, and De Ruyter, on the coast of Flanders. Lawson, who commanded the blue squadron, charged through the Dutch fleet with forty ships, which storm falling principally on De Ruyter's squadron, Van Tromp bore up to his assistance; which when our admirals, who were both on the same ship, perceived, they engaged Tromp with the body of the fleet, and the fight continued till three in the afternoon, at which time the wind coming up contrary to the English, the Dutch fled, and were pursued by the lightest of our frigates. The next morning the two fleets found themselves again near each other, but for want of wind could not come to engage till about noon, at which time the dispute began, and continued very hot on both sides till ten at night. Our fleet charged the Dutch with so much resolution, and put them into so great disorder, that though their admiral fired on them to rally them, he could not procure more than twenty ships of his whole fleet to stand by him, the rest making all the sail they could, away to the eastward. But the wind blowing a fresh gale from the westward, ours pursued them so effectually, that they sunk six of their best ships, and blew up two others, that were in the body of their fleet, taking eleven of their biggest ships, and two others, with thirteen hundred prisoners, among whom were six of their principal captains; and had not the rest of their fleet sheltered themselves between Dunkirk and Calais, where it was unsafe to expose our great ships by reason of the sands, we had probably taken or destroyed most of the rest. The Hollanders were much superior to the English in number of ships; but such was the courage and conduct of our men, that we lost but one ship in the fight, had but one captain killed, except admiral Dean, which indeed

indeed was a great loss, and about one hundred and sixty private men killed and wounded. Our fleet having put their prisoners on shore, and left some of their ships to be refitted, returned to the coast of Holland, where they took many prizes. The people in Holland, seeing themselves as it were besieged by the English fleet, constrained the magistrates by their clamours to send their fleet again to sea, which they reinforced with divers great ships, and some fire-ships, so that they made up in all one hundred and forty sail. The English fleet were little more in number than ninety, yet resolved to fight the enemy; and accordingly detaching the lightest of their frigates, assisted by some great ships, they engaged the Dutch, and maintained the fight till they were separated by the night. The next day little was done, but on the day after they fought again; and though many of our men were sick of the scurvy, and that the Dutch had fire-ships, of which we had none, the wind also entirely favouring them, yet did the fight continue in equal balance till two or three in the afternoon, about which time their admiral Van Tromp was killed with a musquet-ball, as he walked upon the deck with his sword drawn. This so discouraged the enemy, that they made all the haste they could away towards the Texel, and were pursued with that diligence by ours, that the ship of Cornelius Evertzen was sunk, with about thirty more, as we were informed by the prisoners taken or saved from perishing. The victory was great, but cost us dear, for we lost eight of our brave captains, whose names were, Graves, Peacock, Taylor, Crisp, Newman, Cox, Owen, and Chapman, with about four hundred men. We had also about seven hundred wounded, and amongst them five commanders; yet we lost but one ship in this fight. Our admiral having put his prisoners with the wounded men on shore, and taken in provisions, returned with the fleet to the coast of Holland, where many of the officers of the enemy's fleet and others ingenuously acknowledged, that the hand of God was against them, and that they ought not to contend any longer with us.

THE English fleet being now absolute masters of the sea, no ship could stir out of the Texel without their permission. The Dutch were willing to impute their ill success to the treachery and cowardice of their officers; but so it was, by the blessing of God upon the endeavours of the parliament and their fleet, that since the beginning of the war we had taken, sunk, and destroyed, between fourteen and fifteen hundred of their ships, of which many were considerable men of war. Their seamen generally declined the service, neither had they a sufficient number of ships to put to sea, though they had been furnished with all other accommodations. In short, matters were brought to that pass, that Myn Heer Nieupoort, one of the ambassadors from Holland, demanded of some of the parliament-party, what they intended to do with them, endeavouring by all means possible to persuade them, that the ruin of the Dutch would be prejudicial to themselves. Our friends plainly told him, that they desired nothing but a coalescence with them, and then would be as ready to promote the good of Holland as their own. To this the ambassador replied, That he would engage his masters should send us a blank, and that what conditions soever we should think fit to write on it, they would subscribe. Soon

Soon after they sent ambassadors to treat in good earnest concerning a peace, which they were the more necessitated to do, by reason of some divisions amongst themselves, on account of the prince of Orange's interest. But this attempt proved ineffectual, and they were not able to prevail as long as the face of authority remained in England, without consenting to the coalescence. For many of the present assembly acting with sincerity for the publick, and therefore little suspecting the treachery of others, resolved, whilst they had opportunity, to be doing their duty, and to discharge the trust committed to their care, according to the best of their judgment, for the good of the commonwealth. They issued forth orders for regulating the excise and customs, and enlarged the powers of the committee established for trade. They made all necessary preparations for carrying on the war by sea, and declared general Robert Blake, general George Monk, major-general Desborough, and vice-admiral Penn, to be the four generals of the fleet of the commonwealth, empowering them with some others to manage the affairs of the admiralty for six months. They also gave order to prepare an act to erect a high court of justice, for proceeding against such as should surprize or betray any of the fortresses, magazines, or ships of the commonwealth, into the hands of the enemy; and also against those who should, contrary to the laws already made, proclaim any to be king of England or Ireland, whereby it is manifest they suspected the design on foot, though their jealousy did not at all defer, but rather hasten the execution of it.

THE perfidious Cromwell having forgot his most solemn professions and former vows, as well as the blood and treasure that had been spent in this contest, thought it high time to take off the masque, and resolved to sacrifice all our victories and deliverances to his pride and ambition, under colour of taking upon him the office as it were of a high constable, in order to keep the peace of the nation, and to restrain men from cutting one anothers throats. One difficulty yet remained to obstruct his design, and that was the convention, which he had assembled and invested with power; as well as earnestly solicited to reform the law, and reduce the clergy to a more evangelical constitution. And having sufficiently alarmed those interests, and shewn them their danger from the convention, he informs them farther, that they cannot be ignorant of the confusion, that all things are brought into by the immoderate zeal of those in authority, and to what matters extremities might be reduced, if permitted to go on; possibly, said he, to the utter extirpation of law and gospel from amongst us; and therefore advised that they would join their interests to his, in order to prevent this inundation. His proposition was readily embraced by the corrupt part of the lawyers and clergy, and so he became their protector, and they the humble supporters of his tyranny. But that his usurpation might seem less horrid, he so contrived it by his instruments, that some of the convention must openly manifest their disapprobation of their own proceedings, and under divers specious pretences put a period to their sitting. To this end it was agreed by Mr. Rouse, chairman to that assembly, and the rest of Cromwell's juncto, to meet earlier in the house than was usual, which

was done accordingly on the 12th of December, 1653, hoping by surprize to obtain a vote for their dissolution. Being met, colonel Sydenham, Sir Charles Wolfeley, and others, according to their instructions bitterly inveighed against the transactions of the convention, and particularly charged them with a design to destroy the army, by not making a sufficient and timely provision for their pay. They alledged, that though they had voted them a sum of money, yet having resolved to raise it by way of a pound-rate, it would take up so much time to bring it in, that the army must either starve by want, or oppress the country by free quarter. A second ground of their invectives was taken from a motion made, that the great officers of the army should serve without pay for one year. They accused them also of endeavouring to destroy the clergy, the law, and the property of the subject, instancing in their denying a right of presentation to the patrons of ecclesiastical benefices: in general, that they had not a frame of spirit to do justice, which they would have made out by their not relieving Sir John Stawell, when he made his application to them. Thus they endeavoured to cajole the clergy, lawyers, cavaliers, and all interests, except that which they should have had most regard to.

THEY thought to have prevented any debate about their design, by meeting so early in the morning; but they were deceived, and enough found in the house to answer their objections. To that concerning the army it was said, That the pound-rate was found to be the most equal way of raising money, and therefore resolved upon by them; not at all doubting that it would come in soon enough for the soldiers supply: that they thought it reasonable and just, that the good officers of the army, who were possessed of plentiful estates, and had received all their arrears, should abate somewhat of their superfluities, and serve for a little time freely, as well as those who were employed in civil affairs, whose labour and hazard was as great, and both equally concerned in the publick good: especially considering how much this conduct would contribute to the ease and satisfaction of the people, who could not be ignorant that there were now no pressing occasions of charge or danger, the enemy being every where entirely subdued. To what had been done in order to a reformation of the law or clergy, it was answered, That as they conceived there was great need of it, so they had been told that they were called together principally for that end; and that if they had done any thing too much therein, the gentlemen who blamed them for it were very unfit to do it, having themselves been the men that pressed them continually to go much farther than they had done. To the objection concerning presentations they said, That the method used therein seemed to them too unreasonable to be continued, it being in effect to give a power to the greatest of the parish, who were not always the best, to prescribe what religion they pleased to the parishioners, by presenting a person, howsoever unfit for that office, to be their minister. Lastly, in answer to the charge of denying relief to Sir John Stawell, it was answered, That the consideration of that matter was before them, and that they would not fail to act as his case deserved. The debate thus spun out, the house began to fill, so that Cromwell's party, despairing to carry their design by vote, broke off in

ments they might think fit, with a promise that they should be taken into consideration. The council of officers, perceiving to what terms they were restrained, proposed, that it might be declared in this instrument, that the general of the army should after this first time be held incapable of being "protector;" (for that was the title given by this instrument to the chief magistrate, though some were said to have moved that it might be "king;") that none of the relations of the last protector should be chosen at the next ensuing election; and that a general council of all the commission officers who were about the town should be summoned to consider thereof. To these propositions they could obtain no other answer, than that they should be offered to the general, which was the title they yet gave to Cromwell. At the next meeting of officers it was not thought fit to consult with them at all; but they were openly told by major-general Lambert, that the general would take care of managing the civil government; and then having required them to repair to their respective charges, where their troops and companies lay, that they might preserve the public peace, he dismissed them.

THUS was this important business that so highly concerned the nation, and in some measure all Europe, in a clandestine manner carried on and huddled up by two or three persons; for more there were not who were let into the secret of it, so that it may justly be called a work of darkness. This instrument appointed the legislative power to be in the representative of the people and the protector; that a parliament should be chosen every three years, which should sit five months, if they thought fit, without any interruption: that their first meeting should be on the thirteenth of September next ensuing: that the members of whom the parliament was to consist, should be chosen by the people: that whatsoever they would have enacted, should be presented to the protector for his consent; and that if he did not confirm it within twenty days after it was first tendered to him, it should have the force and obligation of a law; provided that it extended not to lessen the number or pay of the army, to punish any man on account of his conscience, or to make any alteration in the instrument of government; in all which a negative was reserved to the single person. It provided also, that all writs should issue out in the protector's name: that most of the magistrates should be appointed, and all honours conferred by him: that he should have the power of the militia by sea and land: that, in the intervals of parliament, the nation should be governed by the protector and his council, who were not to exceed the number of one and twenty, nor to be under thirteen. The first persons nominated to be of his council were major-general Lambert, colonel Desborough, Mr. Henry Lawrence, Sir Charles Wolfely, colonel William Sydenham, Mr. Francis Rouse, Philip viscount Lisle, colonel Philip Jones, colonel Montague, Mr. Richard Major, Walter Strickland, Esq; Sir Gilbert Pickering, major-general Skippon, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, in all fourteen. It was observed, that in the choice of this council, such were put in for the most part who had been principal instruments in the interruption of the late assembly, and leading men in the resignation of that power into the hands of Cromwell; and because no-
thing

thing of honour or conscience could be presumed to oblige them to be faithful to Cromwell and his government, though they took an oath to that purpose, he as a publick robber having possessed himself of the purse of the nation, distributed a thousand pounds a year to each of his council. He also established a commission for the viewing and taking care of all forests, fees, and lands belonging to the late king, queen, and prince, under pretence of improving them to the advantage of the commonwealth, but indeed in order to convert them to his own profit. The management of the treasury was put into the hands of colonel Desborough, Montague, and Sydenham, who were his creatures; to whom was added Mr. William Masham, a worthy gentleman, and a member of parliament, placed there by Cromwell, upon information that he had divers relations of considerable interest in the clergy party, together with a numerous family, and small estate during his father's life, which considerations prevailed with the said gentleman to accept of that employment.

THINGS being thus prepared, the mayor and aldermen of London were required to attend at Whitehall in their scarlet gowns; whither when they came, the design was imparted to them, and they being under the power of an army, were forced to contribute to this pageantry, by accompanying Cromwell to Westminster-hall. The commissioners of the seal, the judges, and barons of the exchequer, marched first, the council of the commonwealth following them, and then the mayor, sheriffs, and the aldermen of London, in their robes. After them came the general, with a great number of the officers of the army, major-general Lambert carrying the sword before him into the court of chancery; where after the general had heard the instrument of government read, and taken the oath as directed in the close of the said instrument, major-general Lambert kneeling, presented him with a sword in the scabbard, representing the civil sword; which Cromwell accepting, put off his own, intimating thereby that he would no longer rule by the military sword, though like a false hypocrite he designed nothing more. The commissioners delivered the seals to him, and the mayor of London the sword, all which he restored again, with an exhortation to use them well; and having assured them that he would not have undertaken this charge, but to make use of it for the good of the publick, he returned to Whitehall in the same manner and order as he came. His council having taken their places, issued out orders to all counties and considerable corporations, for the proclaiming Oliver Cromwell protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and care was taken to alter all legal writs and process from the title of the "keepers of the liberties of England," to that of "protector." A declaration also was published, empowering all those who stood lawfully invested with any office of judicature, or with the power of the admiralty on the 20th of the present December, to continue in their employments till farther order.

THE news of this great alteration of affairs was very unwelcome to us in Ireland, because contrary to the oaths which had been taken, and especially to the engagement, whereby all that took it, promised fidelity to the commonwealth of England, as it was established without a king or house of lords: which

engagement having subscribed both with hand and heart, I was resolved to use my best endeavours, either to oppose this usurpation, or at least not to do any thing that might contribute to the strengthening of it. To this end, when it was pressed by some court-parasites amongst us, that seeing things were brought to this pass, and that there was now no other face of authority in being; therefore, to prevent the designs of our enemies, the commissioners of parliament should proclaim Cromwell protector in Dublin and other parts of Ireland: I objected against it as a thing evil in itself, tending to the betraying of our cause, and contrary to an act of parliament; that if it were but dubious whether it were evil or no, we ought at least to expect an order from those who had the power in their hands, which as yet we had not received. By this means I hindered the proclaiming of him in Ireland for a fortnight, though continually earnestly pressed to a compliance. But a day being appointed for the consideration of that affair, the commissioners with three or four chief officers, of whose integrity and abilities we had the best opinion, met in lieutenant-general Fleetwood's chamber in the castle, where after near five hours debate, and the question put, the votes were found to be equal on both sides. In that instant of time Mr. Roberts the auditor-general, coming thither upon some particular business of the army, lieutenant-general Fleetwood being well acquainted with his flattering spirit, and earnestly desiring to have the thing done, gave him liberty to declare his opinion; which, when he had done in the affirmative, the lieutenant-general took his concurrence (he being a general officer) to be a decision of the controversy. So it was resolved to be done, and an order directed to be drawn up for that purpose, which the commissioners endeavoured to persuade me to sign; but I positively refusing so to do, they ordered it to be signed by their secretary in the name of the commission; which way was taken, that it might not appear that any of the commissioners hands were wanting to the proclamation. At this ceremony there was but a thin appearance, some captains and inferior officers; but no colonel nor general officer, except Sir Hardress Waller and one colonel Moore, were present. The herald at arms, who made proclamation, was clothed in black; but the artillery, which was at the command of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, wasted some of the powder belonging to the publick, the report of which was very unwelcome musick to me, who, desiring to be as far from this pageantry as I could, rode out of town that afternoon.

HAVING done what I could to obstruct the proclamation of that, which was called an instrument of government, imposed upon the people by the military sword, contrary to many oaths and solemn engagements, as well as to the interest and expectations of the people, I thought myself obliged in duty to act no further in my civil capacity as commissioner of parliament, lest I should seem, by acting with them, to acknowledge this as a lawful authority: to that end I forbore to go to Cork-house, which was the usual place where the commissioners of parliament met; but lieutenant-general Fleetwood by great importunity did once prevail with me to be present there, and to give my advice in some things that absolutely concerned the peace of Ireland; after which

time I never gave any vote amongst them, or set my hand to any of their orders, though pressed to do it by divers honest and well-meaning men. But because I was always ready to call in question my own judgment, when different from knowing and conscientious persons, I consented that a day might be appointed to consult with them touching my duty in this conjuncture. The most weighty arguments which were then used to persuade me to continue in my employments were, That supposing Cromwell to be a tyrant, to have no just call to his present employment, and a wicked man, as most of them were so ingenuous to acknowledge him to be; yet they declared themselves to be of opinion, that a good man might act under him; and for proof of this they urged the example of Cornelius, who was a centurion under Nero. To this I answered, That though in an evil government already established, an honest man may take an employment, and bless God for such an opportunity of doing good, yet our case seemed to me to be very different, the dispute lying between tyranny and liberty; and that I durst not in any measure contribute to the support of tyranny against the liberty of my country. Another argument much pressed was, that by declining my station I should neglect an occasion of doing some good, and lay a necessity upon those in power to employ others, who might do mischief. To this I replied, That it was not lawful to do the least evil for the attaining the greatest good; and that I apprehended it to be an evil thing to fortify Cromwell in his usurpation; and that I hoped I should do more good by my open protestation against his injustice, and declining to act under him, than by the contrary means: for should all men who continued well affected to the interest of the commonwealth, refuse to act in the present state of affairs, there could be no way thought of, in my opinion, more probable to reduce the usurper to his right senses; who not daring to trust such as had acted against him, must of necessity by this means be left destitute of instruments to carry on his unjust designs. A third argument was, That I should wait to see how he would use his power, which if he improved to evil ends, I should then find many others to join with, who would be as ready to oppose him as myself. To this also I answered, That I was fully convinced of the injustice of his undertaking; that he had betrayed his masters, under colour that they would not reform the law and the clergy; and that having called an assembly in order, as he pretended, to accomplish that work, he had now broken them also for endeavouring to do it; that as soon as he had made the corrupt interests of the nation sensible of their danger, he had contracted an alliance with them, and was become their protector; that it could not be reasonably expected that he should do any thing towards their reformation, because every step he should take towards the lessening of their credit, would tend to the weakening of his own authority; and that he was no less necessitated to be a vassal to them, than he designed the rest of the nation to be slaves to him. Though for these and other reasons I durst not act in my civil capacity, yet I was unwilling to decline the exercise of my military authority as lieutenant-general of the horse, having received my commission from the parliament, which I resolved to keep, till it should be forced from me,
and

and to act by it in order to attain those ends for which I received it, the principal whereof were, to bring those to justice who had been guilty of the blood of many thousands of English protestants, and to restore the English who remained alive to the lands which had been taken from them by the Irish. And though much of this work was already effected; yet it was no less a duty to bring it to perfection than to begin it, and to defend our countrymen in a just possession, than to gain it for them. Neither was it impossible that as one had made use of the military sword to destroy the civil authority, so others might have an opportunity to restore it by the same means.

ONE of the first important affairs of Cromwell's new government, was to make peace with the Dutch, which the low condition they had been brought into by the good conduct of the parliament made them earnestly to desire. In the articles some seeming provision was made for bringing those to justice, who had been guilty of the blood of the English at Amboyna, if they could be found. The Dutch also undertook to reimburse to our merchants the losses they sustained by the seizure of twenty-two ships in Denmark; the duty of striking the flag to the English in the narrow seas was acknowledged, and compliance promised with the act of parliament, whereby all foreign commodities were forbidden to be brought into England save in English bottoms, except by such vessels as properly belonged to that country where those commodities should grow. By another article it was agreed, that the enemies of the respective nations should not be protected by either of them; but there was no provision made by this treaty for the coalescence so much insisted upon during the administration of affairs by the parliament.

THE lord Whitlock, who had been sent ambassador to the crown of Sweden by the parliament, acquainted the queen with the late change of government, producing letters of credence from Cromwell, and owning him as his master; upon which he was received as kindly as formerly by the queen, who signed the articles agreed upon by the two nations, to the great satisfaction of both.

CROMWELL having thus all clear before him, and no enemy in the field, except only in the Highlands of Scotland, a considerable army by land, and a powerful fleet at sea, all the soldiers fully paid, with a month's advance; the stores sufficiently supplied with all provisions for sea and land; three hundred thousand pounds of ready money in England, and one hundred and fifty thousand pounds in the treasury of Ireland; he removed from the Cockpit, which house the parliament had assigned him, to take possession of Whitehall, which he assigned to himself. His wife seemed at first unwilling to remove thither, though afterwards she became better satisfied with her grandeur; but his mother, who by reason of her great age was not so easily flattered with these temptations, very much mistrusted the issue of affairs, and would be often afraid, when she heard the noise of a musquet, that her son was shot, being exceedingly dissatisfied, unless she might see him once a day at least: but she shortly after dying, left him the possession of what she held in jointure, which was reported not to exceed sixty pounds by year, though he out of the publick purse expended much more at her interment, and amongst
other

other needless ceremonies, caused many hundred torches to be carried with the hearse, though she was buried by day-light.

THIS usurper endeavouring to fix himself in his throne by all ways imaginable, gave direction to the judges who were ready to go their several circuits, to take especial care to extend all favour and kindness to the cavalier party. He himself restored colonel Grace, a notorious Irish rebel, to his estate; and sent a letter in favour of the lord Fitz-Williams, who had been lieutenant-general in Preston's army in Ireland: but he dealt otherways with those who formerly he had most courted, summoning major-general Harrison, colonel Rich, Mr. Carew, and others, before the council; requiring such of them as had commissions from him to surrender them, upbraiding major-general Harrison with his carriage to him, and charging him with coveting his employment when he was sick in Scotland: And because they refused to engage not to act against him and his government, he sent them to several prisons. Major-general Harrison was ordered to be carried to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, Mr. Carew was sent to Pendennis in Cornwall, and colonel Rich confined to the custody of the serjeant at arms. Soon after Mr. Rogers, Mr. Feak, and Mr. Sympson, ministers, having publicly declared against his usurpation both by printing and preaching, were also imprisoned. So having changed his interest, and taken off his mask, he sent his second son colonel Henry Cromwell into Ireland, to feel the pulse of the officers there, touching his coming over to command in that nation, where he arrived attended only by one servant; and landing near my country-house, I sent my coach to receive him, and to bring him thither, where he staid till lieutenant-general Fleetwood with several officers came with coaches to conduct him to Dublin. Having made what observations he could of persons and things in Ireland, he resolved upon his return; of which having given me advice, I desired him to take my house in his way, and to that end dined with him on the day of his departure at the lieutenant-general's in the castle. After dinner we went together to my house at Monkstown, where after a short collation walking in the garden, I acquainted him with the grounds of my dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs in England, which I assured him was in no sort personal, but would be the same were my own father alive, and in the place of his. He told me that his father looked upon me to be dissatisfied upon a distinct account from most men in the three nations; and thereupon affirmed that he knew it to be his resolution to carry himself with all tenderness towards me. I told him that I ought to have so much charity for his father, to believe that he apprehended his late undertaking to have been absolutely necessary, being well assured that he was not so weak a man to decline his former station, wherein his power was as great, and his wealth as much as any rational man could wish, to procure to himself nothing but envy and trouble. I supposed he would have agreed with me in these sentiments; but he instead of that acknowledged the ambition of his father in these words; "You that are here may think he had power, but they made a very kickshaw of him at London." I replied, That if it were so, they did ill; for he had deserved much from them. Then I pro-

I proceeded to acquaint him with my resolution not to act in my civil employment, and my expectation not to be permitted to continue in my military command; to which he answered, That he was confident I should receive no interruption therein. I told him I could not foresee what his father would do; but inclined to think that no other man in his case would permit it. To this I added, That the reason of my drawing a sword in this war, was to remove those obstructions that the civil magistrate met with in the discharge of his duty; which being now accomplished, I could not but think that all things ought for the future to run in their proper and genuine channel: for, as the extraordinary remedy is not to be used till the ordinary fail to work its proper effect, so ought it to be continued no longer than the necessity of using it subsists; whereas this that they called a government had no other means to preserve itself, but such as were violent; which, not being natural, could not be lasting. "Would you then," said he, "have the sword laid down? I cannot but think you believe it to be as much your interest to have it kept up as any man." I confessed I had been of that opinion whilst I was persuaded there was a necessity of it, which seeming to me to be now over, I accounted it to be much more my interest to see it well laid down, there being a vast difference between using the sword to restore the people to their rights and privileges, and the keeping it up for the robbing and despoiling them of the same. But company coming in, and the time for his going on board approaching, we could not be permitted to continue our discourse; so after we had taken leave of each other, he departed from Ireland, and upon his arrival at Chester was attended by many of the late king's party; and amongst others by colonel Molson, who, inquiring of him how he left affairs in Ireland, he answered very well, only that some who were in love with their power must be removed.

IN the mean time Cromwell so ordered matters at London, that he procured himself, his officers, and council, to be invited by the city to dinner, which was managed with all possible state. He and the rest of his company rode on horseback through the city; the mayor and aldermen met him at Temple-Bar, where the mayor, as an acknowledgment of his authority, delivered the sword to him, and he (as kings use to do) restored it to him again. He was harangued by the recorder, and the mayor riding bareheaded, carried the sword before him, the several liveries in their gowns standing on each side of the streets, where he passed. Commissary-general Reynolds and colonel Whalley led a troop of three hundred officers to Grocers-Hall, being the place appointed for the entertainment; which being ended, he bestowed a badge of his usurpation in conferring a knighthood upon alderman Thomas Viner, then mayor of London. This was principally contrived, to let the world understand how good a correspondence there was between him and the city of London; yet amongst discerning men it had a contrary effect, who knew it to be rather an act of force than of choice in the city, as appeared in the great silence and little respect that was given him in his passage through the streets: and though he, to invite them to it, rode bareheaded the greatest part of the way;

way; and though some of his creatures had placed themselves at the entrance of Cheapside, and began to shout, yet it took not at all with the people.

ABOUT this time Cromwell having resolved on a foreign expedition, drew out five or six thousand men, by which artifice he not only alarmed foreign states, but also engaged all the reformed officers to his party, who otherwise would have been ready to join with any party against him. Colonel Venables was chosen to command this army; and though the particular design of these preparations was not certainly known, yet it was soon suspected to be against some of the king of Spain's territories. Vice-admiral Pen commanded the fleet that was to transport them, which consisted of sixteen or seventeen men of war, besides the vessels of transportation. When they arrived at the Barbadoes, they made proclamation there, that whosoever would engage in the undertaking should have his freedom, whereupon about two thousand servants lifted themselves, to the great damage of the planters. The Spanish ambassador being informed that the fleet was gone towards the West Indies, and that the storm was likely to fall upon some of his master's territories, made application to Cromwell to know whether he had any just ground of complaint against the king his master, and if so, that he was ready to give him all possible satisfaction. Cromwell demanded a liberty to trade to the Spanish West-Indies, and the repeal of the laws of the inquisition. To which the ambassador replied, That his master had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once. The goods of our merchants trading in Spain were seized for want of timely notice to withdraw their effects from thence. And one major Waters, with others concerned with him in the transportation of Irish soldiers into the Spanish service, lost thirty thousand pounds, which remained due to them from the king of Spain.

THE fleet being arrived at Hispaniola, whether through any difference between colonel Venables, who commanded the army, and vice-admiral Pen, who commanded the fleet, or for what other reason is not easy to determine, they neglected to land their army near the town, as was advised by many of the officers, and as they might easily have done, with great probability of taking the town, which most of the inhabitants had deserted: but the army having landed far from the town, were upon their march towards it, when the forlorn was attacked at the entrance of a wood by forty or fifty fellows, who were employed to kill the wild cows of that country. This inconsiderable number of men put the forlorn to flight; and they retreating in great disorder struck the whole army with such a panick fear, that they began to shift for themselves, and could not be prevailed with either by promises or threatnings to keep their ground. Which being observed by major-general Haines, and five or six officers more, they resolved either to put a stop to the pursuit of the enemy, or not to outlive the disgrace: thereupon they made a stand and fought them, till the major-general and most of the rest were killed. During this time our forces rallied, yet could not recover courage enough to charge that inconsiderable enemy; and those very men, who when they fought for the liberties of their country, had performed wonders, having now en-

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gaged to support the late erected tyranny, disgracefully fled when there was none to pursue them. The expedition against Hispaniola proving unsuccessful, they shipped themselves, and soon after arrived at the island of Jamaica, belonging also to the Spaniards: which being but meanly fortified, the inhabitants, who lived for the most part together in the principal town, ran away, and betook themselves to the woods, leaving what they could not carry away to be plundered by the army. Colonel Venables being disabled by sickness to perform the functions of his office, was permitted by the council of officers to return into England; and vice-admiral Pen suspecting he would lay the whole blame of that affair on him, obtained leave also: and being both arrived, they were heard at Whitehall one against the other; where the accusations of both seemed to be of more weight than the defences of either of them. So Pen was committed to the Tower, and colonel Venables confined to his lodging, the distemper that was upon him excusing him from a stricter imprisonment.

ACCORDING to the promise contained in the instrument of government, it was resolved to issue out writs for the election of members to serve in an assembly at Westminster, who were to be chosen, not by small boroughs, and two for each county, as formerly, but in such manner as had been agreed on by the parliament in the rule for choosing successive representatives, which indeed was much more equal and just. And because it was provided by the same instrument, that thirty members should be sent by Ireland, and the same number by Scotland, to sit in the house, letters were sent by Cromwell and his council to the commissioners there, acquainting them with that clause in the instrument of government, and desiring their advice touching the ensuing election. Some of the commissioners in Ireland were of opinion, that if the proprietors should choose, they would return such as were enemies to the English interest, and therefore proposed that for this time Cromwell and his council should nominate the thirty who were to be chosen for that nation. This question coming before the commissioners before the arrival of the new set nominated by Cromwell, though I resolved to intermeddle as little as might be, yet this advice seemed so strange to me, that I could not forbear to desire of them, that seeing we had no more of liberty left but the name, they would at least retain the form, in hopes that in time men might become so sensible of their own interest, as to be enabled thereby to recover the efficacy and substance of it, especially since it was most probable, that, by the influence of those in power, the same persons would be chosen that they desired. To this they agreed; and having proportioned the cities and counties for the election before the issuing out the writs, a private junto was held by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who agreed upon the persons that they would have chosen for each place, which they had a great advantage to effect, having nominated and fitted the sheriffs and other officers for that purpose. The court-party endeavoured to promote the election of such as would center in adoring the idol lately set up, however different in opinions about other matters. The clergy in some parts proved so strong, that they carried it against those agreed on by the court;

court; but both parties concurred in the decrying all such who would not sacrifice the cause of the publick to the ambition of men. In England they better understood the design that was carrying on, insomuch that many persons of known virtue and integrity were chosen to sit in this assembly, in particular the lord president Bradshaw, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Thomas Scott, Mr. Robert Wallup, and divers others. When the time appointed for the meeting of this assembly was come, Cromwell went in a coach to Westminster, accompanied by his horse and foot guard, with many officers of the army on foot; where being arrived, his first business was to appear in his kingly garb at the abbey, there to hear a sermon, with the members of that assembly, before they went about their other affairs. Which done, he went into the painted chamber, where he entertained the members with a tedious speech, wherein he endeavoured to make it appear, that things were brought to this pass, not by his contrivance, but by the over-ruling hand of God; assuring them, that he was much rejoiced to see so free an assembly of the people met together, and that he resolved to submit himself to their judgment. But notwithstanding these specious pretences, he caused the lord Grey of Grooby, Mr. John Wildman, Mr. Highland, and others, who had always manifested a constant affection to the commonwealth, to be excluded from the house. And though many undue methods had been used at the elections, to procure those to be chosen who were enemies, and to keep out many who were known friends to the common cause; and though they saw themselves under the power of one who they knew would force his way to the throne, yet they appeared in a few days not to be for his purpose, but resolved, at the least, to lay a claim to their liberties. For whereas the court-party would have obliged them to approve at once the whole instrument of government which they had framed, the assembly took it in pieces, and referred the consideration of it to a committee, where the first question fallen upon was, "Whether the supreme legislative power of the nation shall be in a single person and the parliament." In this debate Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Scott, and many others, especially the lord president Bradshaw, were very instrumental in opening the eyes of many young members who had never before heard their interest so clearly stated and asserted; so that the commonwealth party increased daily, and that of the sword lost ground. Cromwell being informed of these transactions by his creatures, and fearing to have that great question put; lest he should be deposed, by a vote of this assembly, from the throne which he had usurped, caused a guard to be set upon the door of the house early in the morning, and sent to the mayor of London to acquaint him with the reasons of what he was about to do, to the end that he might prevent any disorders in the city. The members coming at the usual hour, were refused the door, and required to attend him in the painted chamber; where he taking notice of what was under debate in the house, contrary to the privilege of a parliament, (as he would have this thought to be) told them, that being called by virtue of the instrument of government to that assembly, they were bound up by the indentures themselves, upon which they were returned, from altering the government by a

single person and a parliament; and that the country having owned him by electing a parliament called by his writ, and that the judges with the justices of peace having acted by virtue of his authority, he was resolved not to permit that point to be called in question, acquainting them, that no person should be admitted, for the time to come, to sit as a member in that assembly, till he had subscribed an acknowledgment of the government by a single person and a parliament. Some of those who had been chosen members of this convention, had already declined the house, upon account that Cromwell and his council had excluded from their places divers persons who had been constantly faithful to the publick interest; but so soon as this visible hand of violence appeared to be upon them, most of the eminent assertors of the liberty of their country withdrew themselves, being persuaded they should better discharge their duty to the nation by this way of expressing their abhorrence of his tyrannical proceedings, than by surrendering their liberties under their own hands, and then treating with him, who was possessed of the sword, to recover some part of them again. However, this engagement was signed by about one hundred and thirty members within a day or two, and some days after several others subscribed it, and took their places in the house, where a debate arising, touching the said recognition, they passed a declaration, that it should not be intended to comprehend the whole government contained in the forty-two articles of the instrument, but that only which required the government of the commonwealth to be by a single person and successive parliaments. And to this the major part consented, hoping, that by their compliance with him, in making provision for his safety, and the government of the nation during his life, he would have been satisfied therewith, and, in gratitude, would have judged the people, after his death, to be of age and wisdom sufficient to chuse a government for themselves. This great point touching the single person being thus over-ruled, they applied themselves to the consideration and debate of the remaining clauses of the instrument of government. They declared that he should be protector during his life, and limited the number of forces to be kept up in England, Scotland and Ireland, with provision for the payment of them. They agreed upon the number of ships that they thought necessary for the guard of the seas, and ordered two hundred thousand pounds a year for his own expence, the salaries of his council, the judges, foreign intelligence, and the reception of ambassadors. They also voted a clause to be inserted, to declare the rights of the people of England, and, particularly, that no money should be raised upon the nation but by authority of parliament. And whereas by the instrument of government it was provided, that if the parliament were not sitting at the death of the present protector, the council of officers should chuse a successor; they resolved, that nothing should be determined by the council after his death, but the calling of a parliament, who were then to consider what they would have done. Besides these things, I can remember no remarkable variation from what was formerly set down in the paper called the instrument of government, except this additional vote, "That no one clause of this should be looked upon as binding, unless the whole

whole were consented unto." Which they did, lest Cromwell should interrupt them, and taking what made for his advancement, reject what was advantageous to the commonwealth. Much time was spent, and pains taken, to effect this within the time limited, so that hardly any private business was done all that time, except an order given to the excise-office for satisfying an old debt pretended by colonel John Birch, one of their members, a nimble gentleman, and one who used to neglect no opportunity of providing for himself.

THE usurper, that he might make way for his posterity to succeed him in his greatness, changed the title of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, from that of "commander in chief," to that of "deputy of Ireland," to continue till such time as it should be thought fit to recall him from thence, and to establish his son Harry in his place. In order to this, a commission was sent to Fleetwood from Cromwell, wherein those who were before called commissioners are now stiled only his counsellors. Having thus modelled the government of Ireland, he began to apply his care to that of Scotland; and knowing Monk to be a soldier, and faithful enough to him, as long as he would gratify his vicious, covetous, and ambitious inclinations, he intrusted him with the command of the forces, and made him one of the commissioners for civil affairs in that nation. But that he might balance him with some of another temper, who might be a guard upon his actions, he sent colonel Adrian Scroop to be one of the commissioners there also, having first caused the castle of Bristol, whereof he was governor, to be slighted, not daring to trust a person of so much honour and worth with a place of that importance. He likewise sent thither colonel Whetham with the same character, who having been one of the late assembly, as well as governor of Portsmouth, and understanding that a design was on foot to make Cromwell king, had, in the house, applied to him, the saying of the prophet to Ahab, "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" By which words it appearing that this gentleman was not for Oliver's turn, he removed him from Portsmouth, and sent him to Scotland, to be one of the commissioners there also. The lord Broghil was made president of the council in Scotland, with an allowance of two thousand pounds a year, with a promise from him, who never kept any but such as suited with his corrupt ends, that his service should be dispensed with after one year, and yet his salary to continue.

IN Holland, the party of the prince of Orange having long obstructed the signing of the articles agreed upon between that state and Cromwell, the states general sent myn heer Beverning ambassador into England, to assure Cromwell, that if the provinces did not agree to the articles within eight days, he had power from the states-general to sign them in their names. But before this peace was concluded, the King of Scots party had obtained succours to be sent to their friends in Scotland, who were augmented to the number of about five thousand horse and foot, having received fifteen hundred foot, two hundred horse, and great numbers of arms brought to them by seventeen Holland ships; so that it was thought fit to take lieutenant-general Monk from the fleet, the

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War at sea being now over, and to send him to take care of affairs in Scotland; but chiefly to keep the officers there from drawing to a head against Cromwell's usurpation. Lieutenant-general Middleton, with about one hundred men more, for the most part officers, five hundred arms, and one hundred and fifty barrels of powder, landed also in the north of Scotland. To oppose these forces we sent fifteen hundred men from Ireland under lieutenant-colonel Braine, into the mountains of Scotland, who contributed very much to the suppression of them.

MONK being arrived in Scotland, divided his army into several bodies, the two principal of which were commanded by himself and colonel Morgan. With these they pursued the enemy so closely, that at a council of war held by them in the county of Murray, they made a resolution to disperse themselves upon every alarm, and to meet again at a rendezvous to be agreed upon. This being resolved, they advanced towards the quarters of colonel Braine, where they were warmly received, and forced to retire. Middleton, to avoid the pursuit of ours, dispersed his foot into inaccessible quarters, and drew together about six hundred horse at Kennagh; whereby Monk perceiving that his design was to tire out our forces, declined following him so close, endeavouring to drive him upon colonel Morgan, whom Monk had informed of the enemy's march. Middleton seeing himself no farther pursued, stayed at Kennagh; whereupon Monk having received advice of the approach of colonel Morgan's party, advanced with his forces towards the enemy, who retiring towards Badenoch, and being about to take their quarters that night at Loughary, found themselves engaged at a narrow pass by colonel Morgan, who designed to quarter at the same place. Middleton endeavouring to retire, was obstructed by a morass; and being hotly pursued by colonel Morgan's forces, and much harassed by difficult marches, was soon routed, many of his men were killed, and many taken prisoners; four hundred of their horse were taken, together with the charging and sumpter horses of Middleton himself, who being wounded in the action, saved himself with much difficulty on foot. His commission, instructions, and divers letters written to him and his friends, by their king, were taken also; and had not such as fled been favoured by the bad ways and the night, very few had escaped. The news of this defeat coming to the enemy's foot, who were in number about twelve hundred, they immediately disbanded themselves, and divers of the enemy's principal officers came in and submitted, and amongst them the earl of Glencairn, lieutenant-general Maxwell, lieutenant-colonel Herriott, the lord Forester, and Sir George Monroe. Yet notwithstanding this low condition of that party in Scotland, the clergy refused to observe such fasts as were appointed by the government in England, and instead of them appointed others, by their own authority, wherein they exhorted the people, amongst other things, to seek the Lord, to preserve the ministry among them, to forget the offences of the house of the Stewarts, and to turn from his people the sad effects of a late eclipse.

A FLEET commanded by general Blake was sent into the Mediterranean, to require satisfaction from the grand duke of Tuscany, for injuries done to our merchants, and for entertaining and harbouring prince Rupert's fleet; in which expedition he not only procured the satisfaction demanded, but rendered the power of England so formidable, not only to all Italy, but even to the grand seignior himself, that they expressed a greater readiness to preserve the friendship of the English than ever they had done before.

IN the mean time, Cromwell having assumed the whole power of the nation to himself, and sent ambassadors and agents to foreign states, was courted again by them, and presented with the rarities of several countries; amongst the rest, the duke of Holstein made him a present of a set of gray Frizeland coach-horses, with which, taking the air in the park, attended only with his secretary Thurlow, and guard of janizaries, he would needs take the place of the coachman, not doubting but the three pair of horses he was about to drive, would prove as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him: and therefore, not contented with their ordinary pace, he lashed them very furiously. But they, unaccustomed to such a rough driver, ran away in a rage, and stopped not till they had thrown him out of the box, with which fall his pistol fired in his pocket, though without any hurt to himself; by which he might have been instructed, how dangerous it was to intermeddle with those things wherein he had no experience.

THE representative sitting at Westminster, though garbled as he thought fit, proving not sufficiently inclined to serve his designs, but rather, in prudence, yielding to the strength of the present stream, in hopes the people might in time recover their oars, and make use of them for the publick good; he grew impatient till the five months allowed for their sitting should be expired; during which time he was restrained by that which he called "The instrument of government," from giving them interruption. And though they differed not in any material point from that form of government which he himself had set up, unless it were in reserving the nomination of his successor to the parliament; yet did the omission of this one thing so inrage him, that he resolved upon their dissolution. They had prepared all things to offer to him, and had been very cautious of giving him any just occasion of offence, well knowing, that in case they had given him the least pretence of dissatisfaction, he would have laid all the blame at their door; and therefore, they prudently left the settling of the church-government, and the liberty that was to be extended to tender consciences (an engine by which Cromwell did most of his work) to the consideration of the next assembly: whereupon he wanting wherewith justly to accuse them, unless it were for too much complying with him to the prejudice of the commonwealth, after he had perused the form of government which the assembly had agreed upon, and tendered to him for his consideration; the five months of their sessions, according to the soldiers account of twenty-eight days to the month, being expired, they were ordered to attend him on the 23d of January, 1654, in the painted chamber, where he made up with words and passion what he wanted of matter to charge them with, accus-
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ing them of endeavouring to bring all things into disorder and confusion, by raking into the particulars of the instrument of government, which he extolled very highly. He charged them with neglecting to make provision for the army, and necessitating them thereby to take free quarter, to the great dissatisfaction of the country, if it had not been prevented by the care, and at the expence of the officers. In this, and in many other particulars, he very much preferred the wisdom and prudence of the long parliament, which was the part he proposed now to act, having determined to cry down this. And because he could not accuse them of any practices against liberty of conscience, he charged them with their principles, and imputed to them all those discontents and designs, which were on foot by several parties against the present government; affirming that if they had not their rise from some that sat amongst them (which he thought he should make appear) yet they grew like shrubs under their shadow. And that he might obviate that objection, which his own conscience told him was the true reason of his dissatisfaction with what had been agreed on in this assembly, he told them that their not settling the government on him and his heirs was not the reason why he refused to consent to what they presented to him. For, said he, so fully am I convinced (in the judgment I now am) of the injustice of hereditary government, that if you had offered me the whole instrument of government, with that one alteration in favour of my family, I should have refused the whole for the sake of that; and I do not know though you have begun with an unworthy person, but hereafter the same method may be observed in the choice of magistrates, as was amongst the children of Israel, who appointed those that had been most eminent in delivering them from their enemies abroad to govern them at home. In which excuse three things seem remarkable. First, that though in the judgment he then was, hereditary government was unjust, yet he reserved a liberty to alter his opinion, if he should find persons and things inclining that way. Secondly, in declaring this to be his present opinion, he flattered the ambition of major-general Lambert, and kept him in expectation of succeeding him, and so secured his assistance in carrying on his wicked design. In the third place, by designing that the general should be always chosen protector, it appears that he would have had the nation to be perpetually governed by the military sword. Thus did this wise man (as he would be thought) weaken his own interest, and lose the affections of the people: for as by his interruption of the long parliament, he disobliged the most sober part of the nation, so by the dissolution of this assembly he opened the eyes of the rest, who had been hitherto made to believe, that he was necessitated to that extraordinary action, because they would not do those good things for the nation which were expected from them; and by this reproachful dismissal of the convention, which consisted for the most part of men of moderate spirits, and who had gone, in the judgment of most discerning men, but too far in compliance with him for the purchase of their present peace, he made a considerable part of those who had been friends to him, irreconcilable enemies, and sent the members into their respective countries,

countries, to relate to their neighbours and those that sent them, what an unreasonable creature they had found him.

HAVING dissolved the pretended representative called by his own authority, he began by bribes to corrupt others to his interest; and to this end ordered the arrears of colonel Hewetson for his English service to be paid in ready-money, and his Irish arrears to be satisfied out of the forfeited lands in the county of Dublin, at the rate of the adventurers in such places as he should choose. He ordered two thousand pounds to be paid out of the treasury to Mr. Weaver, in lieu of what the parliament had settled upon him out of the forfeited lands in Scotland, and ten thousand pounds in ready-money to major-general Lambert, in consideration of one thousand pounds by year out of the said forfeited lands given to him by the parliament, not regarding how he lavished away the publick treasure, so as he might procure such instruments as he thought would be subservient to his unjust designs.

By this time many began openly to discover their discontents, and particularly the friends of the Scots king, who though he saw clearly his game playing by this usurper through the divisions he made amongst those, whose interest it was to be united in opposition to him; yet being impatient of delay, and not caring how many he sacrificed, so as he might with more expedition recover the exercise of his power, he sent over divers commissions for the raising of horse and foot, and prevailed with some young gentlemen, of little consideration and less experience, to accept them, and to engage against a victorious army commanded by one, who spared not the purse of the commonwealth to procure intelligence. By which means he caused a great number of arms that were provided for the execution of this design to be seized, and imprisoned divers persons concerned in it; wherein he made use of one Baily a jesuit, who discovered his kinsman one Mr. Bagnal, son to the lady Terringham, together with his own brother captain Nicholas Baily, accusing them both of accepting commissions for raising a regiment, which Mr. Bagnal upon his examination did not deny. But notwithstanding this discovery, so confident were these young men of success, that they still carried on their plot, and appointed a day for the execution of it. Cromwell suspecting they might have some grounds for their confidence, dispatched commissary-general Reynolds to Ireland, with orders to cause some forces to be embarked for England, and accordingly about two thousand foot and three hundred horse were ordered to be sent over to his assistance; the foot to be commanded by colonel Sadler, and the horse by major Bolton. This party being drawn to the water-side, some of the private soldiers, whether from any scruple of conscience, or from an unwillingness to leave their wives, children, and plantations in Ireland, I cannot say, refused to embark, though lieutenant-general Fleetwood with several field officers of the army were present; alledging that they had listed themselves to fight against the rebels of Ireland, and in prosecution of that obligation were ready to obey all commands; that they knew not against whom they should be drawn to engage in England, possibly against some of their best friends, and therefore desired to be excused from that service. The

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officers

officers resolving to compel them by force to go aboard, called a court martial upon the place, where they condemned one of the most active to death, and ordered one entire company to be cashiered; both which orders were immediately put in execution, by breaking the company, and hanging the man upon the mast of one of the ships: at this execution colonel Hewetson, who had been lately obliged in the matter of his arrears, as a mark of his gratitude, gave order that the poor man should be hanged higher than was at first designed.

THE cavalier plot was still on foot in England; and though divers of them were imprisoned, and many arms seized, yet it was still resolved to attempt something. To this end, a cart-load of arms was conveyed to the place of rendezvous agreed upon for the northern parts, where it was reported the contrivers of this design were to be headed by the lord Wilmot. But receiving some alarm upon their first meeting, and fearing lest the regular forces should fall upon them before they were sufficiently prepared for their defence, they dispersed themselves, and left their arms behind them. The only considerable party that appeared were those at Salisbury, which they had an opportunity of doing under colour of going to the assizes. They consisted of about one hundred and fifty horse, and drew together in the night, and were ordered to seize the judges there in circuit, the sheriff of the county, and such other persons as they should suspect to be enemies to the design. Colonel Wagstaff was said to be their commander; but colonel Penruddock, a gentleman of that country, appeared most forward in giving out the necessary orders and directions. Captain Hugh Grove, and Mr. Jones of Newton, with several other gentlemen of those parts, were amongst them. They proclaimed Charles the Second to be king of England, &c. seized the judges, and having taken away their commissions, set them at liberty. They carried the sheriff Mr. Dove away with them to Dogtown, to which place they thought fit to retire, apprehending more danger at Salisbury, their forces not at all answering their first expectations. From thence they marched as far as Blandford in Dorsetshire, but so few joined them in their way, that at their arrival there they exceeded not the number of two hundred horse. Most men looked upon them as flying, divers of their own party stealing from them as fast as others came to them; and those that staid with them, did so rather to secure themselves, and obtain better conditions, than from any hopes of succeeding. What they did served only to alarm the army, some troops of which pursued them into Devonshire, where they were fallen upon by major Unton Crook, and defeated. Divers of them were taken prisoners, and amongst them colonel Penruddock, Mr. Jones, and captain Grove. Major-general Wagstaff, Mr. Mompeston, and several others escaped, and went privately to their own habitations; but upon information given that they were concerned in this plot, they were seized and secured in order to trial. The prisoners taken in the fight pretended articles for life from major Crook, alledging that otherwise they would not have delivered themselves on so easy terms; but the major absolutely denied any such thing: so that a commission of oyer and terminer was issued for their trial, and Mr. attorney-general Prideaux was sent from London to prosecute them. The chief justice

Rolls was nominated in the commission to be one of their judges, but he refused to act therein, on account that the prisoners had done a particular injury to him in seizing his person at their first rising, and therefore he thought himself unfit to give his judgment in their case, wherein he might be thought a party concerned. Some of them were condemned at Salisbury, and some at Exeter, of which number were colonel Penruddock and captain Grove; and in aggravation of their crimes it was urged, that this was their second offence of this kind, and that it was committed against much favour and kindness, not only in that they had been permitted to compound for their estates at a reasonable rate, when they had forfeited all, but also that an act of oblivion had been granted to them and their whole party, whereby they were put into a condition of enjoying the advantages of all the victories of those to whom they had been enemies. To this they answered, That they did not rise against those who had extended that favour to them, but against a person who had dissipated those men, and established himself in their place. And I cannot tell by what laws of God or man they could have been justly condemned, had they been upon as sure a foundation in what they declared for, as they were in what they declared against. But certainly it can never be esteemed by a wise man to be worth the scratch of a finger, to remove a single person acting by an arbitrary power, in order to set up another with the same unlimited authority. Colonel Penruddock and captain Grove were executed by beheading, according to the sentence pronounced against them; but Mr. Jones of Newton Tony being allied to Cromwell, was pardoned, after he had been found guilty by the jury, and major Crook was ordered to have two hundred pounds by year out of Mr. Mompeyson's estate, for his good service in the suppression of this party.

THE usurper was not a little startled at this insurrection, suspecting that so small a number would not have appeared without more considerable encouragement; and therefore though he had lately so meanly stooped to court the cavalier party, and thereby highly provoked his ancient friends to a just jealousy and indignation, he resolved now to fall upon them, and to break through all their compositions, even the act of oblivion itself, in the obtaining and passing of which he had so great a hand. To this end he commanded a tenth part of their estates to be levied, in order, as he pretended, to maintain those extraordinary forces which their turbulent and seditious practices obliged him to keep up. In defence of which oppression, I could never yet hear one argument that carried any weight, either with respect to justice or policy: for having by his treachery and usurpation disobliged those with whom he first engaged, he seemed to have no other way left to support himself, but by balancing his new with his old enemies, whom by this fresh act of injustice he rendered desperate and irreconcilable, they being not able to call any thing their own, whilst by the same rule that he seized one tenth, he might also take away the other nine parts at his pleasure. And to put this detestable project in execution, he divided England into cantons, over each of which he placed a bashaw under the title of major-general, who was to have the inspection and government of inferior commissioners in every county, with orders to seize the persons, and

distrain the estates of such as should be refractory, and to put in execution such further directions as they should receive from him.

IN the army there were not wanting some that still retained an affection to the cause of their country, which appeared more particularly in a petition to Cromwell, signed by many of them, containing things so suitable to the desires of honest men, that it proved on that account very unwelcome to the usurper. Amongst others, colonel Okey endeavoured to persuade the officers of his regiment to stand by him in the prosecution of the ends of it, but was interrupted in that design by his major, for whom he had, not without difficulty, obtained that employment. It was also pretended, that major-general Overton, with some officers of the army in Scotland, designed to seize upon Monk, and to march with that army to London for the restitution of the parliament: upon suspicion of which he was seized and sent prisoner to London, where he was committed to the Tower.

ABOUT three hundred of the petition aforesaid, together with another writing, called "the memento," were sent into Ireland in a box directed to me, and accompanied with a short letter without any subscription. Which papers, when I had perused, and found them to contain such truths as were very proper to prepare the minds of men to embrace the first opportunity of rescuing themselves from the present oppression, I thought it my duty to procure them to be dispersed as much to the advantage of the publick as I could. Wherein I was particularly assisted by captain Walcot, one of the faithful officers of my regiment, and divers others of my friends. I acquainted lieutenant-colonel Brayfield with my design, and sent some of the papers to major Davis, who was then at Dublin, but resided usually in Connaught, thinking him to be a proper person to be employed to disperse them in that province. The said major Davis having received the papers, came to me, and desired to know if they came from me. I answered him, That though I wished my name might have been concealed, yet that question being put to me, I durst not deny it; and having further informed him of the reasons which moved me so to do, he declared himself to be fully satisfied with them. But it afterwards appeared, that upon the first receipt of those papers, he had acquainted Mr. Roberts, the auditor-general, therewith, presuming him to be well affected to the common cause; which proving otherwise, the said Roberts informed lieutenant-general Fleetwood of what he knew. The lieutenant-general having also had advice, that I had discoursed with lieutenant-colonel Brayfield in the Castle-yard, and suspecting it might be upon the same business, sent for major Davis and the said lieutenant-colonel to examine them, who confessed so much of the matter, as was a ground for him to dispatch a messenger to me, in order to enquire concerning the truth of it. The person employed was one major Wallis, who coming to my house at Moncktown, informed me, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood had received information, that I had dispersed some of the late petitions and mementos. To which I answered, That seeing the thing which I desired to carry on privately was not concealed, I should not decline to affirm, that my conscience obliged me not to smother so much truth as those papers seemed

seemed to me to contain. He then told me, that the lieutenant-general desired to speak with me about that matter, and I promised to attend him the next morning. Accordingly I went to him, and after some conference concerning the papers, he produced an order from Cromwell and his council to this effect: "That whereas I had declared myself dissatisfied with the present government, he the said lieutenant-general Fleetwood was required to take care, that my charge in the army might be managed some other way." He added, that he had received the said order some months since, but would not communicate it to me till now, when upon the distribution of these papers he durst not conceal it any longer, lest he should be accounted a confederate with me. I replied, That if my life as well as my employment had been at stake, I durst not have omitted what I thought to be my duty in this particular: that having no power to dispute their pleasure, I should at present look upon it as a law to which I must submit. Some time after, Mr. Benjamin Worfeley was sent to acquaint me, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood had been in expectation of hearing from me, touching the submission to the order he shewed me, either by letter, or the surrender of my commission. I answered, That I thought neither of them necessary; and hoped that my retirement into my own country, which I suddenly designed, might be sufficient. But it was determined that I should not so easily quit the publick stage. For the next morning I was desired to attend the lieutenant-general, which accordingly I did, and found eight or ten of his advisers with him. The design of their meeting was to persuade me either to deliver up my commission, or to engage under my hand, not to act by virtue of it, till I should first receive commission so to do from Cromwell, or lieutenant-general Fleetwood. To the first I answered, That I durst not deliver my commission to any other power save that of the parliament, who had intrusted me with it; and that it was all I had to justify me for doing many things wherein the lives of men had been concerned. To the second, I could by no means consent, because I durst not tie my own hands from acting by virtue of it, when I should be justly called upon so to do. Being returned to my house, doubtful what the event of this contest might be, and desirous to have good advice before I proceeded any farther, I sent to four or five officers, of whose integrity I had a good opinion, to ask their judgment in this case. The result of our conference was, That I should, in a letter to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, state the justice of my call to the employment whereof I was possessed, and the conditions on which I received my commission, being particularly solicited to it by Cromwell himself, when he appeared in the shape of a commonwealth's-man: the authority that gave me my commission; the present defection from that authority and common cause, which Cromwell as well as I had engaged to maintain; the duty incumbent upon me to disperse the said books, because the substance of my dissatisfactions was contained in them; withal to declare what I would be satisfied with, if it might be attained; and if that could not be, how far I thought myself obliged to submit. A letter to this effect being drawn up by me, with the advice of the officers above-mentioned, I sent it to the lieutenant-general, and some time after received a message from

from him to acquaint me, that according to a late order brought to him from England, I must either deliver my commission, or be sent prisoner thither. I told the messenger, That I could not comply with his demand, though I should be sent prisoner to Rome; but that the commission lay in a cabinet in my closet, where he might find it if he thought fit to break open the door and take it away. But he having no other orders than to demand the delivery of my commission, departed without it. A day or two after, Mr. Miles Corbet came to my house by order of the lieutenant-general, and shewed me the letter that Cromwell had sent to require him to demand the surrender of my commission, and in case of refusal, to secure my person in Ireland, or to send me prisoner to England. He used what arguments he could to induce me to a compliance, which when I had heard, I set down in writing my answer, to be delivered to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, which was in substance to let him know, That I looked upon my commission to be of no more danger to them, than if it was actually taken from me, and cancelled at the head of the army; but that I was not willing by a voluntary submission to own the justice of the present order, because I had received the said commission from the parliament to serve as an officer in their army, in order to the execution of justice upon those who had murdered and oppressed the English protestants; and that I durst not consent to be withdrawn from that duty by any, save that authority alone which had placed me in that station: that if I had received my commission immediately from the general, I should not willingly return it at his pleasure in this conjuncture, as well in regard to the duty I owed to the publick, as to the army: that it could be esteemed nothing less than a wilful betraying of that cause for which I had contended in conjunction with the army, if I, who had been honoured with an employment in a war raised for the defence of liberty against the arbitrary power of a single person, should voluntarily submit to what was proposed. For since the whole authority in the three nations was assumed by the army, if I should acknowledge the intire disposal of all things relating to that army to reside in the general, what would this be but to declare my consent to give up the power of the parliament, army, and nation, into his hands? However, to avoid extremities, as far as I was able, I proposed, that if a council of the officers who were about Dublin might be called, and that upon a full hearing and debate of the matter, they should declare it to be my duty, I would submit, as to the higher powers, having none at present to appeal to from them but God. This expedient not being approved, the lieutenant-general sent Mr. Miles Corbet again to me, with a proposition, that I would chuse either to go to London, or to be confined in Ireland. In answer to which, and upon consideration of the discomposure of my affairs in England, by reason of a great debt left upon my estate at my departure thence, not likely to be lessened by my absence; and being very desirous to come to a speedy trial for my refusal to deliver my commission, I made choice of the former. Mr. Corbet then told me, that a man of war should be prepared for my transportation, provided I would give my word to appear before Cromwell, and not to act any thing against him in the mean time; to which I consented. For though I durst not
engage

engage to disable myself from acting, whilst nothing was objected against me, lest I should thereby not only have given away my own liberty, but also make an ill precedent for other men; yet being now accused of a pretended crime, I was contented to pass my parole to appear as desired, and in the mean time not to act against him. When the lieutenant-general perceived that I was resolved on my journey, he desired me to put off my departure for two months, pretending that things being in some disorder in England, he feared Cromwell might apprehend a necessity of using me with more severity than he wished; and to soften this delay, gave a warrant for the payment of a sum of money to me, for defraying my expences whilst I staid, together with those of my journey to London. And indeed what he said concerning the disorders of England was not without ground, things running every day more and more into confusion, the cavaliers being enraged to see the throne usurped, and those who had hazarded all for their country finding themselves cheated, custom and excise raised without authority of parliament, and taxes imposed to no other end than to support the pride and insolence of a single person. Some there were that openly opposed these oppressions, and amongst others, Mr. George Cony a merchant, who having refused to pay custom, it was violently taken from him, and he thereupon sued the collector at the common law. But Cromwell resolving to put a stop to such dangerous precedents, caused the counsel for Mr. Cony, who were serjeant Maynard, serjeant Twysden, and Mr. Wadham Windham, to be sent to the Tower, where they had not been above three or four days, when they unworthily petitioned to be set at liberty, acknowledging their fault, and promising to do so no more, chusing rather to sacrifice the cause of their client, wherein that of their country was also eminently concerned, than to endure a little restraint, with the loss of the fees of a few days. By this means, when the cause came to the next hearing, Mr. Cony was necessitated to plead for himself, which he did in as short a manner as he could, referring it wholly to the judge, whether that tax, being not authorized by parliament, ought to be paid by the law of the land; and declaring that he would abide by his judgment therein. Serjeant Rolls, then chief justice of the upper bench, though a conscientious man, and a lover of civil liberty, yet not daring to determine it for him, said, That something must be allowed to cases of necessity. To which Mr. Cony replied, That it was never wont to be a good plea in law, for a man to make necessities, and then to plead them. But the judge wanting courage, would not give judgment against the usurper; and being too much an honest man to give it for him, he took time till the next ensuing term, to consider what rule he should give in the case. In the mean time, upon consideration that his continuance in that station was like to ensnare him more and more, he desired by a letter to Cromwell to have his "quietus;" and serjeant Glyn was appointed to succeed him in his employment, as a fitter instrument to carry on the designs on foot. The new chief justice, before he came to sit on the bench, took care to have this business accommodated with Cony, who lost his reputation by withdrawing himself from a cause wherein the publick was so much concerned. Sir Peter Wentworth,

worth, a member of the long parliament, caused also a collector in the country to be arrested and prosecuted at his suit, though he could hardly procure an attorney to appear, or counsel to plead for him. Cromwell having received notice of this prosecution, sent a messenger with an order to bring him before the council; where being examined concerning the ground of his proceeding, he told them, that he was moved to it by his constant principle, "That by the law of England no money ought to be levied upon the people without their consent in parliament." Cromwell then asked him, Whether he would withdraw his action or no? To which he replied, "If you will command me, I must submit;" and thereupon Cromwell having commanded it, he withdrew his action. Some time after taking the liberty in a discourse with him to reprove him for that retraction, he made me this answer, That no man could have done more than he did to the time of his appearing at the council, and that if he had then failed in any thing, it must be attributed to his age of threescore and three years, when, said he, "the blood does not run with the same vigour as in younger men." It having been discovered that the lord Grey of Grooby had given to a person a copy of the memento which I had before dispersed in Ireland, he was sent for to London, and committed prisoner to Windsor-castle for the same. The next term he sued for a habeas corpus, which the chief justice, according to law, granted him, but the governor of Windsor-castle refused to give obedience to the order of court, and so rendered it ineffectual to him, insomuch that he could not obtain his liberty till he had given a pecuniary security not to act against the government, which he chose to do rather than to engage his parole, thereby hazarding only the loss of so much money, and preserving his honour and integrity. Colonel Sexby was also suspected to have had a hand in the dispersion of the petitions and mementos before-mentioned; and thereupon was sent for in order to be secured, which he having notice of, fled, but was pursued so close, that his man was taken with his portmanteau. Cromwell being disappointed of taking him, pretended on the account of ancient friendship to pass by what he had done, and proposed to employ him as his agent to those of Bourdeaux, who had applied themselves for succour against the oppressing ministry of France. The colonel being under necessity, accepted of the employment, and Cromwell ordered him a sum of money to supply his present occasions, with letters of exchange for more at Bourdeaux. Being thus furnished, he went over to France, where his business being betrayed to the magistrates of Bourdeaux, they gave order to seize his person; but he having received advice of their intentions, made his escape by night over the wall of the town, and departed from that kingdom.

IN Ireland it was thought fit to disband some part of the army, yet rather to free themselves of some of the discontented party, than that nation of the charge. In order to this, a list was produced lately sent from England, appointing what regiments of horse and foot should be broken. Of these mine was to be one, though care was taken that those of my regiment, or any other, that would fall with any wind should be provided for; and it must be acknowledged, that they were so just to allow both officers and soldiers their full
arrears

arrears out of the forfeited lands in each county, according to the rates that had been set upon them by the general council of officers, wherein the goodness and conveniency of every county was estimated and equally balanced. The arrears of my regiment fell by lot to be satisfied in the county of Wexford, where I ordered captain Walcot, my captain-lieutenant, with my cornet and quarter-master, to act for me, which they did; and my proportion in the said land yielded me about one hundred pounds the first year, and afterwards near two hundred. It was reported to be farther improvable; but I never saw it, and know not whether I ever shall. My lieutenant-colonel having had his arrears with the rest of the regiment, was accused of saying that this distribution would prove invalid without an act of parliament, and the crime aggravated by one, who informed at the head quarters as if he designed to excite the soldiers to a mutiny; whereupon he was sent for, and committed to custody till he gave assurance of his quiet and peaceable behaviour.

THE design of seizing the riches of the Spaniards in the West-Indies having proved unsuccessful, and instead of bringing gold or silver home, much was transported from hence thither, where many of our men daily perished through want and the excessive heats of that climate; yet it was resolved to keep Jamaica, of which place colonel Fortescue was made governor, and commander in chief of the forces there, after the return of colonel Venables. Amongst others that died, there was one Mr. Winslow, who had been designed to be governor of some place, when they could get it. In this expedition one Mr. Gage a priest died also, who was reported to have been a principal adviser of this undertaking. Colonel Fortescue continued not long in his employment before he died also: after whose death colonel Edward Doily was made commander in chief, and he falling to plant made a shift to get a subsistence, which was but a poor return for the expence and loss sustained in this attempt. And as Cromwell was thus prodigal of the lives of Englishmen abroad, so was he no less of our liberties at home; for not contenting himself with the death of many of those who had raised arms against him, and seizure of the goods of that party, he transported whole droves of them at a time into foreign parts, without any legal trial. In the number of those that were sent away was Mr. William Ashburnham, Sir Thomas Armstrong and others, to whom may be added lieutenant-colonel John Lilburn, who contrary to all law, and after an acquittal by a jury, had been formerly banished. And now to prevent major-general Overton from the benefit of a habeas corpus, for which Cromwell was informed he intended to move, though he had no reason to alledge why it should be denied him; yet he sent him in custody to Jersey with the hazard of his life, and to the great prejudice of his estate. Major John Wildman was also seized upon, and it was pretended that he was taken dictating to his servant a declaration for levying war against Oliver Cromwell. The citizens of London were made acquainted with it, and the said major brought to London by a guard of horse, and committed prisoner to the Tower.

OLIVER having felt the pulse of the army in Ireland, as was observed before, resolved to send his son Harry thither, that being on the place, he

might be the more able to fix the soldiery to his interest. In his journey to Ireland with his wife and family he was every-where carested by the cavalier party, and particularly entertained by colonel Mossion in North-Wales, where the health of his father was drunk by the said colonel. After some time spent in those parts he put to sea, and upon his arrival in the bay of Dublin the men of war that accompanied him, and other ships in the harbour, rung such a peal with their cannon, as if some great good news had been coming to us; and though the usual place of landing for those who come in ships of war was near my house, yet he and his company went up in boats to the Rings-end, where they went ashore, and were met there by most of the officers civil and military about the town: the end of his coming over was not at first discovered, and conjectured to be only to command in the army as major-general under lieutenant-general Fleetwood. The two months agreed on at the desire of the lieutenant-general for my stay in Ireland being expired, he renewed his request that I would again defer my journey to England for two months longer, to which I consented, not doubting that it proceeded from his friendship to me. But the last two months drawing near to an end, I began to prepare for my journey; which being observed, an order, pursuant to instructions from England, was brought to me by colonel Thomas Herbert secretary of the council, requiring me to remain in Ireland. The secretary told me, That he had it in commission from lieutenant-general Fleetwood to acquaint me, that upon his own account, and notwithstanding this order, he would take upon him to give me permission to go into England for settling my affairs there, if I would engage to return within six months, and not act against the present government during that time.

THOUGH I thought myself very ill used, not only by being denied the opportunity of coming to a speedy trial for not delivering my commission at the command of the general, but also by being prevented to take care of my private affairs without these fetters; yet I let him know that I would attend the lieutenant-general the next morning concerning this matter: which having done according to my promise, he pressed me to comply with his request, with the general argument of the duty that lay upon me to submit to the higher powers. I answered, That as I conceived it was yet in dispute who were these higher powers, whether the government of a commonwealth or that of a single person; that I knew not whether within the time prefixed by him for me to engage not to act, I might have an opportunity so to do, and therefore durst not engage to the contrary. He demanded of me, What I judged an opportunity to justify me in such an undertaking? To which I replied, "Such an appearance of good men, as might probably balance the power of the single person:" I took the liberty also to tell him, That he himself had already justified that principle by his own practice in acting against the king; "But," said he, "we had the authority of the parliament for our justification;" "But what," said I, "have you to countenance you in your actions now for a single person against the parliament, which I may not have to justify me in acting with another power against this single person? and for any thing I know, the same parlia-
mentary

mentary authority that commissioned us all to act against the king, may within that time authorize me to act against the present single person." Two or three conferences and messages passed between us upon this business, the result of all which was, that I promised to render myself a prisoner to Cromwell, who might farther dispose of me as God should permit him: but this offer not proving satisfactory, the council seconded their former order, and required me not to go out of Ireland without their farther directions. Finding myself thus surrounded, and well knowing that this hardship was imposed upon me by order from Whitehall, and that what the lieutenant-general had proposed was out of affection to my person, I thought myself obliged to use my utmost endeavours to secure him from suffering for his civility and friendship to me: to that end I proposed, that though I could not engage positively not to act during six months, as was desired, because whatever opportunity might be offered, I should then have my hands tied during the said time; yet I would promise not to act within that time against the present government, unless I had first surrendered myself to the general, or lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and desired of them to be freed from this engagement. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood consented to this proposition, professing his readiness to comply with my desires in what he could; and accordingly this agreement being drawn up to our mutual satisfaction, together with his permission for my departure to England, was signed by him at the Phenix, in the presence of Mr. Corbet, then chief baron in that nation. The next day colonel Lawrence came to me, and after some discourse, told me, that by reason of some opposition which the lieutenant-general had met with in my affair, he had sent him to desire of me, that notwithstanding what had passed between us, I would respite my journey for a fortnight or three weeks longer, in which time he doubted not to clear my way for me. I presently suspected from what corner the wind blew, but knew not how to help myself for the present. The next morning Mr. Corbet sent me a message, to desire that I would meet him on the road betwixt my house and Dublin; which having done according to his appointment, he acquainted me more particularly with what had happened, telling me, that colonel Cromwell was so enraged at the form of our agreement, that he had written to his father concerning it, insomuch that if I should venture to go, he doubted I might be obstructed by the way, which would not only be troublesome to me, but dishonourable to the lieutenant-general. He assured me also, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood would take such care to represent the matter in England, that all obstacles to my passage might be removed in a short time, and desired of me, that I would not have the worse opinion of him for not performing at present what he had promised. In answer to Mr. Corbet, I let him know that I found myself so much disposed to the contrary, that whereas once I thought the lieutenant-general could have done more for me if he would, now I clearly perceived he had done more on my account than he could well answer.

It now began to be publick that lieutenant-general Fleetwood was suddenly to depart for England, though it was given out that his business there was

only to advise in some particular affairs, and that he should speedily return to Ireland. At his departure he was accompanied by colonel Cromwell and his lady, the council, the mayor and aldermen of Dublin, with most of the considerable persons then about the city. They brought him as far as my house, which stood near the place of embarking, where after a short stay he went on board, and departed for England, leaving with me a permission to transport myself into England, which was to take effect about a month after, requiring all persons to permit me to pass without interruption. He promised me likewise, that in the mean time he would take care to remove all difficulties that might hinder me, and that it should be the first business he would do after his arrival at London.

SOME time after I understood by a letter from my father Oldsworth, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood had assured him, that I would suddenly be in England, and that he had left me a passport as sufficient to that purpose as he could give, or I needed; which being spoken by him after he had been with his father Cromwell, made me presume he had cleared the way for me. Having received this advice, I prepared for my journey, and waiting on Mr. Corbet to take my leave of him, I shewed him the lieutenant-general's pass, and that clause in my father Oldsworth's letter which related to it. He told me, that colonel Cromwell who was then in his progress, had sent a message to him, that he should acquaint me with a second order lately brought from England to require positively my stay in Ireland, but withal added, that being unwilling to be employed in such unwelcome messages to his friends, he had made his excuse to the colonel by letter, which he presumed was accepted by him, because he had heard nothing of it since that time, and therefore declared that he mentioned it not to me as a person commissioned so to do, but only as a friend. I told him, that I should take no notice of it, but proceed on my voyage, as I had before designed, having already hired a vessel to that end. He then desired that I would stay till the return of colonel Cromwell, which would certainly be within two or three days, lest it should be suspected that he had advised with me about my departure. I being unwilling to bring any prejudice upon him, consented to defer my journey till the return of colonel Cromwell, and endeavoured to attend him on the day of his coming to town: but he arriving late in the night, I found myself obliged to go home without speaking to him, by reason of a humour fallen upon one of my legs, which had been hurt by a horse; so that I was constrained to put my wife to the trouble of making my excuse; who acquainting him with my condition and shewing him the lieutenant-general's pass, with the clause in that letter before-mentioned, assured him, that the composure and settlement of my estate in England necessarily required my presence there. He told her, That he knew nothing to hinder my passage, and that a man of war was ready in the harbour for our transportation; and desiring her to dine, promised that after dinner they should go together to Cork-house, to speak with Mr. Corbet her husband's old friend, as he favoured me to call him, and that the work should be done. My wife accordingly went with him, full of expectation that the business she came about would

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ing informed of my departure for England, which was expressly against an order received from his father, he had immediately summoned a council, where it had been agreed to send after me, and to secure me wheresoever I should be overtaken, and that he had pitched upon him as a fit person to be employed in this business, and to attend his father and the lieutenant-general with an account of it. He said, he had endeavoured to get himself excused, but neither his weariness by reason of his great journey, nor any other arguments would prevail with colonel Cromwell. I told him, That those who resolved to worship the rising sun, must not refuse to run upon more ungrateful errands than this, even towards the best of their friends, and therefore could not suppose that any respect which he expressed to have for me should prevail to excuse him from this employment: however, that I thought lieutenant-general Fleetwood, whom I knew to be the person he hoped to advance himself by, would not take it well that he should be instrumental in offering this affront to his authority, he being chief governor of Ireland, and I on my journey by his passport and permission, who I hoped understood his own power. The lord Fitz-Williams, a civil person, though a papist, and one who had been lieutenant-general to Preston when he commanded an army of Irish rebels, came over with us from Ireland, and being ready to take horse for London, was pleased to give me a visit before he went, wherein he not only expressed himself very sorry to see me under restraint, but assured me of his readiness to use his utmost endeavours with his highness the Lord Protector, as he thought fit to call him, in my behalf. I gave him my thanks for his civility, but thought it a strange revolution of affairs, that the interest of a gentleman, who had been lieutenant-general in the army of the Irish rebels, should be so much greater than mine in the general of the army of the commonwealth. Captain Shaw being ready to depart for London, and desiring to know if he could do any service for me there, I gave him a letter for lieutenant-general Fleetwood, which was to let him know what had happened since his departure, wherein I thought him to be much more concerned than myself; and that being his prisoner, and coming upon his permission, the affront was wholly done to him, though the suffering part fell to my share. In the evening I was conveyed to a widow's house in the town, where I had the conveniency of a chamber and dining-room, with a sentinel placed at the stairs-head. With great impatience I expected the return of the post from London, hoping that the matter would be so represented by lieutenant-general Fleetwood and captain Shaw, that I might have my liberty. But the usurper, whose jealousies increased with his guilt, being informed of my landing, dispatched an order to the governor of Beaumaris, to this effect, "That whereas lieutenant-general Ludlow was stolen out of Ireland, he should take care to keep him in strict and safe custody, and not to permit any to speak with him." Upon the receipt of this order, the governor, resolving to make his fortune by any means, proposed to imprison me in the Castle, the air of which place is so unhealthy, that the soldiers dare not lodge there; and it is observed, that few prisoners who have been confined there, have ever recovered from the distempers which they contracted. I told him,
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That being in his power, I could not resist; but the warrant requiring no such thing, a time might come wherein he might be called to account for what he now did. Whereupon he thought fit to let me remain at my lodgings, but permitted no man to come to me save my own servants, and of those not above two. One cause of this severity toward me, as I conjecture, was, that I might not have an opportunity of speaking with the officers of the Irish brigade, lest I should have put them in mind of their duty, who having served Cromwell's turn in assisting to suppress the late attempts against him, were now returning for Ireland, and lay at Beaumaris in expectation of a wind. Neither did their cruelty extend only to me; but colonel Cromwell having notice that colonel Kempstone, who married my sister, had assisted me in my going away, and had not given advice to him of it, committed him to prison, where he was used with equal severity as myself, though he alledged in his justification, that he knew not that I was guilty of any crime, nor that I was forbidden to depart from Ireland; and though he did not know of any necessity I had of a pass for my going, yet he well knew that I had one from lieutenant-general Fleetwood, the chief officer of Ireland, and that he only accompanied me to the water-side, as an hundred more had done.

To prevent any false representation of the state of my business, I gave an account of it to my friends in Ireland, as well as to those in England. Some of my letters were intercepted, and in one of them was found an expression to this effect: "Though I know not of any crime whereof I am guilty, yet I am worse used by those with whom I have engaged, than by those against whom I fought; for when I was made prisoner by the latter, no person was denied the liberty of coming to me, and I was permitted in publick to give my reasons in justification of the proceedings of the parliament; but the present powers being, as it seems, more conscious of their own guilt, will not permit me either to see or speak with any of my friends." After I had been six weeks a prisoner, captain Shaw returned to Beaumaris, with an order for my discharge, on condition that I would sign an engagement which he brought ready drawn, to oblige myself never to act against the present government. He told me, That lieutenant-general Fleetwood suspecting my unwillingness to sign any such paper, had desired colonel John Jones to accompany him to me, and either to persuade me to subscribe it, or to accommodate the business as well as he could. Accordingly colonel Jones came to me with colonel Sadler, who commanded the Irish brigade before-mentioned, and who had been long in the town, though he durst not come to me before this time. Upon the perusal of this engagement, which was proposed as the condition of my discharge, I soon came to a resolution, that I would not sign it, if my life as well as my liberty had lain at stake; acquainting them with the reasons of my refusal, and with the engagement given to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, by which I stood obliged to render myself a prisoner either to Cromwell or himself, which I was ready to perform. Colonel Sadler said, That it was highly reasonable, and as much as could be expected from me; and added, that he was confident the difference between Cromwell and me was grounded upon mistakes, he having heard him
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express great affection to me, with protestations that he wished me as well as any man in the three nations. I thought it not convenient to take much pains to undeceive him, but was rather willing he should believe that he spoke in earnest, though indeed he loved no person living any farther than he served to promote his ambition; for how could it be expected that one who had sacrificed his conscience and honour, as well as the cause of his country, to the idol of his pride, should scruple to trample under foot any man that stood in his way? One of the company endeavoured to persuade me to sign the paper as it was drawn, reserving to myself those explanations which I had before proposed, or else to look upon myself as free from any obligation, being under a force. To which I answered, That I thought it below a man to be compelled to any act against his conscience, with an intention to violate the same; and that to reserve any explanations to myself, as it had been against my practice, so it was contrary to my principles, unless the governor would consent to accept my subscription to the engagement, with such an explanation as I was willing to make. Thus despairing to obtain the liberty of pursuing my journey at that time, I prepared to send my wife to settle my affairs as well as she could; and the company being gone to dinner, I wrote letters to my friends and relations; when on a sudden colonel Jones and colonel Sadler came up to tell me, that the governor was willing to discharge me, if I would sign the engagement with such an explanation as I had proposed. Hereupon I desired the governor not to do any thing out of respect to me, that might not consist with the duty of his place, or prove to be to his prejudice, my explanation being in my opinion an absolute repeal of the engagement as soon as I had rendered myself. He replied, he had considered of it, and was willing to accept of it, if I would sign it. Whereupon the company desired me to draw my own explanation, which I did to this effect, viz. "I look upon this engagement now tendered to me for my subscription by the governor of Beaumaris, by order from, &c. to be no longer of any force than till I have rendered myself a prisoner at Whitehall, and in that sense only I subscribe it." Having drawn and signed two copies of this explanation, and procured them to be attested by colonel John Jones, colonel Sadler, and captain Shaw, I delivered one of them to the governor, and kept the other myself, and then signed the engagement. Captain Shaw informed me, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood had been much concerned for my restraint, and had expressed himself highly displeased with him for undertaking that employment; that he had used all possible diligence for my liberty, in which he had met with great opposition; in particular, that major-general Lambert had endeavoured to persuade him, that I was of such principles, and such a spirit, as not to deserve my liberty, though I cannot remember that our familiarity had ever been so great, as to enable him to give a character of me.

HAVING thus cleared my way, I departed from Beaumaris, and passing over Penman-maur, I arrived at Conway the first night. From thence in two days I reached Wrexham, where after we had been treated two or three days by colonel Jones, my coach, which I had sent before from Ireland, being brought to

to us, we set forward on our journey for London; but the ways being extremely bad, by reason of a frost which yet was not able to bear the coach, it was near three o'clock before we came to Whitechurch, though it was not above twelve miles. But being desirous to reach London if possible that week, fearing if Cromwell should hear of my being on the road, he would send to stop me, we travelled till nine o'clock that night, and the next after till twelve. The next day we came to Coventry about four in the afternoon, where colonel Whalley commanded as Balfaw, or major-general. After some refreshment we continued our journey, and by the help of the moon-light and the snow that lay on the ground, we reached Dunchurch a little after twelve; there we rested till about three, and then set forward toward Tocester, where we arrived by six that night, and between one and two the next morning we began our journey for London: but at Stony-Stratford the coach breaking, my wife and I, with two or three servants, took horse, and about six of the clock in the evening of the 10th of December, one of the shortest days of the year, we came to Westminster, having travelled fifty miles that day. The same night I waited on lieutenant-general Fleetwood, to acknowledge his care of me, and to acquaint him with the condition on which I had my liberty to come up, and with the explanation upon which only I had signed the engagement proposed to me; and desired of him, that the whole matter of fact might be plainly stated to his father-in-law, and that I might be now accounted free from that engagement, according to the explanation. He told me, he was glad to see me there, and would take care to acquaint his highness, as he called him, with what I had said, and to represent it as much as might be to my advantage. The next Wednesday after my arrival, about eight in the evening, Cromwell sent a gentleman, one Mr. Fenwick, to let me know that he would speak with me. I found him in his bedchamber at Whitehall, and with him major-general Lambert, colonel Sydenham, Mr. Walter Strickland, colonel Montague, and soon after came in lieutenant-general Fleetwood. The first salute I received from him, was to tell me, that I had not dealt fairly with him, in making him to believe I had signed an engagement not to act against him, and yet reserving an explanation whereby I made void that engagement; which if it had not been made known to him, he might have relied upon my promise, and so have been engaged in blood before he was aware. I told him, I knew not why he should look upon me to be so considerable; neither could I apprehend how it had been possible for me to deal more fairly and openly with him than I had done: for I had told his governor at Beaumaris, that if my life as well as my liberty had been at stake, I could not sign the engagement simply, and therefore had resolved to continue there, had not the governor himself expressed a desire to accept of my subscription with that explanation. And because I accounted it to be in effect a repeal of the engagement, I had told him so, and desired him to do nothing out of respect to me, that consisted not with his duty; notwithstanding which, the governor told me, he was free to accept my subscription, so that I knew not but he might have received instructions so to do. No, said Cromwell, he had none from me. That was more, said I, than I knew; and

if you had not notice as well of the one as the other, it was not my fault, for I had acquainted you with neither; and those who informed you of the one, I presumed had made you acquainted with the other also. He then objected to me, that I was stolen from Ireland without leave: to which I made answer, That though I knew no cause why I should either be detained in Ireland, or obliged to ask leave to depart, yet to avoid all pretence of exception against me, I had taken care to procure even that too, as far as it was possible, having a passport for England from lieutenant-general Fleetwood, the chief officer of Ireland, with the advice of Mr. Corbet, one of his council, for my coming, and his son Harry's promise not to obstruct me in my journey. He next asked me, wherefore I would not engage not to act against the present government, telling me, that if Nero were in power, it would be my duty to submit. To which I replied, That I was ready to submit, and could truly say, that I knew not of any design against him. But, said I, if providence open a way, and give an opportunity of appearing in behalf of the people, I cannot consent to tie my own hands beforehand, and oblige myself not to lay hold on it. However, said he, it is not reasonable to suffer one that I distrust to come within my house, till he assure me he will do me no mischief: I told him, I was not accustomed to go to any house unless I expected to be welcome; neither had I come hither but upon a message from him, and that I desired nothing but a little liberty to breathe in the air, to which I conceived I had an equal right with other men. He then fell to inveigh bitterly against major Wildman, as the author of the petition from the army beforementioned, reviling him with unhandsome language, and saying he deserved to be hanged; and that he must secure me also, if I would not oblige myself never to act against him. I told him, I had gone as far as I could in that engagement which I had given to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and if that were not thought sufficient, I resolved with God's assistance to suffer any extremities that might be imposed upon me. Yes, said he, we know your resolution well enough, and we have cause to be as stout as you; but, I pray, who spoke of your suffering? Sir, said I, if I am not deceived, you mentioned the securing my person. Yea, said he, and great reason there is why we should do so; for I am ashamed to see that engagement which you have given to the lieutenant-general, which would be more fit for a general who should be taken prisoner, and that hath yet an army of thirty thousand men in the field, than for one in your condition. I answered, That it was as much as I could consent to give, and what lieutenant-general Fleetwood thought fit to accept. Then beginning to carry himself more calmly, he said, that he had been always ready to do me what good offices he could, and that he wished me as well as did any of his council, desiring me to make choice of some place to be in, where I might have good air. I assured him, that my dissatisfactions were not grounded upon any animosity against his person; and that if my own father were alive, and in his place, they would, I doubted not, be altogether as great. He acknowledged that I had always carried myself fairly and openly to him, and protested that he had never given me just cause to act otherwise.

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WHEN Cromwell had finished his discourse, some of those who were present began to make their observations, and in particular colonel Montague thought it worthy his notice, that I had intimated, "If providence should offer an occasion, I was ready to act against the present government;" but the rest of the company seemed ashamed of what he said. Major-general Lambert then desired to know from me, why I could not own this as a lawful government: Because, said I, it seems to me to be in substance a re-establishment of that which we all engaged against, and had with great expence of blood and treasure abolished. What then, said he, would you account to be a sufficient warrant for you to act against the present authority? I answered, When I might rationally hope to be supported by an authority equal or superior to this, and could be persuaded that the said authority would employ its power for the good of mankind. But who shall be judge of that? said he; for all are ready to say they do so, and we ourselves think we use the best of our endeavours to that end. I replied, That if they did so, their crime was the less, because every man stands obliged to govern himself by the light of his own reason, which rule, with the assistance of God, I was determined to observe. Colonel Sydenham said, We might be mistaken in judging that to be a power giving us a just and rational call to act, which may not be so. I told him, That we ought to be very careful and circumspect in that particular, and at least be assured of very probable grounds to believe the power under which we engage to be sufficiently able to protect us in our undertaking; otherwise I should account myself not only guilty of my own blood, but also, in some measure, of the ruin and destruction of all those that I should induce to engage with me, though the cause were never so just.

THIS discourse being ended, I was desired to withdraw into the next room, where lieutenant-general Fleetwood came to me, and laboured to persuade me to engage, as was desired, though but for a week. I made answer, That I was not willing to do it for an hour. Then, said he, you shall engage to me. I told him, I looked upon myself already obliged by the conditions of my late engagement, farther than which I could not go; and thereupon returned to my lodging, in order to employ my leisure about my private affairs during that time.

THE design against the Spaniards in the West-Indies having been, as was before related, unsuccessful, it was resolved to send three thousand men from Scotland and Ireland to reinforce the party in Jamaica, which from twelve thousand men was now reduced to little more than three thousand. The officers of this reinforcement were to be of such as were accounted dissatisfied with the present posture of affairs, and therefore thought unfit to remain here. Amongst the officers of the Scotch regiment was a lieutenant-colonel, I think it was lieutenant-colonel Brain, who some time before had been cashiered for his affection to the commonwealth, which was now esteemed the common enemy. But not having gained by his faithful services any competent subsistence, as mercenary officers generally know how to do, he was driven to the necessity of accepting the command of that regiment.

ACCORDING to their instructions they set sail for the place of rendezvous, where they were to meet those forces that were ordered to join them from Ireland. But a violent storm arising in their passage, this colonel, with about three hundred men, was cast away, the rest being driven on the coast of Ireland.

GREAT endeavours were used in Ireland to persuade lieutenant-colonel Walker, an honest man and a good officer, to undertake the command of those forces that were ordered to be sent from thence; but he perceiving the design, and being thoroughly sensible that this offer was not made to him from any affection to his person, or sense of his services, refused to bite at the bait, though it was gilded as much as might be, by advancing a considerable sum, and satisfying the arrears of those that went, out of the forfeited lands in such places as they should chuse. Upon his refusal, major Moor accepted the employment with the title of colonel; but on condition, that after he had conducted the men to Jamaica, he should have liberty to return, which he did after many difficulties and hazards of his person. Captain Chester, a stout man, and one who at a general council of officers had openly expressed his discontent against the usurpation, was also persuaded to engage in this service, and lost his life in the expedition.

CROMWELL perceiving he could not compass his designs against Spain by his own power, entered into an alliance with the French, who, by the treaty with him, obliged themselves not to permit the sons of the late king to remain in any part of France; which article was punctually performed. For such is the mystery, or rather knavery of those governments that are framed to support an arbitrary power, that they will not scruple to sacrifice the best friends and nearest relations, when they stand in the way of their designs. This confederacy was dearly purchased on our part; for by it the balance of the two crowns of Spain and France was destroyed, and a foundation laid for the future greatness of the French, to the unspeakable prejudice of all Europe in general, and of this nation in particular, whose interest it had been to that time accounted to maintain that equality as near as might be.

IN the mean time, the major-generals carried things with unheard-of insolence in their several precincts, decimating to extremity whom they pleased, and interrupting the proceedings at law, upon petitions of those who pretended themselves aggrieved; threatening such as would not yield a ready submission to their orders, with transportation to Jamaica, or some other plantations in the West-Indies; and suffering none to escape their persecution, but those that would betray their own party, by discovering the persons that had acted with them or for them. And here I cannot omit to mention a farmer in Berkshire, who being demanded to pay his tenth, desired to know of the commissioners, in case he did so, what security he should have for the other nine parts: and, answer being made, that he should have Cromwell's order and theirs for the enjoyment of the rest; he replied, That he had already an act of parliament for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good security as they could give. But, said he, if goodman such-a-one,
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and another whom he named of his neighbours, will give me their bond for it, I know what to say to such a proposal; for if they break their agreement I know where to right myself; but these swordmen are too strong for me.

A SQUADRON of our ships cruizing off the coast of Spain, met with and fought five ships returning thither from the West-Indies, which had on board a Spanish marquis, who, with his family and great wealth acquired in his government there, was coming back to Spain. The Spaniards defended themselves as well as they could; but the marquis thinking it impossible to escape, set fire to the ship wherein he was, and with most of his family was burnt in her. Of the other four, one was sunk in the fight, another made her escape, and two were taken, on board of one of which was the son of the said marquis. It was reported, that in the two ships taken there was found about three millions in bullion, which was brought in triumph by carts from Portsmouth to London, in order to be coined at the Tower.

THE siege of Dunkirk being undertaken by the French, their confederate Cromwell sent a body of men, in number about six thousand, for the most part foot, to their assistance. The cavalier party, under the duke of York, joined themselves to the Spaniards, who endeavoured with an army to relieve the place; and having sent a party to possess themselves of a sand-hill, so galled the English from thence, that they resolved, if possible, to remove them from that post. The ground was so deep and loose, that they could not without extreme difficulty march up the hill; yet at last they effected it, and having put the Spaniards to flight, pursued them to their main body: but having engaged themselves too far, and being overpowered, by great numbers of horse and foot, (the French leaving the whole stress of the fight upon them) they were in danger of being entirely cut off; which being perceived by major-general Drummond, a Scots officer, who served with the English as a volunteer, he rode up to the French horse, and by reproaching them with treachery and negligence, procured a party of horse to be sent to their succour. Upon the arrival of this seasonable relief, the English took fresh courage, renewed their attack, and killed a great number of the enemy; many of those that were killed on the enemy's side were English and Irish, that fought under the duke of York. And as it was confessed by all present, that the English who took part with the French, behaved themselves with more bravery than any in the field that day; so it was observed, that those of the cavalier party, who had joined with the Spaniards, behaved themselves worst. Soon after this battle the town of Dunkirk was surrendered to the French, and delivered into the hands of the English, as it had been agreed between Cromwell and cardinal Mazarine.

IT being thought fit to fortify divers places of importance in Scotland, Cromwell appointed a considerable sum of money to be expended on the works of Air, Dundee, Leith, St. John's-town, Stirling, &c. and had so balanced the several interests in his councils there, that though Monk generally favoured the more loose and vicious party amongst the Scots, yet there were not wanting some who supported an honest sort of men, that were not willing to permit

permit their king to return without conditions. The lord Broghil had been of great use to moderate these two parties; but being much afflicted with the gout, and the air of Scotland not agreeing with his distempered body, he desired Cromwell to grant him leave to return to Ireland according to his promise, the year of his residence in Scotland being now expired. Cromwell not willing to comply with his desires in this particular, dispatched instructions to his son Henry in Ireland by all means to procure a petition from the discontented party, against the lord Broghil's return thither. To this end, Sir Hardress Waller suspecting that the presence of this lord might eclipse his greatness, became an earnest solicitor to adjutant-general Allen, and quarter-master-general Vernon, to join in a petition to that effect. But they perceiving the design, not only refused so to do, but plainly told him, That they were ready to join in a petition for his coming, it being impossible to be worse with them than now it was. This discourse being reported to colonel Henry Cromwell with an insinuation, that it was to be suspected, that there was some design carrying on by the lord Broghil and the dissatisfied party in Ireland, he sent an account of it to his father, and desired that he would not by any means permit him to return thither.

DIVERS conspiracies that had been formed against the government of the usurper being already defeated, and the authors of them for the most part punished, he was prevailed with to permit major-general Harrison and Mr. Carew, whom he had sent to remote confinements, to be prisoners at their own habitations; and accordingly he ordered major Strange to go to Carisbrook-castle, and to bring the major-general from thence to his house at Highgate: where, when I was acquainted with his arrival, I went to make him a visit, and having told him, That I was very desirous to be informed by him of the reasons that moved him to join with Cromwell in the interruption of the civil authority; he answered, That he had done it, because he was fully persuaded they had not a heart to do any more good for the Lord and his people. Then, said I, are you not now convinced of your error, in entertaining such thoughts, especially since it has been seen what use has been made of the usurped power? To which he replied, Upon their heads be the guilt, who have made a wrong use of it; for my own part, my heart was upright and sincere in the thing. I answered, That I conceived it not to be sufficient in matters of so great importance to mankind, to have only good intentions and designs, unless there be also probable means of attaining those ends by the methods we enter upon; and though it should be granted that the parliament was not inclined to make so full a reformation of things amiss as might be desired, yet I could not doubt that they would have done as much good for us, as the nation was fitted to receive; and therefore that extraordinary means ought not to have been used, till it had been clearly evident that the ordinary had failed, especially since it could not but be manifest to every man, who observed the state of our affairs, that upon the suppression of the civil authority, the power would immediately devolve upon that person who had the greatest interest in the army. His second reason for joining with Cromwell was, because he pretended to own and

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favour a sort of men, who acted upon higher principles than those of civil liberty. I replied, That I thought him mistaken in that also, since it had not appeared that he ever approved of any persons or things, farther than he might make them subservient to his own ambitious designs; reminding him, that the generality of the people that had engaged with us, having acted upon no higher principles than those of civil liberty, and that they might be governed by their own consent, it could not be just to treat them in another manner upon any pretences whatsoever. The major-general then cited a passage of the prophet Daniel, where 'tis said, "That the saints shall take the kingdom and possess it." To which he added another to the same effect, "That the kingdom shall not be left to another people." I answered, That the same prophet says in another place, "That the kingdom shall be given to the people of the saints of the most high." And that I conceived, if they should presume to take it before it was given, they would at the best be guilty of doing evil, that good might come from it: for to deprive those of their right in the government, who had contended for it equally with ourselves, were to do as we would not that others should do to us: that such proceedings are not only unjust, but also impracticable, at least for the present; because we cannot perceive that the saints are clothed with such a spirit, as those are required to be to whom the kingdom is promised; and therefore we may easily be deceived in judging who are fit for government, for many have taken upon them the form of saintship, that they might be admitted to it, who yet have not acted suitably to their pretensions in the sight of God or men: for proof of which we need go no further than to those very persons who had drawn him to assist them in their design of exalting themselves, under the specious pretence of advancing the kingdom of Christ. He confessed himself not able to answer the arguments I had used; yet said, He was not convinced, that the texts of scripture quoted by him were not to be interpreted in the sense he had taken them, and therefore desired a farther conference with me at another time, when each of us might be accompanied with some friends to assist us in the clearing of this matter. I consented to his proposal, and so we parted; but from that time forward we had not an opportunity to discourse farther upon this subject.

ABOUT the same time Mr. Peters, who still kept fair with those at Whitehall, made me a visit; and in our conversation about the publick affairs I freely told him my opinion concerning the actions of Cromwell, endeavouring to make him sensible not only of his injustice, but great imprudence, thus to sacrifice the common cause to his ambition, and by every step he had lately taken to strengthen the hands of the common enemy, whereby he would undoubtedly open a way for the return of the family of the late king, who would not fail to do all that revenge could inspire them with: whereas, if he had made use of his power to establish the just liberties of the nation, or could yet be persuaded so to do, he might live more honoured and esteemed, have the pleasure and satisfaction arising from so generous an action, when he died, and leave his own family, together with the whole body of the people, in a most happy and flourishing condition. He confessed that what I had said was most true, but

but added, that there was not a man about him who had courage enough to tell him so: that for his part he had observed him immediately after the victory at Worcester to be so elevated, that he then began to fear what was since come to pass; and that he told a friend with whom he then quartered in his return to London, that he was inclined to believe Cromwell would endeavour to make himself king.

THE usurper having governed, as he thought, long enough by virtue of the instrument of government, which though drawn up by himself and his creatures, was now thought to lay too great a restraint upon his ambitious spirit; and resolving to rest satisfied with nothing less than the succession of his family to the crown, he attempted to make himself king. To this end, he thought it necessary to call a parliament; and that he might engage the army to assist him in all parts to procure such men to be chosen as would be fit for his purpose, he pretended that this assembly was called only in order to raise money for the payment of the army and fleet, to confirm the authority of the major-generals, and that of the instrument of government. By this means he obtained his desires in a great measure, especially in Scotland and Ireland, where all kinds of artifice, and in many places the most irregular courses, were taken to get such men returned as were proposed by the court. But knowing the people of England not to be of so mercenary a spirit; and that as they were better instructed in the principles of civil liberty, so they were not wanting in courage to assert it, he used his utmost endeavours to disable and incapacitate such men from being chosen, whom he thought most likely to obstruct his designs. In order to this he summoned the lord president Bradshaw, Sir Henry Vane, colonel Rich, and myself, to appear before him in council: which we all did, except Sir Henry Vane, who told the messenger, he should be at his house at Charing-Cross on a certain day. Cromwell, as soon as he saw the lord president, required him to take out a new commission for his office of chief justice of Chester, which he refused, alledging, that he held that place by a grant from the parliament of England to continue "*quamdiu se bene gesserit*." And whether he had carried himself with that integrity which his commission exacted from him, he was ready to submit to a trial by twelve Englishmen, to be chosen even by Cromwell himself. Colonel Rich being pressed to give security not to act against the government, and refusing so to do, was sent prisoner to Windsor-castle. Then I drew near to the council-table, where Cromwell charged me with dispersing treasonable books in Ireland, and with endeavouring to render the officers of the army disaffected, by discoursing to them concerning new models of government. I acknowledged that I had caused some papers to be dispersed in Ireland, but denied that they could justly be called treasonable. And though I knew not that it was a crime to debate of the several forms of government, yet that I had not done any thing of that nature lately, to the best of my remembrance. He then said, That he was not ignorant of the many plots that were on foot to disturb the present power; and that he thought it his duty to secure such as he suspected. To this I replied, That there were two duties required by God of the magistrate, i. e. that he

he be a terror to those that do evil, and a praise to such as do well; and whether my actions were good or bad, I was ready to submit to a legal trial: that I was ignorant of any other way to secure the magistrate from being afraid of the people, or the people from the dread of the magistrate, unless both will do that which is just and good. "You do well," said he, "to reflect on our fears, yet I would have you know, that what I do, proceeds not from a motive of fear, but from a timely prudence to foresee and prevent danger: that had I done as I should, I ought to have secured you immediately upon your coming into England, or at least when you desired to be freed from the engagement you had given after your arrival; and therefore I now require you to give assurance not to act against the government." I desired to be excused in that particular, reminding him of the reasons I had formerly given him for my refusal, adding, that I was in his power, and that he might use me as he thought fit. "Pray then," said he, "what is it that you would have? may not every man be as good as he will? what can you desire more than you have?" "It were easy," said I, "to tell what we would have." "What is that, I pray," said he? "That which we fought for," said I, "that the nation might be governed by its own consent." "I am," said he, "as much for a government by consent as any man; but where shall we find that consent? amongst the prelatial, presbyterian, independent, anabaptist, or leveling parties?" I answered, "Amongst those of all sorts who had acted with fidelity and affection to the publick." Then he fell into the commendation of his own government, boasting of the protection and quiet which the people enjoyed under it, saying, That he was resolved to keep the nation from being imbrued in blood. I said, That I was of opinion too much blood had been already shed, unless there were a better account of it. "You do well," said he, "to charge us with the guilt of blood; but we think there is a good return for what hath been shed; and we understand what clandestine correspondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniard and those of your party, who make use of your name, and affirm that you will own them and assist them." "I know not," said I, "what you mean by my party, and can truly say, that if any men have entered into an engagement with Spain, they have had no advice from me so to do, and that if they will use my name I cannot help it." Then in a softer way he told me, That he desired not to put any more hardships on me than on himself; that he had always been ready to do me all the good offices that lay in his power, and that he aimed at nothing by this proceeding but the publick quiet and security. "Truly, Sir," said I, "I know not why you should be an enemy to me who have been faithful to you in all your difficulties." "I understand not," said he, "what you mean by my difficulties. I am sure they were not so properly mine as those of the publick; for in respect to my outward condition I have not much improved it, as these gentlemen, pointing to his council, well know." To which they seemed to assent, by rising from their chairs; and therefore I thought not fit to insist farther on that point, contenting myself to say, That it was from that duty which I owed to the publick, whereof he expressed such

a peculiar regard, that I durst not give the security he desired, because I conceived it to be against the liberty of the people, and contrary to the known law of England. For proof of this I produced an act of parliament for restraining the council-table from imprisoning any of the free-born people of England; and in case they should do so, requiring the justices of the upper bench, upon the application of the aggrieved party, to grant his habeas corpus, and to give him considerable damages. To this act I supposed he gave his free vote, assuring him, that for my own part I durst not do any thing that should tend to the violation of it. "But," said he, "did not the army and council of state commit persons to prison?" I answered, That the council of state did so, but it was by virtue of an authority granted to them by the parliament; and if the army had sometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of war, and then only in order to bring the persons secured to a legal trial; whereas it is now pretended that we live in a time of peace, and are to be governed by the known laws of the land. "A justice of peace," said he, "may commit, and shall not I?" "He is," said I, "a legal officer, and authorized by the law to do so, which you could not be, though you were king; because if you do wrong therein, no remedy can be had against you. Therefore, if I have offended against the law, I desire to be referred to a justice of the peace, that I may be proceeded with according to law; but if I have done nothing to deserve a restraint, that then I may have my liberty." Whereupon being commanded to withdraw into a room next to the council-chamber, I heard major-general Lambert to advise that I might be peremptorily required to give the security demanded. But Cromwell said, That the air of Ireland was good, that I had a house there, and therefore he thought it best to send me thither. Immediately after, Mr. Scobel, one of the clerks of the council, came to me, and acquainted me, that I might return to my lodging; where I had not been a quarter of an hour before Mr. Strickland, one of the council, came to me, and pressed me earnestly to comply: but I told him, that having contended for the liberty of others, I was not willing to give away my own, and to be made a precedent to the prejudice of my countrymen, because it was the pleasure of those that had the sword to have it so. "Why," said he, "was it not the sword by which you kept Warder-castle, and by which you acted during the whole course of the late war?" "I had," said I, "the authority of the parliament to justify me in so doing." He answered, "but they governed by the sword." To which I replied, That indeed they made use of the sword to remove the obstructions that were in the way of the civil government, and exercised that power to vindicate and establish the law of the land; and that I was heartily sorry to see one who had been so forward in the cause of the publick, not to discern any difference between a sword in the hands of a parliament to restore the people to their antient rights, and a sword in the hands of a tyrant to rob and despoil them thereof. Here our discourse was interrupted by a messenger who came from the council with an order from them, to require me to give the security of five thousand pounds within three days after the date of the order, not to do any thing prejudicial to the present government; and in case of failure,

failure, to be taken into custody. Upon the receipt of it I told the messenger, That having no power to resist, I must submit to their pleasure. A day or two after the expiration of the time limited by the order for giving the demanded security, which I had not done, serjeant Dendy came to me with another from the council, signed by Henry Lawrence president, requiring and authorizing him to take me into custody. Having shewn me the order, he desired me to make choice of a chamber; but after some discourse with my near relations, who were then present, he was contented to let me remain at my lodgings. So having promised to return in a day or two, and in the mean time to advise with lieutenant-general Fleetwood, he went away. The next day Cromwell diverting himself with hunting at Hampton-court, asked my brother Thomas Ludlow, who was in the company, If he were not angry with him for committing me? and my brother answering, That it was not fit for him to judge concerning his actions, he thereupon assured him, that he wished me as well as any of his own children: that his desiring me to give security for my carriage to the government, was designed by him as well for my good as for his own security, and that he would have him to engage for me: to which he most readily consented. The morning following, my brother came to me, and having acquainted me with what had passed between Cromwell and himself, I gave him thanks for his kind offer, but withal told him, that I would by no means desire that of him which I was not willing to do myself. Besides, I told him, That should it be granted that the thing were fit for him to do, yet it might prove a snare to him, and lay an obligation upon him to gratify the usurper in another way. However, after this discourse of Cromwell to my brother, and the conference of my relations with serjeant Dendy, I ventured to accompany my father and mother Oldsworth, with my wife, into Essex, where we spent the remaining part of that summer. My stay there did in some measure answer the design of Cromwell, which was to keep me out of my own country, where he doubted I might obstruct the election of such persons as the court had resolved, by all methods, to procure to be returned. But there was no need to fear my intermeddling in that particular, at such a time; and if I had, it should have been only to give a publick testimony against any election at all, the long parliament being still in being, though under a present force. Besides, it was manifest that the designed assembly was to be called for no other end than to strengthen the sword, and to advance the corrupt interest of him that called them together; and if it should happen that they had either the courage or honesty to attempt any thing for the service of the publick, I was assured their endeavours would be rendered fruitless by a sudden dissipation.

SIR Henry Vane, according to his promise, being come to his house near Charing-Cross, the council sent a messenger thither to require him to attend them, which he did, and was there charged by Cromwell with disaffection to the government, which he had demonstrated by a late writing published by him, with a seditious intention. The paper was called, "A healing question proposed and resolved," and contained the state of our controversy with the king, the present deviation from that cause for which we engaged, and the

means to unite all parties in attaining the accomplishment of it. It was written upon an invitation given in a declaration published by Cromwell for a general fast, wherein it was desired, That the people would apply themselves to the Lord, to discover that Achan which had so long obstructed the settlement of these distracted nations. When it was finished, he shewed it to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who seeming to approve it, desired to take it with him, and promised to communicate it to Cromwell, upon the first opportunity that should be offered. Sir Henry did not disown either his dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs, or the publication of the discourse beforementioned. So that Cromwell thought fit to require him, by a day limited, to give security not to act against him. Which time being expired, he appeared again before the council, and delivered into Cromwell's own hand another paper, containing reasons of his disapproving the present usurpation, and a friendly advice to him to return to his duty, with some justification of his own conduct with relation to the publick. But notwithstanding all this, and divers reasons alleged by him to excuse himself from giving the demanded security, he was sent prisoner to Carisbrook-castle in the Isle of Wight. The president Bradshaw, notwithstanding what had passed, resolved to go his circuit as chief justice of Chester, unless he should be prevented by force. But it was thought more advisable to permit him to execute his office, than by putting a stop to his circuit, to make a breach with those of the long robe, whose assistance was so necessary to the carrying on of Cromwell's design. Yet, that neither he, nor, if possible, any other persons who had continued faithful to the commonwealth, might be chosen members of the approaching assembly, letters were dispatched to all parts of England, to give notice that it would be resented, if such persons were elected; one of which was publickly read at the election for Chester, to deter men from appearing for the president. In Wiltshire a more numerous party appearing for me than was expected, they were assured by some creatures of Cromwell, that I was a prisoner in the Tower, and by one who had formerly served under me, that I had declared to him that I would not be chosen. Yet, for all this, the people persisting in their resolution to elect me, the deputy major-general of the county demanded of them, whether they intended to have a new war, that they designed to make choice of me? By such arts, the emissaries of the court caused the elections in most places to be decided in favour of such as pleased them. For my own part, though I had resolved not to stand, for reasons which I mentioned before, and on that account had not directly or indirectly spoken or written to any person to appear for me; yet I must acknowledge I was not dissatisfied, that so considerable a number of my countrymen were not afraid to own and accept that service (how small soever) that I had done in the common cause. The court finding, by the lists they had received, that, notwithstanding all their menaces, promises, and other artifices, divers persons were chosen whom they knew to be no favourers of the usurpation, resolved to clear their hands of them at once. And to that end, under colour of a clause in the instrument of government, that none should be admitted to places of power and trust, but such as were
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men of sincerity and integrity, they gave an exclusion to Sir Arthur Haslerig and Mr. Scott, with as many more as they thought fit. By this means, and the refusal of others to take out their permissions to sit, from Cromwell and his council, as was required, lest they should seem to countenance such a detestable imposition and open breach of privilege, it came to pass, that about a hundred of those who were elected by the country, were excluded from the discharge of their trust, whilst those for Ireland and Scotland, who were chosen by and for the sword, were admitted without any scruple. Those that were excluded presented a petition to the sitting members, acquainting them, that being chosen by the country to serve with them, they were ready to discharge their duty, but were prevented from doing the same by the power of the sword, and refused admittance to the house by a guard of soldiers. After the petition had been read, a committee was sent to enquire of Cromwell and his council concerning the reasons of that proceeding, who returned with this answer: That if the persons complaining would address themselves to them, they should be relieved if there was cause. With this answer, these men who would be accounted an English parliament, acquiesced, leaving their privileges unvindicated, and the merit of elections to parliament, to be adjudged by men without doors. Then they proceeded to prepare divers bills, which tended chiefly to gratify the soldiery, and such persons as had received grants of land from Cromwell and his council, which were confirmed to them. Yet for all this harmony there were sometimes bitter reflections cast upon the proceedings of the major-generals, by the lawyers and country gentlemen, who accused them to have done many things oppressive to the people, in interrupting the course of the law, and threatening such as would not submit to their arbitrary orders, with transportation beyond the seas. On the other hand, the major-generals insisted vehemently with the assembly to confirm the instrument of government, and to establish their authority in particular: and when it was proposed by some who were unwilling to settle such an arbitrary power by a law, that to compose these differences an act of indemnity should be granted for what was past, one of the major-generals had the insolence to say, They would not thank them for that; for whilst they had their swords by their sides, they could protect and indemnify themselves. So confident was the soldiery grown, that they durst openly avow themselves to be our lords and masters. But the lawyers and others of the assembly having privately received encouragement from those who were more powerful than the major-generals, desisted not from endeavouring the suppression of their authority, loading them with many heavy accusations, for which they had given but too just cause. Yet the major-generals, confident of the strength of their party, moved for a day when the instrument of government, and the confirmation of their power, should be debated; which having obtained, and the time come, they moved, that the whole instrument might be confirmed at once; but that being rejected, it was debated in parts. When the power of the major-generals came under consideration, all men were in great expectation concerning the issue of it. It was supposed that Cromwell, who had erected their authority, and engaged them

them in those actions for which they were now become odious, would support them against all attempts; because there appeared now no way so probable to maintain his own power, as by keeping the army firmly united to him. But ambition had corrupted his understanding to that degree, that he made no scruple to sacrifice these men, who, to say no worse, had enlarged their consciences to an extraordinary size in the execution of his orders, to those who, in requital of the favour, had promised to make him king. Hitherto he had given good words to the major-generals; but when their power came to be debated, Mr. Cleypole his son-in-law, first stood up, which was unusual for him to do at all, and told the house, that he could but start the game, and must leave those who had more experience to follow the chase: and therefore should only say, that he had formerly thought it necessary, in respect to the condition in which the nation had been, that the major-generals should be entrusted with the authority which they had exercised; but in the present state of affairs he conceived it inconsistent with the laws of England, and liberties of the people, to continue their power any longer. This motion was a clear direction to the sycophants of the court, who being fully persuaded that Cleypole had delivered the sense, if not the very words of Cromwell in this matter, joined as one man in opposing the major-generals, and so their authority was abrogated.

SOON after colonel William Jepson, one of the members that served for Ireland, moved in the house, that Cromwell might be made king; but matters not being thoroughly concerted, it had no other effect than to found the inclinations of the assembly. Cromwell having notice of this motion, as he had of every thing that passed, reproved the colonel gently at table for it, telling him, that he wondered what he could mean by such a proposition. To which the other answered, That whilst he was permitted the honour of sitting in that house, he must desire the liberty to discharge his conscience, though his opinion should happen to displease. Whereupon Cromwell clapping him on the shoulder said, "Get thee gone for a mad fellow as thou art." But it soon appeared with what madness he was possessed; for he immediately obtained a foot company for his son, then a scholar at Oxford, and a troop of horse for himself: and not long after was sent agent to the crown of Sweden, with a considerable allowance appointed to defray the expences of his journey thither.

MANY objections being made in the house against the instrument of government, Cromwell, who was vehemently desirous to be a king, began to think it altogether insignificant to that purpose, and that it would be more conducing to his design if a new form were drawn up, and presented to the assembly for their approbation. Accordingly it was prepared by his creatures, and brought into the house by Mr. Pack, an alderman of London, where it was without much difficulty read, and appeared to be a shoe fitted to the foot of a monarch, though at present a blank was left for the title of the single person, who with two houses was to have the supreme legislative power.

THOSE

THOSE who were of the major-generals and soldiers party, finding that Cromwell was abandoning them to espouse another interest, struck in with those who still retained some affection to the commonwealth; and all together perceiving that these new measures had been advised by the craft of our old enemy, to make use of Cromwell's ambition, as the only probable means to reduce us to our former servitude, fell so furiously upon Pack for his great presumption in bringing a business of that nature into the house, in such an unparliamentary way, that they bore him down from the speaker's chair to the bar of the house of commons. But this heat being soon over, the lord Broghil, serjeant Glynn, and others, who were acquainted with Cromwell's design, endeavoured to persuade the house to debate the new form, telling them, That being masters of their own resolutions, they might retain as much of it as was good, and reject what was not so. By this means they brought it to be debated; and though they received some opposition therein, yet when it came to be put to the question, they carried all before them, and grew so hardy to move, that the blank left for the insertion of the title of the chief magistrate, might be filled up with the name of KING. This motion, though earnestly opposed by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, was carried also, and the name voted, together with the filling up the two blanks left for the two houses, with these words, "house of commons, and other house." The latter of these was resolved to consist of seventy persons to be nominated by Cromwell, and to be approved by the assembly then sitting. But Cromwell being acquainted with that resolution, and disliking it, as unreasonable, that gentlemens names should be canvassed, and it may be, their persons reflected on in a publick assembly, he obtained it to be left to him, to appoint whom he should think fit to compose that "other house." He told them also, That the provision made for his expence, and for maintaining the army and fleet, was not sufficient, and thereby procured a great sum of money to be added to that which at first they designed. Yet for all this he scrupled to take upon him the title of King, as a thing scandalous and of great hazard; though at the same time he vilified the former instrument of government to the last degree; and after having so highly magnified it when it was established, he compared it now to a rotten plank, on which if a man set his foot it will break and leave him. The assembly well understanding that the cause of his delays was either to be importuned to the thing, or to get time to persuade the army to be of the same opinion with himself, appointed a committee of their own members to give him their reasons for accepting this title. Amongst others, the lord Broghil much pressed that passage brought by the apostle in the dispute concerning the abolition of the Jewish worship, by the new and living way revealed in Jesus Christ, illustrated by the wife that was put away, who might yet be retaken by her former husband, if she was not married to another; applying this similitude to the present occasion, as if there was no other way to keep out Charles Stewart, but by filling his place with another king. Mr. Lenthall's argument was very parliamentary and rational, had it been rightly applied; for he pressed him to accept of it, because it was proposed to him by the parliament,

as he was pleased to call it, whom he said he ought not to deny. But he was now arrived to that height of vanity, that though the design of this argument was only to persuade him to accept that which he desired above all things in the world; yet, conceiving it below his grandeur, to acknowledge such a prerogative in the parliament alone, he expressed his dislike of it. And though he owned, that the reasons they had offered had much weight in them, and that he was convinced there was no evil in the thing, yet he could not think it expedient to accept their offer, because he found that many of the good people of the nation were dissatisfied with it. With this answer he dismissed them for the present, and appointed them to attend him again. In the mean time he endeavoured, by all possible means, to prevail with the officers of the army to approve his design, and knowing that lieutenant-general Fleetwood and colonel Desborough were particularly averse to it, he invited himself to dine personally with the colonel, and carried the lieutenant-general with him, where he began to droll with them about monarchy, and speaking slightly of it, said, It was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore wondered that men would not please the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But he received from them, as colonel Desborough since told me, such an answer as was not at all suitable to his expectations or desires. For they assured him, that there was more in this matter than he perceived; that those who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends. Having thus founded their inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them they were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so departed. The next day he sent a message to the house, to require their attendance in the painted chamber the next morning, designing, as all men believed, there to declare his acceptation of the crown. But in the mean time meeting with colonel Desborough in the great walk of the park, and acquainting him with his resolution, the colonel made answer, That he then gave the cause and Cromwell's family also for lost; adding, that though he was resolved never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time. So after some other discourse upon the same subject, Desborough went home, and there found colonel Pride, whom Cromwell had knighted with a faggot-stick; and having imparted to him the design of Cromwell to accept the crown, Pride answered, He shall not: Why, said the colonel, how wilt thou hinder it? To which Pride replied, Get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it. Whereupon they both went to Dr. Owen, and having acquainted him with what had happened, they persuaded him to draw a petition according to their desires. Whilst this was doing, Cromwell having reflected on his discourse with colonel Desborough, and being informed that Lambert and divers other officers were dissatisfied with his design, sent a message to put off the meeting in the painted chamber, and to desire that the house would send a committee to confer with him about the great business that was then depending; intending thereby to gain time, in which he might be fitting the officers for his design. But the house being risen before his message arrived, and so out of a capacity to appoint any to come to him, the old committee

mittee that had been formerly appointed to that end, thought fit, by virtue of their general instructions, to wait on him to know his pleasure. Accordingly they came to Whitehall, where they attended about two hours, and then a Barbary horse being brought into the garden for him to see, gave him an occasion to pass through the room where the committee was attending. As he was passing by without taking the least notice of them, one of the messengers put him in mind that they had attended very long; which he slightly excusing, told them, That he thought the house being risen before his message came to them, had not empowered any persons to come to him. It was answered, That they came to him upon the general instructions which they had formerly received from the house: upon which he told them, He would send to them some other time. The next morning, the house being in great expectation of a message to appoint the time and place for the acceptance of what they had prepared, some officers of the army coming to the parliament doors, sent in a message to colonel Desborough, to acquaint him, that they had a petition which they desired him to present to the house. But he knowing the contents of it, and conceiving it unfit for him to take publick notice of it before it was presented, acquainted the house, that certain officers of the army had a petition to present to them. Which having done, and every one supposing that the desires of the officers were conformable to their own, Cromwell's party concluding that no part of the army durst appear for the crossing his design, it was generally agreed that they should be called in, and have leave to present it with their own hands. Lieutenant-colonel Mason was chosen by the rest of the officers to deliver the petition, which when he had done, and the officers withdrawn, it was read. The contents of it were to this purpose; "That they had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and were still ready so to do, in defence of the liberties of the nation: That having observed in some men great endeavours to bring the nation again under their old servitude, by pressing their general to take upon him the title and government of a king, in order to destroy him, and weaken the hands of those who were faithful to the publick; they therefore humbly desired that they would discountenance all such persons and endeavours, and continue stedfast to the old cause, for the preservation of which they, for their parts, were most ready to lay down their lives." This petition was subscribed by two colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, eight majors, and sixteen captains, who, with such officers in the house as were of the same opinion, made up the majority of those relating to that part of the army which was then quartered about the town. It is difficult to determine, whether the house or Cromwell was more surprized at this unexpected address; but certainly both were infinitely disturbed at it. As soon as the notice of it was brought to Cromwell, he sent for lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and told him, That he wondered he would suffer such a petition to proceed so far, which he might have hindered, since he knew it to be his resolution not to accept the crown without the consent of the army; and therefore desired him to hasten to the house, and to put them off from doing any thing farther therein.

The lieutenant-general immediately went thither, and told them, That the petition ought not to be debated, much less to be answered at this time, the contents of it being to desire them not to press the protector to be king, whereas the present business was to receive his answer to what had been formerly offered to him, and therefore desired that the debate of it might be put off, till they had received his answer. To this the house having consented, they received a message from Cromwell, that instead of meeting him in the painted chamber, which was the place where he used to give his consent, they would meet him in the banqueting-house: so the members came to Whitehall, and Cromwell with great ostentation of his self-denial, refused the title of king.

THE grand design of the usurper having miscarried, the people were full of expectation to see what form of government the men of the sword would erect next. For as Cromwell had used all imaginable art and industry to throw dirt on all that had preceded, and most of all on the instrument of government, which he was once so fond of, and yet now alledged that it neither provided for the safety of the governors or governed: so the present assembly had openly declared against the family of the Stuarts. But the restitution of the commonwealth being the thing that was principally dreaded by these self-interested men, it was so contrived and carried, that the house shall present their humble petition and advice to him again, with the sole alteration of the word "king" into that of "protector." This resolution was the more easily obtained, because the commonwealth's-men had been, under various frivolous pretences, denied their places in the assembly; so that those only who were for a protector with an army, or those who were for king Oliver with an army, were the persons that were permitted to dispute within those walls. And now Cromwell having manifested his weakness, as well as his ambition in the late intrigue, was glad to take what he could get, and without any dispute agreed to what was proposed to him by the assembly: which being done, the time was appointed for vesting him with the authority which was to be conferred upon him, and Westminster-hall was the place where the solemnity was performed. The aldermen of London and the judges, rather moved by fear than affection, were prevailed on to be present; and Sir Thomas Widdrington, who was speaker of the assembly, was ordered to administer an oath to him, and to present him with a sword, a scepter, and a bible. The pretended protector was clothed with a purple robe lined with ermins, the train of which was held by the son of the lord Roberts. Of all the nobility, the earl of Warwick was the only person that accompanied him; and because he would still retain a form of godliness, he appointed Mr. Lockyer to preach before him at his return to Whitehall. The next day after this solemnity, a feast was prepared for the assembly and officers of the army, at which it was observed major-general Lambert was not present, whereby it was suspected that he was declining in favour for obstructing Cromwell's design of being king; for, as I have been informed by a person deserving credit, the major-general did take the liberty, when

when that question was on foot, to tell Cromwell, that if he accepted the crown, he could not assure the army to him.

By the "Humble petition and advice," for so was this new instrument called, among other things it was provided, that an oath should be taken by those of the assembly and council, not to do any thing against the present government, and to be true and faithful to the protector, according to the law of the land. This oath major-general Lambert refused, whereupon Cromwell sent for him, and told him, That he was well assured his refusal proceeded not on account of this new authority; for he might remember that he himself did at the first press him to accept the title of king: and therefore, if he was now dissatisfied with the present posture of affairs, he desired him to surrender his commission. To this the major-general answered, That having no suspicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it, but if he pleased to send for it, he should deliver it, which two or three days after was done; and so his pay as colonel of a regiment of horse, as colonel of a regiment of foot, and as major-general of the army, was struck off, together with ten pounds by day, which was the general's pay, and which Cromwell allowed him, to keep him firm to his interest. But Cromwell did not think it safe to disgust him entirely, and therefore thought it expedient to allow him a pension of two thousand pounds by year, to keep him from any desperate undertaking.

SIR Henry Vane being still a prisoner in Carisbrook-castle, an order was sent thither from the council to bring him from thence, and to permit him to enjoy his liberty, which was done, and he arrived at London in a short time after, where he met with another kind of persecution: for Cromwell perceiving that the former method had proved unsuccessful, privately encouraged some of the army to take possession of certain forest walks belonging to Sir Henry Vane near the castle of Raby, and also gave order to the attorney-general, on pretence of a flaw in his title to a great part of his estate, to present a bill against him in the exchequer. This was designed to oblige him to expose his title, which, if they could get done, they doubted not, by the craft of the lawyers, to find some defect in it, whereby it was hoped, he would be forced into a compliance; yet at the same time he was privately informed, that he should be freed from this, or any other inquisition, and that he should have whatsoever else he would desire, in case he would comply with the present authority.

THE assembly having provided supplies for the army, and referred other things to the conduct of Cromwell, adjourned themselves for some months, during which time Cromwell endeavoured to make up a collection of men of all interests to fill that which was called the other house. The principal part of them were such as had procured their present possessions by their wits, and were resolved to enlarge them by selling their consciences for the purchase of his favour. With these were joined some of the antient nobility, together with some of the gentry, who had considerable estates derived to them from their ancestors; such were Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Alexander Popham, Sir Richard

Onslow, Sir Thomas Honywood, Mr. Edmund Thomas, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and others. He sent also a summons, in the form of the ancient writ directed by the kings of England to such as they called to the lords house, to Sir Arthur Haslerig, who had always appeared a zealous assertor of the publick liberty. Sir Arthur having received the summons from the messenger, who brought it to him into the country, dismissed him, without declaring his resolutions concerning it. Mr. William Lenthall, who had been speaker of the parliament, was very much disturbed that a writ was not sent to him to enable him to sit in the other house. He complained, that he who had been for some years the first man of the nation, was now denied to be a member of either house of parliament; for he was incapable of sitting in the house of commons by his place as master of the rolls, whereby he was obliged to sit as assistant in the other house. This grievous complaint coming to the ears of Cromwell, he sent him a writ, which so elevated the poor man, that riding in his coach through the Strand, and seeing Mr. Lambert Osbalston, formerly master of the school at Westminster, whom he knew to be a great lover of Sir Arthur Haslerig, he asked him, what Sir Arthur designed to do in answer to the writ which he had received? and Mr. Osbalston answering, that he knew not what the intentions of Sir Arthur Haslerig were concerning it; he replied, "I pray, write to him, and desire him by no means to omit taking his place in that house, and assure him from me that all that do so, shall themselves and their heirs be for ever peers of England."

THE time for the meeting of these venerable assemblies being come, none of the ancient nobility, except the lord Eure, adventured to come into the other house. The earl of Warwick himself, though he ventured to marry his grandson to one of Cromwell's daughters, would not be persuaded to sit with colonel Hewson and colonel Pride, whereof the one had been a shoemaker, and the other a drayman; and had they driven no worse trade, I know not why any good man should refuse to act with them. Divers of the gentry did not appear, yet others, and particularly such as were related to those in power, were prevailed with to be of this assembly.

THE door of the house of commons, for so they would have it called, was now opened, and the guard removed, and every member admitted, that took the oath prescribed by them before their adjournment: most of the members, who had been formerly excluded, took the oath also, and were admitted to sit in the house, where the addition of these last, together with the removal of those of the other house, who were for the most part taken out of this, made a considerable alteration in that body. Great expectations were raised to see what course Sir Arthur Haslerig would take, who being chosen by the people to sit in one assembly, and by Cromwell to sit in another, had not yet declared his intentions in that matter. He came to London as privately as he could, but the court having notice of his arrival, sent colonel Howard to his lodgings the next morning to feel his pulse; which he, suspecting something of that nature, avoided by going early abroad; and coming to the door of the house of commons, procured some of his friends to give him the oath; then he took his place

place in the house without any dispute, as did also Mr. Scot, with divers others who had been formerly excluded by Cromwell and his council. There they began to call in question all that had been done in the former sessions, grounding their arguments on the force that was upon that assembly, whereby a great number of those who had as good a right to sit there as any others, were peremptorily refused to sit. Eight or ten days were spent in these debates; and in the mean time some petitions were carrying on, and subscribed by many thousands, to be presented to those who sat in the place where the parliament of England ought to be. Cromwell was not a little startled at these proceedings, suspecting that part of the army, especially those that were quartered about St. James's, were engaged therein; therefore to prevent that which he feared, and which his conscience told him he had deserved, he took the inspection of the watch at Whitehall for several nights successively in his own person. And the alarm from abroad increasing daily, he resolved upon the dissolution of this assembly, intending, as soon as they were dismissed, and the power devolved upon him again, to curb that spirit of liberty that had lately appeared, and to remove such officers from their commands in the army, whom he suspected to have had any hand in their late councils. Whilst he was deliberating about the best means of effecting this design, fresh information was brought him concerning the diligence of his adversaries in all parts; which quickened him to that degree, that he would not stay for one of his own coaches, but taking the first that was at hand, with such guards as he could presently get together, he hurried to the other house. Whither being come, he imparted his intentions to dissolve that assembly to lieutenant-general Fleetwood; who earnestly endeavouring to dissuade him from it, he clapped his hand upon his breast, and swore by the living God he would do it. Then he sent for the judges, and they being come, dispatched another message to the assembly to attend him presently. Many of them declined to come, and those that appeared were very ill treated by him for obstructing that work, which he said was so well begun, in order to the settlement of the nation. On the other hand, he assured those whom he had called to his other house, that notwithstanding all the practices that had been used against them, they should continue to be lords, and so dismissed both the assemblies to follow their own private affairs.

CROMWELL having thus resumed the power into his own hands, made use of it to remove from the army such as he suspected to have obstructed his design, and beginning with his own regiment of horse, he sent for colonel Packer, who was the major, and captain Gladman who commanded his own troop, with the rest of the captains of that regiment, to attend him: whither being come, he demanded of them if they were willing to promise fidelity to the present government, and to fight against those that should oppose it. They answered they were ready to fight against Charles Stuart, and that interest; but they could not engage against they knew not whom, and for they knew not what. But he, provoked with this answer, dismissed them from their commands, and placed men that would obey without reserve in their room. By this and other means he lost the affections of great numbers of men, that would

would have been useful and faithful to him against the family of the late king. And it being well known that he could not subsist at all without at least a mock-parliament, Mr. Henry Nevil, a hearty assertor of the commonwealth interest, having been much injured by the sheriff of Berkshire, in the last return for that county, commenced a suit against the said sheriff, in order to deter others from the like foul practices for the future: but not being willing so far to acknowledge the present authority, as to prefer his action upon the instrument of government, he was advised by serjeant Maynard, Mr. Allen of Grays-Inn, and some others, to bring his action of the case against the sheriff. On the day of trial Mr. Nevil desired Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir James Harrington, Mr. Scot, myself, and some other members of the long parliament, to be present in the court; where after all the objections made by the sheriff's counsel against the declaration itself, and against the damages pretended by him for not being returned, were overruled by the court, they proceeded to hear the witnesses on both sides; which being done, the chief-justice St. Johns declared to the jury how heinous a crime it was for a sheriff, who being but a servant to the country, should presume to impose upon them such members as he pleased to serve in parliament, which was the bulwark of the people's liberties; adding farther, that if such practices should be allowed, the people would be out of hope to be relieved from their grievances. Then the jury retired, and having considered the depositions of the witnesses, and also what was said to them by the chief-justice, they returned into court, and found the sheriff guilty of the charge, and adjudged him to pay 1500 l. for damages to Mr. Nevil, and one hundred pounds to the commonwealth. This verdict was very grateful to those who wished well to the publick, not only on the account of Mr. Nevil, who had entered into this contest to vindicate his country from oppression; but because it was hoped it would prove a means to deter other sheriffs from doing the like for the future. But now the chief-justice having, as he thought, sufficiently pleased the popular interest by what he had said concerning the rights of the people, began to contrive means to gratify his master Cromwell, by whose order the sheriff had acted; and to this end, upon the motion of the sheriff's counsel, granted an arrest of judgment, and appointed a day in the next term to hear what could be said on each side. In the mean time the sheriff, and those who had promised to support him, applied themselves to Cromwell to interpose his authority in this matter, charging Mr. Nevil with many false and malicious aspersions, whilst the sheriff, improving the opportunity, conveyed away his real and personal estate: endeavours were likewise used to take off Mr. Nevil, by compounding the business; but he preferring the advantage of the commonwealth before his private interest, refused to hearken to any overtures, till the judgment was recorded for an example to posterity, and then declared himself resolved to deal with the sheriff as became him.

THE state of affairs in Ireland was little different from that of England, and the army there as much disaffected to Cromwell's design of being king, as those of that profession at home; so that colonel Henry Cromwell who had before courted the sectarian party, and shewed much respect to colonel Zanchy, now began

to carefs major Markham, Mr. Winter, and others of the presbyterian interest, desiring them to join in an address to his father to stand by and defend him against his enemies. To which they answered, That if they knew who they were, they could be positive in their answer; but being altogether ignorant of the things they were required to engage for, and of the persons they were to engage against, they could by no means consent to his proposal. In the mean time Cromwell was not unmindful of securing the fleet to his interest; and therefore suspecting that general Blake was dissatisfied with his proceedings, joined colonel Montague, who was entirely his creature, and colonel Desborough in commission with him; the latter only bearing the name, and managing with other commissioners the maritime affairs at home. It was easily perceived that Montague was sent to sea with Blake to gain experience in those affairs, and to endeavour to get an interest in the seamen, that the credit of Blake might be the better balanced, or his person totally laid aside: but it pleased God that this work was in a short time done to their hands, general Blake falling sick a little after of a distemper, whereby he died. The loss of this great man was lamented by Cromwell much in the same manner as that of lord deputy Ireton, and that also of general Deane had been.

CROMWELL having been disappointed, as I formerly mentioned, in his endeavours of procuring a civil authority to countenance his arbitrary power, made it his business so to balance all interests, that they should not dare to oppose him, for fear of bringing themselves into a worse condition than that wherein they were. To this end he gratified such of the presbyterian party as were the most complying, and courted divers of the nobility, particularly the earl of Warwick, whose grandson was admitted to be a suitor to his youngest daughter. But because that this alliance was not at all grateful to some persons about him, he contrived to appear averse to the match; and then by the management of Sir Edward Sydenham it was brought about, that the young couple were married without the knowledge of their parents: for which contrivance Sir Edward was for a time forbidden the court.

NOTWITHSTANDING these and many other artifices used by him to support his usurpation, continual designs were set on foot against him. Some fifth-monarchy-men, to the number of about three hundred, expecting extraordinary assistance from heaven, had formed a design to dethrone him; but these he slighted on account of the smallness of their number, and having some spies amongst them, who gave him intelligence of all their measures, he suffered them to go on till the night before that wherein they had appointed to rendezvous. At which time he sent a guard of soldiers, who seized the principal of them as they were consulting about the manner of putting their enterprize in execution. Their declarations were also taken with them, and their standard which had in it a lion couchant with these words, "Who shall rouse him up?" These men being for the most part tradesmen, were carried prisoners to the Gatehouse, where they lay long in a miserable condition. Soon after this, some persons that used to meet in Coleman-street, to deplore the apostacy of the times, and particularly that of Whitehall, were seized by the lord mayor's officers,

officers, pursuant to Cromwell's orders, as they were coming out from their meeting-place. Amongst these was a cornet whose name was Day, and who being charged with saying that Cromwell was a rogue and a traitor, confessed the words; and to justify himself, said, That Cromwell had affirmed in the presence of himself and divers other officers, that if he did oppress the conscientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away tithes by a certain time, now past, they should then have liberty to say he was a rogue and a traitor: he moved therefore that he might be permitted to produce his witnesses, who were then present, to the particulars before-mentioned. But the matter was so ordered, that he and some others were fined and imprisoned for their pretended misdemeanours. Another plot much more dangerous was about the same time carried on by the royalists, and discovered to him by his spies. The persons concerned in it he used with more severity, because he accounted them to be of a more formidable party, and therefore referred them to be tried by those persons whom his last assembly had nominated to be a high court of justice. The prisoners were Dr. Hewet, Sir Henry Slingsby, and Mr. Mordaunt, with some others of the meaner sort. The general charge against them was for endeavouring to levy war against the government on the behalf of Charles Stuart. The particular charge against Dr. Hewet was for dispersing commissions from the son of the late king, and persuading divers to raise forces by virtue of the same. That against Sir Henry Slingsby was for attempting to debauch some of the garrison of Hull to the service of Charles Stuart, and delivering a commission from him to them. The prisoners of less note were charged with a design of firing the city in several places, at the time appointed for their party to be in arms. Dr. Hewet being brought before the court, moved that he might be tried by a jury, and demurred to the jurisdiction of the court. But the court overruled his demurrer, and told him, That unless he would plead to his charge, they would cause his refusal to be entered, and proceed against him as if the fact were confessed. This being twice said to him, he was required a third time to plead: to which he answered, That if the judges would declare it to be according to law for him to plead, he would obey: but he was told, That the gentlemen then present were his judges, and that if he would not plead, they would register his contempt the third time, and upon his refusal did so. Mr. Mordaunt admonished by his example, pleaded Not guilty; and after a full hearing of the witnesses on both sides, the court acquitted him by one voice. Then Sir Henry Slingsby was called to the bar, and the witnesses on each side being heard, he was pronounced guilty, though in the opinion of many men he had very hard measure. For it appeared that he was a prisoner at the time when he was charged to have practised against the government; that he was a declared enemy, and therefore by the laws of war free to make any such attempt: besides, it was alledged that the persons whom he was accused to have endeavoured to corrupt, had trampled him by their promises to serve the king in delivering Hull, if he would give them a commission to act for him, which commission was an old one that had long lain by him. But all this being not thought sufficient to excuse him, he was
adjudged

adjudged to die. The rest of the prisoners were also condemned, and sentence of death being pronounced, Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet had the favour of being beheaded; and the others, being men of a lesser figure, were hanged. Cromwell's daughter and favourite Mrs. Cleypole, laboured earnestly with her father to save the life of Dr. Hewet, but without success: which denial so afflicted her, that it was reported to have been one cause of her death, which happened soon after with the concurrence of an ulcer in her womb.

THE usurper, as he was thus prodigal of English blood, so was he no less profuse of the publick treasure, in procuring intelligence from the royal party abroad. To which end he employed one Henry Manning, son to one colonel Richard Manning a papist, and formerly a colonel in the late king's army, where he lost his life. This gentleman he furnished with a considerable sum of money, and sent him to the place where the son of the late king then resided: where when he arrived, he informed the exiles, that he was sent thither from some friends in England that desired to have their names concealed. But having with him such good credentials as ready money, part whereof he gave to Charles Stuart, and distributing several lesser sums to his necessitous followers, he was easily admitted amongst them. It happened at that time, that a gentleman who had served the late king, desired leave from Cromwell to travel, which he obtained on condition he should not see the king, which he promised. Accordingly when he arrived at Colen, if I mistake not that was the place, he sent a message to the king, that he might be permitted to wait on him at night, which was granted; and having discoursed fully concerning the affairs he came about, he took leave, and received a letter which he sewed within the crown of his hat. Upon his return to England he came with confidence to Cromwell, and being demanded by him if he had punctually performed his promise? he answered, That he had. But, said Cromwell, Who was it that put out the candles when you spoke to Charles Stuart? This unexpected question somewhat startled him; but Cromwell proceeding, asked him, What he said to him. To which the gentleman answered, That he said nothing at all to him. Then, said Cromwell, Did he not send a letter by you? The gentleman denying that also, Cromwell took his hat, and having found the letter, sent him immediately to the Tower. From thence he took the first favourable occasion to acquaint Charles Stuart with all that had happened to him relating to this affair, assuring him, that one of the three persons who were in the room with him at the time above-mentioned, must necessarily have betrayed him. Upon this information, Manning's study was searched, and his correspondence being discovered, leave was obtained from the duke of Neuburg to execute him within his territories, and accordingly he was shot to death. But though Manning's action was base and perfidious, as proceeding from a domestick servant, yet by what law he was executed I confess myself utterly ignorant.

After the death of Mrs. Cleypole it was observed, that Cromwell grew melancholy, and also distempered with divers infirmities, particularly a malignant humour in his foot; which hindering him from the exercises of walking or

riding abroad, he obliged his physicians to endeavour to disperse it, which they endeavouring to do, drove it upwards to his heart. By this means he became desperately sick; and as some about him had for a long time deceived others, so they now endeavoured to impose upon God himself. For Dr. Goodwin, his creature, and trencher-chaplain, used this expression in his prayer during the time of his sickness; "Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted, and assured us of, but for his speedy recovery." At the same time I was in the county of Essex, and according to a former resolution I had taken, went to London to attend my father Oldsworth, and to bring him into the country, whither he designed to come with my mother Ludlow. On the Monday afternoon I set forward on my journey, the morning proving so tempestuous that the horses were not able to draw against it; so that I could reach no farther than Epping that night. By this means I arrived not at Westminster till Tuesday about noon, when passing by Whitehall, notice was immediately given to Cromwell, that I was come to town. Whereupon he sent for lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and ordered him to enquire concerning the reasons of my coming in such haste, and at such a time. The lieutenant-general accordingly desired by a message that I would come to him the next morning, which I did, and understood from him that Cromwell suspected I was come with a design to raise some disturbance in the army, and that he was desirous to know the occasion of my journey. I assured him, that as it was not in my power to cause any commotion in the army, so neither was it in my thoughts at this time; and that I came to town in order to bring our family together into the country, according to a resolution taken a month since, and before I heard of Cromwell's indisposition. He then told me, That the protector had been ill, but that it was now hoped he was recovering. I said, That I wished him so well, that I was not desirous he should die in the way he was in at present, and assured him, that I should be glad of the prolongation of his life, if he would employ it to the publick good, which ought to be more dear to us than life itself.

AT Whitehall they were unwilling to have it known that he was so dangerously ill; yet by reason of a clause in the "humble petition and advice" (which was the rule of government they pretended to act by) that the protector should have power to nominate his successor, the commissioners of the great seal attended for signing the declaration of the person to be appointed to succeed him. But whether he was unwilling to discover his intentions to leave the succession to his son, lest thereby he should, in case of recovery, disoblige others, whom he had put in expectation of that power; or whether he was so discomposed in body and mind, that he could not attend that matter; or lastly, whether he would have named or did name any other, is to me uncertain. But certain it is, that the commissioners were not admitted till the Friday following, when the symptoms of death were apparent upon him, and many ministers and others assembled in a chamber at Whitehall, praying for him, whilst he manifested so little remorse of conscience for his betraying the publick cause, and sacrificing it to the idol of his own ambition, that some of his

last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner, recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great care of the people whom he had so manifestly despised. But he seemed above all concerned for the reproaches he said men would cast upon his name, in trampling on his ashes when dead. In this temper of mind he departed this life about two in the afternoon; and the news of his death being brought to those who were met together to pray for him, Mr. Sterry stood up and desired them not to be troubled. For, said he, this is good news; because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions.

DIFFERENT were the effects that the death of Cromwell produced in the nation: those men who had been sharers with him in the usurped authority were exceedingly troubled, whilst all other parties rejoiced at it; each of them hoping that this alteration would prove advantageous to their affairs. The commonwealth's-men were so charitable to believe, that the soldiery being delivered from their servitude to the general, to which they were willing to attribute their former compliances, would now open their eyes and join with them, as the only means left to preserve themselves and the people. Neither were the cavaliers without great hopes that new divisions might arise, and give them an opportunity of advancing their minion, who had been long endeavouring to unite all the corrupt interests of the nation to his party. But neither the sense of their duty, nor the care of their own safety, nor the just apprehensions of being overcome by their irreconcilable enemy, could prevail with the army to return to their proper station. So that having tasted of sovereignty under the shadow of their late master, they resolved against the restitution of the parliament. And in order to this it was agreed to proclaim Richard Cromwell, eldest son to Oliver, protector of the commonwealth, in hopes that he, who by following his pleasures had rendered himself unfit for publick business, would not fail to place the administration of the government in the hands of those who were most powerful in the army. Accordingly the proclamation was published in Westminster, at Temple-bar, and at the Old Exchange, with as few expressions of joy as had ever been observed on the like occasion. This being done, the council issued out orders to the officers of civil justice, to act by virtue of their old commissions till new ones could be sent to them: and that nothing might be omitted to fortify the new government, various means were used to procure addresses from all parts, which were brought in great numbers from the several counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and also from divers regiments of the army. One of the first acts of the new government was, to order the funeral of the late usurper; and the council having resolved that it should be very magnificent, the care of it was referred to a committee of them, who sending for Mr. Kinnerly master of the Wardrobe, desired him to find out some precedent by which they might govern themselves in this important affair. After examination of his books and papers, Mr. Kinnerly, who was suspected to be inclined to popery, recommended to

them the solemnities used upon the like occasion for Philip the second, king of Spain, who had been represented to be in purgatory for about two months. In the like manner was the body of this great reformer laid in Somers-house: the apartment was hung with black, the day-light was excluded, and no other but that of wax-tapers to be seen. This scene of purgatory continued till the first of November, which being the day preceding that commonly called All-souls, he was removed into the great hall of the said house, and represented "in effigy," standing on a bed of crimson velvet covered with a gown of the like coloured velvet, a scepter in his hand, and a crown on his head. The part of the hall wherein the bed stood was railed in, and the rails and ground within them covered with crimson velvet. Four or five hundred candles set in flat shining candlesticks were so placed round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave seemed like the rays of the sun: by all which he was represented to be now in a state of glory. This folly and profusion so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt in the night on his escutcheon that was placed over the great gate of Somers-house. I purposely omit the rest of the pageantry, the great number of persons that attended on the body, the procession to Westminster, the vast expence in mourning, the state and magnificence of the monument erected for him, with many other things that I care not to remember.

THE necessities of the government daily increasing, it was thought expedient to call a parliament, as they termed it. Whereupon the council being summoned, three questions were debated among them.

1st. WHETHER the elections should be made by the counties, cities, and considerable towns, according to the distribution agreed on by the long parliament, and practised by Cromwell in his time; or whether they should be made by the counties, cities, and boroughs, according to the ancient law of the land.

THE 2^d was concerning the thirty members to serve for Ireland, and thirty for Scotland; whether, or how they should be chosen, there having been as yet no distribution of powers to elect, as it was ordered there should be in the humble petition and advice.

THE 3^d was touching the writs of summons to be issued to those of the other house.

FOR the first, the council learned in the art and mystery of the law, advised, That seeing there was a clause in the "petition and advice," that all should be done according to law, it was the most safe way to issue out the writs of election according to the ancient form; and this method, after some debate, was resolved upon, principally because it was well understood that mean and decayed boroughs might be much more easily corrupted, than the numerous counties and considerable cities. The motion for proceeding according to law prevailed with them also, in reference to the writs for members to serve in the "other house," which were accordingly issued out in the same form with those that had been formerly sent to the peers. The second question touching the members for Scotland and Ireland was long debated, the most prudent being of opinion, that

that since writs were to go out in the ancient manner, to elect members to serve for England in parliament, there could be no pretence for those of Scotland and Ireland to sit with them: however, the majority concluded, that members should be chosen for Scotland and Ireland, as had been practised in the time of Cromwell, with this proviso, That they should not be admitted to sit as such, till the consent of those chosen for England were first obtained. The time of election drawing near, the court used their utmost endeavours to procure such men to be chosen as were their creatures, and had their dependencies on them, in which they had no small advantages. For besides the power of discountenancing and punishing those that were not their friends, they had all the preferments as well military as civil in their disposition. The officers of the admiralty and navy had a great influence, not only upon the cinque ports, but also upon all sea-towns whatsoever, and could press at their pleasure any inhabitant to serve at sea, and thereby ruin both them and their families. The sheriffs, who generally were men chosen for such purposes, contributed no little assistance to their design, by disposing the writs to whom they pleased, and making themselves judges of the fitness and due qualifications of all those who should vote at the several elections.

IN the mean time, divers persons who continued unshaken in their zeal and affection to the commonwealth, met at the house of Sir Henry Vane, where they consulted what would be most proper for them to do, in case any of them should be elected to serve in the approaching assembly: and after mature deliberation resolved, That if they should be fairly chosen, and that no unjust or dishonourable thing were required of them, they should accept the employment, and therein use the best of their endeavours to serve the publick, being persuaded, that it is the duty of a good man at all times and in all places, when an opportunity offers itself, to be useful to his country. Neither did they think that their presence and assistance in such an assembly, could by any means be interpreted to be an acknowledgment, that they were a parliament, in prejudice of the right of the long parliament, which, though under a force, yet was never legally dissolved. In consequence of this resolution, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Thomas Scott, Mr. Weaver, colonel Kendrick, and divers others of known affection to the commonwealth, being chosen to serve, sat in the assembly. President Bradshaw was returned by the sheriff for the county of Chester; but some of that county having returned another person, he was not present at their first meetings, the assembly having made an order, That in case of a double return, neither of the competitors should sit till the matter should be heard and decided. Great endeavours were used by the court to prevent the election of Sir Henry Vane; and though their officers refused to return him at Hull and Bristol, at both which places it was said he had the majority, yet at last he was chosen and returned for the borough of Whitchurch in the county of Southampton. The people of this place were advised to this choice by Mr. Robert Wallop; at which the court-faction were so enraged, that they had sent a menacing letter to him, which was subscribed by most justices of the peace for the county, to let him know, that they would

would oppose his election for the shire, if he persisted to recommend Sir Henry Vane to the choice of the people. But Mr. Wallop despising their threatenings, continued to assist Sir Henry Vane, and was chosen for the county in despite of them.

THOSE that governed at Whitehall had ordered an oath to be administered to all such as should be admitted to sit in the house, whereby the members were to oblige themselves not to act or contrive any thing against the protector. This oath I was unwilling to take, and therefore declined going into the assembly; but being one day walking in Westminster-hall, and meeting Sir Walter St. Johns, who was one of the persons appointed to administer the oath, he asked me why I came not to the house. I told him, That though I had heard divers arguments for taking the oath, yet my doubts not being fully satisfied by them, I had hitherto abstained. Whereupon he desired me to meet him in the lobby the next morning, promising to carry me in with him, which, said he, will create a belief in the house that I have given you the oath. Accordingly I attended, but not finding Sir Walter there, I went in, and the house being at prayers, I stood amongst the rest of the members till they were ended, and then went up to the speaker's chamber, where, and in the gallery, I sat with as much privacy as I could. Thus I continued to do for about a week, when news was brought, to the great mortification of the court, that Sir Henry Vane was chosen to serve in this assembly for the borough of Whitechurch, as was mentioned before. Sir Henry Vane being come to town, and informed that I sat in the house, he was pleased to make me a visit, and to enquire by what means I had procured admission, for he had been acquainted with my scruples touching the oath. I assured him, that my doubts remained still unsatisfied; but that I had ventured to go into the assembly, where I sat as yet without any interruption. Within a day or two a member informed me of an intention in some to complain to the house against me, for sitting amongst them without the qualification of the oath: to which I answered, That it was no more than I expected. And accordingly one of the members called Bodurdo, the same day pressed to be heard touching a matter which, he said, concerned the very being of the house; having been informed that there sat a person amongst them, who had not taken the oath required to be administered to every member before his admission. He therefore moved the house to inquire into it, and to give order that all men that sat there might be upon an equal foot. This motion was opposed by some, who alledged that it was of far less importance than many other things that were before them. But Mr. John Trevor, a leading man of the court-party, seconded the former motion, though with much civility and respect, urging, That he could not but think it very reasonable, and of consequence, considering the worth, as he was pleased to say, of the person concerned. So the debate was entered upon, and divers gave their opinions, that the oath should be peremptorily required. But Mr. Weaver and some others opposed them, alledging, that, for the most part, oaths proved only snares to honest men, it being generally observed, that those who were least conscientious in keeping an oath, were the most forward to take it.

Colonel

Colonel Eyres also informed the house, that he had sat in the long parliament without taking the oath then prescribed, and that he was fully persuaded that my omission therein proceeded not from a spirit of opposition, but from a real scruple of conscience; that his case had formerly been the same with mine; and though no man could question my affection to that parliament, yet I had moved the house in his behalf, and was the person nominated by them to bring him into the house without taking the oath. This debate continuing for two or three hours, was at length interrupted by the discovery of a person sitting in the house, who had not been elected so to do: his name was King, and being called to the bar, the house demanded of him, whether he were a member. To which he answered, That he knew not whether he were or no; for meeting with an alderman of London, who asked him if he were chosen, he demanded of him the reason of his question: whereupon the alderman saying that he had seen the name of one King upon the list of returns, he came down to the house, and had continued so to do, that he might not be wanting in his duty. This man being ordered to withdraw, many of the members willingly left the debate, and others did so too from their great zeal against him, supposing him to be a dangerous person, because he had been observed that morning in the speaker's chamber to approve and promote a paper which was there delivered, tending to shew the wickedness of the designs that were carrying on by the court-faction, and the necessity incumbent on the assembly to restore the commonwealth. So the merits of this person having been debated also, and the house being informed by one of the members serving for the city of London, that the man was distempered in his head to that degree, that his relations were often obliged to bind him hand and foot, they contented themselves to send him to Newgate for a day or two, and then ordered him to be discharged. By this means the assembly was diverted from resolving to impose the oath; and though they were much inclined to get rid of my company, yet partly by finding so great opposition, and partly by discovering that there were some of another interest which they liked better, that had not taken it, they were discouraged from resuming that debate for the future, though they did sometimes mention it by way of reflection, when I moved any thing displeasing to them.

ALL men were in great expectation what the resolutions of the house would be concerning the government. The founder part of them were very desirous to secure themselves in the two essential points which had been the ground of the quarrel between the king and the parliament, viz. "the militia" and the "negative voice," and to establish them in the representative of the people, before they should enter upon any other business. But whilst these important matters were under consideration, Mr. Thurloe a member of the assembly, and secretary to Mr. Richard Cromwell, presented them with a declaration ready drawn, wherein was contained an acknowledgment of the said Richard Cromwell to be protector, and the "petition and advice" to be the rule of government for these nations. This action was, by impartial men, esteemed to be a great injury to the assembly, but he had a sufficient strength amongst them
to

to carry him through whatsoever he thought fit to undertake, and therefore, he was not only defended for what he had done, but it was resolved that the declaration should be received and debated. Hereupon it was moved, that the instrument might be produced, wherein, according to "the petition and advice," the successor ought to be nominated, and the great seal affixed; but they having no such thing to shew, over-ruled that motion. Not being able to obtain this, and being extremely desirous to place the militia in the parliament, and to make void any pretence to a negative voice in a single person, as well as to do some other things for the people's safety and welfare, the court-party refused to consent to any thing of that nature for the present, craftily insinuating and making large promises, that such things as were necessary should be done hereafter at a more convenient season. In the next place, it was desired, That since it appeared the present power had no legal foundation, and that it would be most safe for the protector to derive his authority from a right source, the words in the declaration of "recognizing" him might be altered for "agnizing" him; that so his right might appear to be founded upon the consent of the people represented in this assembly. But this proposition, though enforced with many weighty reasons, was rejected as the former had been, though it was thought convenient to divide the house upon it. Upon this success, the court presuming to carry all before them, grew unmeasurably insolent, and all that could be done was only to lengthen out their debates, and to hang on the wheels of the chariot, that they might not be able to drive so furiously. By this means time was gained to infuse good principles into divers young gentlemen, who before had never been in any publick assembly, in hopes that though for the present their previous engagements should carry them against us, yet upon more mature deliberation they might discover where their true interest lay. Neither were our endeavours without success, for, having frequently held the house nine or ten days in debate before they could come to a question, many gentlemen who came to Westminster prepossessed in favour of the court, confessed that the reasons of the commonwealth-party were so cogent, that they were not able to resist them. And because all parties had confederated against us, we, in order to lessen their numbers, impeached divers of them for having been of the king's party, by which means we procured some of them to be expelled, and frighted away some others who knew themselves to be in the same condition. The court, to requite us, brought Mr. Marvin Touchet a papist, and brother to the lord of Castlehaven, to accuse Mr. Villars, who had voted with us, of serving in the king's army; and though it appeared that he was forced so to do by those who had the government of him, he being then but sixteen years of age, and that he came into the parliament's quarters as soon as he had an opportunity, yet, all that could be said, proving not sufficient to excuse him, he was likewise voted out from the house. The next thing we endeavoured, was to remove the Scottish and Irish members, who had intruded themselves into the house, and to have the question put, "Whether those members chosen by Scotland ought, by the law of the land, to sit as members of this parliament."

ment." The reasons used to justify the wording of the question in this manner were: 1. That there was no colour, by the antient law of the land, for their sitting as members of the parliament of England, having always been a distinct kingdom from it. 2. That there had been no distribution of powers to elect, as was required by the "humble petition and advice." The court would by no means permit the question to be put in the manner before-mentioned, but moved that it might be thus proposed in the following words, "Whether the house thought fit, that those returned from Scotland should sit as members of this parliament:" by this means, turning a question of right into a question of conveniency. However, because our question was first proposed, we insisted that it might also be first put; and likewise moved, that those sent from Scotland and Ireland being the persons concerned in the question, might be ordered to withdraw, and not be permitted to sit judges of their own case: and this we thought we might with more reason demand, because their own party had already waved the legality of their election by the form of words they had used in the question they proposed: but the pretended members for Scotland and Ireland, except only one Mr. Swinton, who modestly withdrew, as they had debated their own case with much confidence, so by the support of the court, they resolved to decide it in their own favour. When we saw ourselves thus overpowered by violence and number, we had the question put for leaving out the words, "By the law of the land," which being carried in the affirmative; and therefore to be entered in the journal, we let fall words in the house to insinuate that they were not a legal parliament, having no countenance from the authority by which they acted: and as to their prudential way of admitting the Scots and Irish on the account of conveniency, we said it would weaken all that should be done by this assembly, whose actions would be weighed and duly considered by those that should come into power when they were gone: That the laws of this assembly, though it were granted that they were a legal parliament, would not bind the people of Scotland, who are not governed by the common law of England, and therefore that it was unreasonable that those chosen by that nation, should have any part in making laws for the people of England; and that it was intolerable, that they who had fought against a commonwealth should be consulted with in the framing of our constitution, and so vote us out of that with their tongues, which they could never fight us out of with their swords. But all our arguments were answered by calling for the question, which they carried by a great number of votes, as they did also that for admitting those returned for Ireland.

THE court having overcome these difficulties, doubted not to obtain the establishment of their house of lords, which they called the "other house;" and therefore moved for recognizing them also. The commonwealths-men proposed that the assembly would first take into their consideration the powers wherewith the "other house" should be vested, before they proceeded to the recognition of them, lest our qualifying them with the title of a house, and our approbation of the persons that were to fill it, might be a means to procure them

more power than otherwise we should think fit to give them. But the court-party alledged that the "other house" being already constituted, it was no more in the power of the commons to alter their establishment, than in the power of the "new house" to make any change in that of the commons. Then we endeavoured to shew them the unreasonableness of imposing such a house upon the nation, telling them, That in antient times, those that came to parliament sat there by virtue of the lands they possessed, and that he who had twenty fees, each of twenty pounds yearly rent, might demand his place in the house as an earl; and that whosoever was possessed of thirteen fees, whereof one third part was military, had a right to sit in the same house as a baron: that this method continued till the greater barons, finding themselves overvoted, withdrew into a distinct house. But king Henry the third having obtained a victory against the barons, deprived them of their antient usages, and permitted none of them to come to parliament without a writ of summons from him. We shewed them that the house of lords antiently consisted of persons, on whom the commons had their dependance; and being for the most part retainers to them, were clothed in their liveries: but the balance being now altered, and the greatest part of the lands of England devolved upon the commons, they, instead of wearing the lords blue coats, did now give wages to most of those who pretended to be members of the "other house." But notwithstanding all that could be said, the confederacy for them was strong enough to carry all before them, the cavalierish party, who were very numerous, joining with them, in expectation that it might prove a good step towards the return of the former peerage: so the question was put, "Whether this house should transact with the other house," and carried in the affirmative. We then desired, That seeing this house was undeniably more honourable in the members of it than the other, and much more in relation to those whom they represented, that the members of this house might not go to them with messages as formerly, unless the members of the "new house" would respectively come to us with their messages; or, that the masters in chancery, who were accustomed to be the lords messengers, might be divided between the two houses for that purpose: but this also was denied, and we were told, "That a feather might hinder the motion of a clock as well as a piece of iron." The subject of our first transaction with the "other house" was touching a declaration for a fast, which, by some expressions in it, "of taking shame to ourselves for neglecting to settle the government of the church, and having permitted so many erroneous and heretical opinions to be divulged," with others of the like nature, discovered plainly in what mint it was forged. This declaration being agreed to, it was ordered to be carried to the "other house" for their concurrence, by one Mr. Grove, who was accompanied by divers young gentlemen, and many of the cavalier-party, all of them attending like so many lackeys at the bar of the "other house," whilst the ceremonies of presenting it were performed, which were the same that had been formerly used to the peers on the like occasion. Those of the "other house" were wonderfully pleased with this application to them, having waited near three months for it,

and having no business to do, had consumed great store of fire to keep them warm at the publick charge: yet upon the debate they found not so great an unanimity as in the receiving it; for Mr. Cromwell's party and the presbyterians fell violently upon the independents and some of the army, concerning some clauses therein inserted, as they said, by those of their party. These divisions were not confined within the walls of that house, but broke out in the army itself, the officers every where discovering their jealousies one of another. They were divided into three parties, and neither of them much superior to the other in number. One party was known to be well affected to the commonwealth, and consisted chiefly of the following officers, viz. colonel Ashfield, colonel Lilburn, colonel Fitz, lieutenant-colonel Mason, lieutenant-colonel Moss, lieutenant-colonel Farley, major Creed, with divers captains and other inferior officers. A second party was known by the title of the Wallingford-house, or army-party, who had advanced Mr. Richard Cromwell in expectation of governing all as they pleased: of these were lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Desborough, colonel Sydenham, colonel Clarke, colonel Kelsey, colonel Berry, major Haines, treasurer Blackwel, and some others. The third party was that of Mr. Richard Cromwell, who having cast off those that had taken the pains to advance him, joined himself to men that were more suitable to his inclinations; such were colonel Ingoldsbey, colonel Gough, colonel Whalley, colonel Howard, colonel Goodrick, lieutenant-colonel Keins, with many others, and more particularly those that were officers in the Scots and Irish forces. But his cabinet-council were the lord Broghil, Dr. Wilkins, and colonel Philip Jones. The differences between these parties being already very great, were yet much increased by the following accident. Colonel Whalley, whom Richard had lately made commissary-general of the horse, meeting with colonel Ashfield in Westminster-Hall, and discoursing with him concerning the "other house," about which their sentiments were very different, the commissary-general fell into such a passion, that he threatened to strike the colonel, who thereupon daring him to do it, Whalley chose rather to make his complaint to Mr. Richard Cromwell. Colonel Ashfield being summoned to appear, the pretended protector threatened to cashier him as a mutineer, for speaking in such a manner to a general officer of the army. But the colonel desiring a fair and equal hearing by a council of officers, he was ordered to attend again. At the time appointed it was contrived that colonel Gough, colonel Ingoldsbey, colonel Howard, lieutenant-colonel Goodrick, and other creatures of the court should be present to decide the matter in dispute, who unanimously enjoined colonel Ashfield to acknowledge his fault, and to ask the commissary-general's pardon for the same: but their endeavours herein proved ineffectual, for the colonel denying that he had offended the commissary-general, refused to desire his pardon. Another thing happened about the same time, that proved very disadvantageous to the interest of Mr. Richard Cromwell: for a certain inferior officer having publicly murmured at the advancement of some that had been cavaliers to commands in the army, he was carried to Whitehall to answer for the same. Mr.

Richard Cromwell, besides other reproachful language, asked him in a deriding manner, Whether he would have him prefer none but those that were godly? "Here," continued he, "is Dick Ingoldsby who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before ye all." Those imprudent, as well as irreligious words, so clearly discovering the frame and temper of his mind, were soon published in the army and city of London, to his great prejudice. And from this time all men among them who made but the least pretences to religion and sobriety, began to think themselves unsafe whilst he governed, and thereupon soon formed a resolution to use their utmost endeavours to divide the military from the civil power, and to place the command of the army in lieutenant-general Fleetwood.

THE Wallingford-house party, finding themselves abandoned by Mr. Richard Cromwell, and being very desirous, if not to get the whole power into their hands, yet at least to preserve what they were already possessed of, and to render themselves formidable, desired to renew a correspondence with the commonwealths-men, and to that end ordered colonel Kelsey, one of their members, to let me know that if I would go to Wallingford-house, I should meet with a welcome reception from the lieutenant-general and the rest of the company. Accordingly I went thither, and perceiving them to agree that the measures then taken would inevitably bring in the common enemy, I could not forbear telling them, that though I was heartily sorry for the sad consequences such a revolution might bring upon the people of England, yet with respect to themselves they had merited whatsoever had already happened, or was justly to be feared, in that they had advanced a single person over us, when it was in their power to put us into a full possession of our liberties. However, that I presumed it was not yet too late, if they would resolve to join themselves to that part of the army who were well affected to the commonwealth, and who in conjunction with them would in all appearance be enabled to restore that government, which had cost the nation so much blood to establish. I told them, that it would be convenient to give some earnest of the sincerity of their reconciliation with us, in order to recover that trust and confidence from the commonwealth-party, which was so necessary to our present undertaking; and to that end proposed, that they would support and defend colonel Ashfield, who was like to suffer for his affection to the commonwealth. They acquainted me, that they had already appeared for the colonel, and promised to do him the best offices they could in his affair, yet expressed an unwillingness to ruin some of their friends, who were of Mr. Cromwell's party, and particularly named colonel Whalley. I replied, That if colonel Whalley was so good a man to deserve that consideration from them, I persuaded myself he would not oppose them; but if he were otherwise, they could not justly be thought worthy of the honour of being employed in the rescue and deliverance of their country, who should suffer themselves to be so much governed by private interests and engagements. Nothing more of moment passed between us in this conversation, except that they desired to keep a good correspondence with us, and to that end moved that they might see Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur

Haslerig,

Haflerig, or at least be made acquainted with their opinion concerning the publick affairs, and receive their advice touching their future proceedings. I told them, It was my opinion, that those two gentlemen were too prudent to appear publickly in a matter of this nature, before full satisfaction that those of Wallingford-house were in earnest, and had done something that should put them past all retreat: yet I promised them to inform myself concerning their sentiments, and to advertise them from time to time what measures they should think most proper to be taken. The next day I acquainted Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haflerig with what had passed, and they approved the way that was proposed, and promised that when they saw it seasonable they would be ready to assist them in all things tending to the publick service. With this answer I went to colonel Sydenham, and desired him to impart it to the rest of the company at Wallingford-house; and then asking him concerning their proceedings, he told me, they designed to procure a general council of officers to be called, which if they could effect, he hoped it would be of great advantage to their affairs. After two or three days some of the principal of the party finding Mr. Cromwell alone, took the opportunity to persuade him of the necessity of calling a general council of officers, in order to present something to the house for the regulation and maintenance of the army: he not suspecting their design, consented to the proposition, and having issued out an order to that purpose, a general council of officers met. Both parties endeavoured to take advantage of this meeting, and the lightest vessels being usually most noisy, the Irish officers first moved, that the council would petition the house that the protector might be declared general of the army, as the only means to put an end to the divisions that were amongst them: but this motion found so little approbation, that the court party began to doubt of their success at this meeting, and had much more reason so to do, when they heard the hum that was given upon a proposition made to this effect, That it would be more advantageous to the army, and more conducing to the good of the nation, if the military and civil power might be placed in different hands, that the one might be a balance to the other. The temper and inclinations of the council being thus tried, they were adjourned to another day. In the mean time the party of Wallingford-house beginning to appear more publickly, colonel Desborough and colonel Sydenham sent an officer to desire me to give them a meeting in the chamber where the committee for the army usually sat, and to bring with me two or three persons, in whose affections to the publick I had the most confidence. Accordingly I made choice of colonel Dixwel, and my cousin Mr. Wallop, and with them went to the place appointed, where our discourse tended chiefly to give reciprocal assurances of our resolution to join together in order to promote the publick good, promising to use our endeavours to remove all doubts and scruples that might remain in any of us, that by a mutual trust and confidence in each other, we might be the better enabled to prevent the return of the common enemy. The second time the general council of officers met, they went a step farther, and declared their apprehensions, "That the common cause was likely to be ruined by the subtilty and artifices of those
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who had never been able to do it by open force ;” and therefore desired that the command of the army might be intrusted to the care of some fit person, in whom they might all confide. This proposition found so general an approbation, that it was impossible for the courtiers to resist the stream, and so the meeting was adjourned to another day. In the mean time Mr. Cromwell and his party were exceedingly alarmed at these proceedings ; and not daring to trust to their own authority in this matter, they contrived it so as to engage the parliament in their defence. Accordingly some members of the commons house charged the council with mutinous words there spoken against the government, and against the resolutions of the parliament itself. This accusation was so well seconded, that the house resolved to dissipate the storm, and to that end passed a vote, “ That the officers of the army should no more meet as a general council.” Yet for all this they met again at the time appointed, in order to proceed in their design : but the house having notice of it, and being very desirous to enable Mr. Cromwell to make their vote effectual, declared him to be general of their army, authorizing him to disperse the officers to their respective charges, to remove from their commands such as should disobey, and to place others in the room of them. They also voted it to be high treason in the officers to meet in council contrary to their order, and promised to cause the arrears of those that should yield obedience, to be forthwith paid, with assurances to take care of them for the future. Mr. Richard Cromwell having notice of these votes, immediately went to the place where the council of officers was assembled ; and having informed them of what had passed, he told them he expected their present obedience. The officers not being then prepared to dispute his commands, withdrew themselves ; but the chief of them continued their meetings in a more private manner, making use of all means imaginable to oblige Mr. Richard Cromwell into a compliance with them : but he relying on the strength of his new friends, refused to hearken to them ; so that they perceived it to be high time to provide for the security of themselves. Information being given at court that something extraordinary was in agitation, the protector Richard sent a message to lieutenant-general Fleetwood to come to him, but the messenger returned without an answer. Then he ordered some of the guard to be sent for him ; but they desired to be excused. The lieutenant-general having notice of this design, retired to St. James’s, where many officers of the army resorting to him, it was concluded between them, that the whole army should rendezvous at St. James’s. The news of this resolution being brought to Mr. Cromwell, he also appointed a counter-rendezvous to be at the same time at Whitehall. Accordingly colonel Gough sent orders for his regiment to march to Whitehall ; but the major had already prevailed with them to draw to St. James’s. Three troops of colonel Ingoldsbys horse marched also to St. James’s, with part of two more, so that he had only one entire troop of his regiment to stand by him. Colonel Whalley’s regiment of horse for the most part left him, and went off to St. James’s, which he seeing, opened his breast, and desired them to shoot him. Colonel Hacker’s regiment of horse being drawn up near Cheapside, Mr. Cromwell sent a mes-
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age to the colonel, with an order to require him forthwith to march to Whitehall; but he excused himself, and said that he had received orders from lieutenant-general Fleetwood to keep that post. Many also of Richard's own guard went to St. James's, and most of those that staid with him, declared they would not oppose any that should come to them by order from lieutenant-general Fleetwood. Thus here was a general without an army, and divers great officers without soldiers; who having boasted of their interest in the army, and having thereby led the house into their late rash proceedings, now being utterly disappointed in their hopes and expectations, knew not what to advise, or what to do. About noon colonel Desborough went to Mr. Richard Cromwell at Whitehall, and told him, that if he would dissolve his parliament, the officers would take care of him; but that, if he refused so to do, they would do it without him, and leave him to shift for himself. Having taken a little time to consider of it, and finding no other way left to do better, he consented to what was demanded. This great alteration was made with so little noise, that very few were alarmed at it. The next morning the house met, and divers members made extravagant motions, rather, as was supposed, to vent their own passion, than from any hopes of success: for whatever were the resolutions that had been made by the court junto, they could not suddenly be brought to a vote, because the contrary party was considerably increased by this change of affairs. Few of the house knew of the resolution taken to put a period to them, or if they did, were unwilling to take notice of it; so that when the usher of the black rod, who attended the "other house," came to let the serjeant at arms know, that it was the pleasure of the protector that the house of commons should attend him at the "other house," many of them were unwilling to admit the serjeant into the house to deliver the message; but the commonwealth party demanded and obtained that he should give the house an account of what the gentleman of the black rod had said to him. The assembly being under this confusion, adjourned themselves till eight of the clock the next morning; but care was taken to prevent their meeting again by publishing a proclamation, declaring them to be dissolved, by setting a padlock on the door of the house, and by placing a guard in the court of requests, with orders to refuse admittance to all those who should demand it. The army having broken this assembly, were not so unanimous in resolving what step to take next. The chief of them were most inclined to patch up some agreement with Mr. Richard Cromwell, if they could effect it with advantage to themselves. In the mean time they permitted the ordinary court of justice to run in his name, whilst they themselves disposed of the offices of the army at their pleasure, removing such as had appeared active against them at the time of their general rendezvous, and filling the vacancies with their own creatures. They took major-general Lambert into their councils, and restored him, together with colonel Packer and captain Gladman, to their several commands. Sir Charles Coot went post for Ireland to carry the news of this great alteration to colonel Henry Cromwell, and to consult what might be done to continue their reign. Colonel Henry Ingoldisby hastened after him on the same account; and

and soon after their arrival, all possible care was taken to maintain themselves. To that end Sir Charles Coot was sent into Connaught, lieutenant-colonel Fowler into Ulster, the lord Broghil into Munster; and the troops they most confided in were ordered to march towards Dublin. This being done, a council of officers was called together by colonel Cromwell, and a proposition made to them, that they would declare themselves ready to stand by and defend Mr. Richard Cromwell; which they declined to do at that time, desiring to see what course would be taken by the army in England before they should declare themselves. In England there were not wanting some who endeavoured to support this tottering government; but finding themselves hopeless of success in or about London, they resolved to act their parts farther off. In order to this they made choice of the north, principally by reason of the neighbourhood of Scotland, where the forces were commanded by colonel George Monk, a person of an ambitious and covetous temper, of loose, or rather no principles, and of a vicious and scandalous conversation. The chief instruments made use of in this design were the lord Falconbridge and colonel Howard, who, though they had attended on lieutenant-general Fleetwood before they began their journey, to assure him of their resolutions to acquiesce, yet had both tampered with their regiments, in order to fit them to their purposes, and also held a correspondence with colonel Monk, who was not a little suspected by the confederated officers of Wallingford-house.

THE Wallingford-house party, who had thus possessed themselves of the supreme power, were every day pressed from all parts, and especially from the city of London, to restore the long parliament, as the only means to satisfy the people, and to establish an equal and just government amongst us in the way of a commonwealth. Neither were there wanting divers officers of the army, who positively declared that they would not rest contented with any thing less. Besides, the commonwealth party had absolutely refused to hearken to any propositions of accommodation with Mr. Richard Cromwell, and great endeavours had been used by the son of the late king, in conjunction with the presbyterians, to raise tumults and insurrections in England. To which may be added, the great probability that appeared of a peace to be concluded speedily between France and Spain, who would then be at leisure to assist the common enemy. These things being seriously considered by those of Wallingford-house, and finding themselves destitute of all other means to supply the necessities of the army and navy, they were compelled at last to admit the debate of the restitution of the long parliament amongst other propositions that were under their consideration. They also restored some officers to their commands, who had suffered for their affections to the parliament; and amongst others colonel Okey and colonel Saunders, who had been cashiered by Oliver Cromwell on that account. The proposition of restoring the parliament met with great opposition, from many of those who had tasted the sweetness of power and profit under the late usurpation of the Cromwells, and who feared a more equal distribution of things; and therefore they every where affirmed, that there was not a sufficient number of members left to make up a parliament. Hereupon Dr. John Owen
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having desired me to give him a list of their names, I delivered him one, wherein I had marked those who had sat in the house since the year 1648, and were yet alive, amounting to the number of about one hundred and sixty. The doctor having perused it, carried it to those at Wallingford-house, who, for the reasons before-mentioned, appointed a committee of their associates to treat with some members of that parliament, in order to a clearing of some particulars which seemed most considerable to them, before they should proceed to a final determination in this great affair. The place of meeting was Sir Henry Vane's house at Charing-Cross; the persons of and from the army were major-general Lambert, colonel John Jones, colonel Kelsey, colonel Berry, &c. Those of the parliament were Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, major Saloway, and myself. The things demanded by those of the army were,

1. To be secured by an act of indemnity for what was past.
2. THAT some provision of power might be made for Mr. Richard Cromwell, as well as for the payment of his debts, and future subsistence in a plentiful manner, they having promised to take care of him in these particulars.
3. THAT what should stand in need of regulation both in the law and clergy, should be reformed and amended.
4. THAT the government of the nation should be by a representative of the people, and by a select senate.

FOR the first, it was thought reasonable that something of that nature should be done, as well to gratify those who should contribute to our return, as for our own future peace and quiet.

TOUCHING the second proposition concerning a provision to be made for Mr. Richard Cromwell, we said, that though the parliament and nation had been greatly injured by the interruption they had received, yet seeing those that were at present in possession of the power had engaged to make some provision for him, we were contented for ourselves, that those debts which he had contracted on the publick account should be paid, that so he might be enabled to subsist comfortably: but that we could by no means consent to continue any part of his late assumed power to him, neither could we believe, that such a proposition would ever be hearkened to by the members of the parliament, if they should come together.

THE third proposition was easily agreed to, all of us declaring, that we would use the utmost of our endeavours to rectify and reform whatsoever should appear to be amiss, either in church or state.

IN the fourth proposition we found a greater difficulty, not being all of the same opinion, with respect to that part of it relating to the "senate." Whereupon, finding that out of a desire to avoid any thing that might prove an obstruction to the return of the parliament, or possibly from an inclination in some to the thing itself, there was an intention by a general silence about that matter, to give them hopes of our compliance; therefore, that they might have no just occasion to say hereafter, that we had dealt doubly with them, keeping fair in that particular before our admission, and after we were admit-

ted, declaring against it, I thought it my duty to let them know, that if by a select senate they understood a lasting power, co-ordinate with the authority of the people's representative, and not chosen by the people, I could not engage to promote the establishment of such a power, apprehending that it would prove a means to perpetuate our differences, and make it necessary to keep up a standing force to support it. But if they proposed to erect such an authority only for a short time, and in order to proceed with more vigour to an equal and just establishment of the commonwealth, I presumed it might be very useful, and that the people would readily acquiesce, when it should be evident, that it was designed to no other end than to prevent them from destroying themselves, and not to enslave them to any faction or party. After four or five hours debate concerning these particulars, we desired them to consider that whatsoever had been said by us in this conference, ought only to be taken as proceeding from private men, and that we durst not presume to promise any thing on the part of the parliament. However, we encouraged them to hope, that if we four joined in proposing any thing in the house for the publick good, we might probably bring it to effect. At the conclusion of our conversation, major-general Lambert assured us, that he would represent to the general council what had passed between us, as fairly and with as much advantage as we could desire. After three or four days, the same company met again at the same place, where those that were employed by the council of officers, declared the resolution of themselves, and of those they represented, to be, That the parliament should be restored, and thereupon pressed us, that the members might meet with all possible expedition, being persuaded that delays, in a matter of such importance, might hazard the success of all. Therefore it was resolved, that notice should be given to such members as were in town, to meet on the Thursday following at Mr. Lenthal their speaker's house, and that the officers of the army should come thither, and there acquaint us with the desires of the army. At the time appointed, about sixteen of us went to the speaker's house, and having informed him of the cause of our coming, he began to make many trifling excuses, pleading his age, sickness, and inability to sit long. Soon after the committee from the general council came, and major-general Lambert, in the name of the rest, acquainted the speaker, That in order to reconcile our differences, and to unite all those that were well affected to the publick, it was the desire of the army, that the parliament would return to the discharge of their duty, according to the trust reposed in them by the people of England, promising to stand by them, and serve them to the utmost of their power. The speaker, who had been lately at court, where they had prevailed with him to endeavour to render this design, which they feared above all things, ineffectual; and on the other hand, being unwilling to lose his late acquired peerage, renewed his former excuses, with this addition, that he was not fully satisfied, that the death of the late king had not put an end to the parliament. To this it was answered, That by a law made by an undisputed authority, the parliament could not be dissolved without their own consent, which had never yet been given. And therefore they desired him, as he valued the peace and happiness
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of the nation, to send his letters to such members as were about the town, requiring them to meet the next morning in the lords house, in order to resume their places in the house of commons, so soon as they might make up a "quorum." He replied, That he could by no means do as we desired, having appointed a business of far greater importance to himself, which he would not omit on any account, because it concerned the salvation of his own soul. We then pressed him to inform us what it might be: to which he answered, That he was preparing himself to participate of the Lord's supper, which he resolved to take on the next Lord's day. Upon this it was replied, That mercy is more acceptable to God than sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for the foresaid duty, than by contributing to the publick good. But he resolving to perform some part of his promise to Mr. Richard Cromwell, would not be persuaded to send letters to the members, as it was desired. So that we found ourselves obliged to tell him, That the service of the publick had been too long obstructed by the will of single persons; and that if he refused to issue out his letters to the members, we would cause it to be done by other means: and thereupon gave orders to such clerks as we then had there ready for that purpose, to draw directions for the messengers who were to summon the members, and to divide the list amongst them, in such a manner as might best provide for the expedition of the business. In the morning about thirty members being come, and the number increasing continually, the speaker, who had appointed his spies to bring him word whether he might probably make up a house or not, being informed that we wanted not above three or four, notwithstanding the salvation of his soul, thought it time to come to us, and soon after the requisite number was completed. About twelve o'clock we went to take our places in the house, Mr. Lenthall our speaker leading the way, and the officers of the army lining the rooms for us, as we passed through the painted chamber, the court of requests, and the lobby itself, the principal officers having placed themselves nearest to the door of the parliament-house, every one seeming to rejoice at our restitution, and promising to live and die with us. The same day, the house appointed a committee of safety, with authority to seize and secure such as might justly be suspected of any design to disturb the publick peace, and also to remove such officers of the army as they should think fit, and to fill their places with others, till the parliament should take farther order therein. The persons constituted to be of that committee were Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Sydenham, major Saloway, colonel John Jones, and myself. These were of the house, and to them were joined from without, major-general Lambert, colonel Desborough, and colonel Berry. The time appointed for the duration of their power was, if I mistake not, eight days, by which time it was supposed the house would be able to constitute a council of state, to take care of affairs of that nature. The parliament referred to the committee to give notice to foreign ambassadors residing in England, and to the ministers of this nation employed in foreign parts, of their return to the exercise of their authority. They likewise directed them to inform themselves what alliances England had abroad,

and to report the state of that affair to the house. They impowered them also, to make enquiry into the miscarriages of officers during the late confusions, to remove such as they found guilty, and to put others in their places, and then to lay the whole matter before the parliament for their approbation. To the members of the house that were of the committee, they added Mr. Scott; and then ordered them to take a view of all the civil officers of the nation, authorizing them to displace those that should be found unfit to serve, and to place others in the room of them, and to report what they had done to the house. Writs and all proceedings at law were directed to run as formerly, in the name of the "keepers of the liberties of England." And lest the judges who were members of the house might, by their influence there, prevent the intended reformation of the law, it was resolved, that no member of parliament should be a judge in any court. Information being given to the committee, that colonel Norton governor of Portsmouth had let fall some expressions of discontent, they knowing the place to be of great importance, sent down colonel Whet- ham, who formerly had been governor thereof, to take possession of the government of it; at which, though the colonel was much disturbed, yet in a letter to me written by him soon after, he assured me he should be very well satisfied, if we would proceed to the settlement of an equal commonwealth. A committee for the sea-affairs was also appointed by the parliament, who being informed of the disaffection of some that managed the business of the admiralty to the present government, the house was earnestly pressed to pass a vote for excluding them from that employment; but at last they were prevailed with to refer it to the committee which they had already appointed for nominating officers, to propose some for that charge. The committee having resolved to acquaint the persons they designed to propose to the parliament, with their intentions before-hand, demanded of colonel Kelsey if he would accept of it, and easily obtained his consent, though they told him, they could not promise him any other salary than what he should merit by a diligent performance of the duties of the place. The same proposition being made to colonel Clark, he told them, he would consider well before he would engage so far with the present authority. This carriage of the colonel caused me to suspect that the army had still some design on foot, more than appeared openly; and I was the rather induced to this suspicion by his relation to Thurloe the late secretary, and his familiarity with colonel Desborough; especially considering that the way was still open to reconcile themselves to Mr. Richard Cromwell, who yet remained at Whitehall without making any preparations for his removal. The officers also, under colour of enquiring into the miscarriages of the late governments, and modelling the affairs of the army, had frequent meetings, wherein greater care was taken to maintain their own faction, than to provide for the publick service. It was very evident by the lists of officers presented to them by the committee, that the Wallingford-house party was not so averse to the creatures of Mr. Richard Cromwell, as they were to those who had been sufferers on the account of the commonwealth. So that major-general Overton, colonel Rich, colonel Alured, and captain Bremen, were not without

without great difficulty received into the service. The regiment of horse that had been commanded by colonel Howard was given to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and a day or two after, it was proposed that I should be colonel of that which had been commanded by colonel Gough; Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway earnestly pressing me to accept of it. But being unwilling to intermeddle with any employment of advantage under the parliament, that I might give my voice in the house with more freedom and impartiality, I desired to be excused. Having taken this resolution, Sir Arthur Haslerig came to me and told me, that unless I did accept it, he would quit the regiment he commanded, which he protested to have taken, not with a design to make any advantage of it, being resolved not to receive any pay, but only to have a right to be present at the councils of war, whereby he might be enabled to do some good, and possibly to prevent more mischief. Having weighed these things, and considered that our greatest danger was likely to arise from the army, the principal officers of which had been debauched from their duty by Oliver Cromwell, and had learned their own strength when they obstructed his design to be king; that they had placed his son in the same power after his death, and pulled him down again upon their dislike of his government, I consented to undertake the command of the regiment that was offered to me. The parliament having many important affairs under their consideration, were not yet at leisure to constitute a council of state, and therefore continued the powers granted to the committee of safety for a longer time, and declared their intentions to be, that the nation should be governed in the way of a commonwealth, without a king, single person, or house of lords. They also ordered that Whitehall should be cleared with all convenient speed for the use of the publick; that care should be taken of the goods and furniture belonging to it, and that the committee should take care that Mr. Richard Cromwell might have notice of these their resolutions. In the mean time the parliament took into their consideration what powers and instructions were requisite for the council of state, and voted their number to consist of thirty-one, whereof twenty-one to be of the parliament, and ten to be of such persons as were not members of the house. And the better to shew the consideration the parliament had for some eminent persons who were not of their body, and principally for the officers of the army, it was first agreed, That the lord president Bradshaw, the lord Fairfax, major-general Lambert, colonel Desborough, colonel Berry, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Sir Horatio Townshend, should be members of the council. The next morning the parliament proceeded to the election of twenty-one of their members to be of the council of state, according to their former resolution, and chose Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major Saloway, colonel Morley, Mr. Thomas Chaloner, colonel Algernon Sidney, Mr. Henry Nevil, colonel Walton, colonel Dixwell, Mr. Wallop, chief justice St. Johns, Mr. Thomas Scott, colonel Thompson, Mr. Robert Reynolds, colonel Sydenham, colonel John Jones, the lord commissioner Whitlock, Sir James Harrington, colonel Downes, and myself. Then to complete the number of ten, who were to consist of persons that were not members, they chose the lord War-

rifton,

riston, Sir Robert Honynwood, and Mr. Josias Berners. The officers of the army were not at all pleased with this election, perceiving they should not be permitted to act arbitrarily, as they desired, and therefore seldom came to the council; and when they condescended to come, carried themselves with all imaginable perverseness and insolence. They scrupled to take the oath "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, in opposition to Charles Stuart, or any single person," which the parliament had appointed to be taken by every member of the council before he took his place. And because they were ashamed to own themselves dissatisfied with the substance of the oath, they pretended to be unwilling to take any; yet professing a readiness to promise as much as the oath required. This distinction seemed very nice to most of us; but that there might be no difference about ceremonies, the parliament was prevailed with to grant liberty to the council, to alter the engagement into such a form as might give them satisfaction. Notwithstanding all which condescension they were hardly persuaded to take it, and when they had done it, they seldom came to discharge their duty at the board. Things being in this posture, the enemies to the government thought it a proper time to attempt something, before a good agreement might be made between the parliament and army: in order to which, great numbers of arms were bought up by them in London, whereof notice was given to a committee of the council of state. A chest filled with arms was sent to the house of one Mr. Overbury of Gloucestershire, of which he gave notice to captain Crofts, who commanded the county-troop; and the captain having caused the trunk to be opened, found in it ten case of common pistols, one fine pair, with the name of one Harman Barnes the maker upon them, together with a complete suit of armour. The committee of the council of state sent for the said Harman Barnes, and, upon examination, found him to have been gunsmith to prince Rupert, and so confused in his answers, that we thought it necessary to secure him and his arms, amounting to the number of two hundred carabines, and as many pair of pistols ready fixed, besides a great number unfixed, though he had affirmed to us, that he had no more than thirty pair of pistols in his house. The cavalier party having boasted to divers persons, that Mr. How of Gloucestershire had given them assurances of his service, the committee sent for him to appear before them, which he did, and in his examination acknowledged, that he had a certain number of arms in his house, which he had purchased at the time of the late dispute between Richard's and the commonwealth party, that he might be ready to serve the publick on that occasion, if there had been any necessity; and had given assurance to Sir Arthur Haslerig and me of the same good intentions. Hereupon, though I could not but justify the committee in sending for him, on account of the informations we had received, yet I thought myself obliged to do him justice, and accordingly informed the committee, that on the day of the dissolution of Richard's convention, Mr. How came to me in Westminster-hall, and assured me of his affection to the commonwealth, and that whensoever I should signify to him, that there was occasion for his service, he would be ready to hazard both life and estate in the defence of it. The council being satisfied with this testimony,

testimony, gave present orders for his discharge. In the mean time, the Wallingford-house party not forgetting their design, drew an address to the parliament, and presented it by the hands of the chief officers of the army, that so it might either have a greater influence upon the house, or, if it prevailed not there, that it might be a means to unite them all against the parliament. The principal heads of the address were, that those who had acted under the late power might be indemnified by an act of parliament; that lieutenant-general Fleetwood might be appointed commander in chief of the army; that the debts of the protector might be satisfied, and that he might have ten thousand pounds by year added to his revenue; that the government of the nation might consist of a representative of the people, and of a select senate; that care might be taken for the payment of the army, and that liberty of conscience might be secured to all such who professed faith in Jesus Christ, and were not scandalous in their conversation. The parliament gave them for answer, That they would take their desires into their speedy consideration, and give them satisfaction therein as far as should be possible. And that for the future, no man might have an opportunity to pack an army to serve his ambition, as had formerly been practised, a bill was prepared and brought in, constituting the seven persons following, viz. lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Sir Arthur Haslerig, major-general Lambert, colonel Desborough, colonel Berry, Sir Henry Vane, and myself, to be commissioners for the nomination of officers to be presented to the consideration and approbation of the parliament. Another bill was brought in to constitute lieutenant-general Fleetwood commander in chief, and it was resolved, that his commission should continue during the present session, or till the parliament should take farther order therein; and instead of authorizing the lieutenant-general to grant commissions to such officers as should be appointed by the parliament, it was ordered that the said commissions should be subscribed by the speaker, and received from his hands, by which it was endeavoured to bring the military sword under the power of the civil authority, as it ought to be in a free nation. But observing that these things were greatly disliked by the officers, and knowing how much it imported the very being of our cause, to maintain a good correspondence between the parliament and army, I earnestly pressed the house not to insist upon the restrictions before-mentioned, especially considering that they consisted rather in form than substance: for though the time of a commission be not expressly limited, yet it can last no longer than during the pleasure of those that gave it; and if it should happen to be used to the destruction of those from whom it was received, it actually puts a period to itself. Neither could it be thought very material, whether a commission was signed by one person or another, so long as it was derived from the same authority. Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway were of the same opinion, but Sir Arthur Haslerig, colonel Sidney, Mr. Nevil, and the majority of the house, carried it for the said limitations and restrictions; and many of the house began to entertain a hard opinion of me on the account of this moderation, as if I had espoused the interest of the army against the parliament. The two acts being passed, it was ordered that notice
of

of them should be given to the army, and that the house expected that the commander in chief, with the rest of the officers approved by the parliament, should take their commissions from the hands of the speaker as he sat in the chair. Hereupon, a council of officers being summoned to colonel Desborough's house, to consult about this affair, Sir Arthur Haslerig desired me not to fail to meet him there. The council being met, divers officers, and especially those of the first rank, openly manifested their discontent against the clauses before-mentioned; major-general Lambert saying that they implied a diffidence of the army, and that they had no assurance that the parliament would continue them in their employments, which, he said, was contrary to the promises made to them before the restitution of the parliament. It was answered, That no private persons either could, or had promised more than to use their endeavours in the house to procure certain things to be done, and that whatsoever had been so promised by any of us, had been fully effected by the parliament: for they had continued the commands of the army in such hands as had been agreed on; neither was there any colour for them to suspect any intention to alter the same. They were told, that the parliament could not justly be blamed, if they endeavoured to preserve their authority, that had been so eminently violated of late: that it was our duty to judge favourably of the actions of the parliament, and especially since they had given such evident demonstration to the world, that they designed not to perpetuate their authority, by a late vote that had passed with the two acts complained of, "That the parliament should be dissolved in the month of May next ensuing:" whereby they had engaged themselves, as they tendered their own preservation, to make a speedy provision for the settlement of the government, and the security of the common cause, in which the officers of the army were as much concerned as any persons whatsoever. We desired them to consider well, of how great importance it was to the people of England, to preserve a good correspondence between the parliament and the army at this time, when the common enemy had no hopes left but in our divisions; that they would not gratify their enemies, nor discourage their friends, by entertaining groundless suspicions and jealousies of those whose interest was the same with theirs. But notwithstanding all that could be said, the dissatisfaction of the chief officers, who had another game to play, still remained, and their confidence to carry all before them was so great, that colonel Desborough openly said, That he accounted the commission he had already, to be as good as any the parliament could give, and that he would not take another. Yet for all this ruffling insolence of the chief officers of the army, who thought they could have influenced all the rest, colonel Hacker, with the officers of his regiment, came the next morning by the persuasion of Sir Arthur Haslerig, to the parliament-house, and received their commissions from the speaker according to the directions of the act. The next day I was attended by the officers of my regiment, and we altogether received our commissions in the same manner. The ice being thus broke by colonel Hacker and me, the rest of the officers began to consider better of the matter, and divers of them growing more moderate, came also, and took out their commissions.

sions. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood received three commissions, whereof one was for a regiment of horse, another for a regiment of foot, and the third appointing him to be commander in chief, with the limitations above-mentioned, and a clause requiring him to obey such orders as he should receive from the parliament, or the council of state.

MR. Richard Cromwell not removing from Whitehall, though he received a message to that end, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Scott, and I, according to the command we had from the parliament, attended him there, and received for answer, that he would do it with all convenient speed. But the parliament being impatient of his delays, sent the chief justice St. Johns, and another person, to require him to give them a positive answer touching his removal, which he did to their satisfaction, declaring his acquiescence in the providence of God, and his resolution, not only to submit to the authority of the parliament, but also to use the best of his endeavours to persuade all those, in whom he had any interest, to do so likewise. The parliament having received his answer, ordered 2000 pounds to be presently paid him, to enable him to remove, and passed a resolution to pay those debts, which it was said he had contracted on the publick account.

THE army in Ireland being informed that the parliament was returned to the exercise of their authority, sent over commissioners to them to propose divers things relating as well to the civil as military government of that nation. The council of state having heard their propositions, prepared such of them as they thought reasonable for the consideration of the parliament; in particular, those concerning the establishment of the army, in the possession of those lands which had been assigned them in payment of their arrears; as also to confirm the adventurers, and others, in the possession of theirs, as far as might consist with the rules of justice. Then the parliament proceeded to put the administration of affairs there, into such hands as they could best confide in, declaring the government should be again managed by commissioners, as it had been formerly; and having nominated the persons to serve in that employment, they ordered the council of state to draw up instructions for them, and to report them to the house, together with whatsoever else they should think necessary to be done there. They resolved that colonel Henry Cromwell should be required to come over, to give an account of the state of things in Ireland, and empowered the commissioners, or any two of them, to take care of the safety of that nation till farther order.

THE committee of safety having dispatched a messenger to our fleet in the Sound, before the election of the council of state, to acquaint them with the restitution of the parliament, the officers of the several ships assembled, and sent an acknowledgment of their authority, with all possible demonstrations of satisfaction. Notwithstanding which, being highly sensible of how great importance the sea-affairs are to this nation, we ordered six frigates to be equipped with all diligence, and gave the command of them to Lawson, making him, at the same time, vice-admiral of the fleet. And this we did, as well to prevent an invasion from Flanders, with which the cavalier party threatened us,

as to balance the power of Montague's party, who we knew was no friend to the commonwealth. We treated also with myn heer Nieuport, ambassador from the states of Holland, that a good correspondence might be maintained between the two commonwealths, and that an accord might be made between the two kings of Denmark and Sweden, who were then enemies, by the interposition of the two states, who agreeing upon equitable terms, might be able to impose them on the refuser. And this we were in hopes to accomplish the rather, because neither the Dutch nor we pretended to any more than a freedom of passing and repassing the Sound, which could not well be, if the command of it were in the hands of either of those princes. The Dutch ambassador seemed very desirous to finish the treaty, but by several demands which he made in the behalf of their merchants, delayed it so long, that our agent in Holland had already concluded an agreement with the States, whereby the two commonwealths became engaged to compel that king that should refuse to accept the conditions which they thought just and reasonable. In order to put this resolution in execution, the states of Holland appointed their plenipotentiaries, and we on our part did the same, sending thither colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honynwood, and one Mr. Boon, a merchant, to that end. The parliament, having taken some measure of care of foreign affairs, began to make provision for the better execution of justice in England, and established judges in the upper bench, common pleas, and exchequer; but designing the reformation of the practice of the law, they, for the present, nominated no more than were sufficient to make a quorum in each court. The lord president Bradshaw, serjeant Fountain, and serjeant Tyrell, were made commissioners of the broad seal. And that the justices of the peace throughout England might be fitly qualified for that employment, the house referred to the committee of nominations for civil offices, the consideration of that matter; but finding this work to be full of difficulty, and attended with much envy, the parliament ordered the members for each county, to agree on a list of such persons as they should think most proper for that office, and to set their hands to each list. And in case of any difference of opinion, the house, upon hearing both parties, determined the matter. Colonel Zanchey, colonel Laurence, Mr. auditor Roberts, and major Wallis, by the advice of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, drew up a list of officers for the army in Ireland, and presented it to the committee of nominations, and agreed to make it their request, that I might be appointed commander in chief of those forces; whether, from an opinion that I should thereby be rendered less able to oppose their designs, than by continuing my attendance in parliament, or that none of their grandees could be spared from their cabals at Wallingford-house, is uncertain. But true it is, that no man was less desirous than myself, that I should have that command, well knowing the envy and difficulties that accompanied it, and having ample experience how much easier it was to undertake great employments, than duty to perform the functions of them. Yet finding the officers of Ireland, the committee of nominations, the council of state, and the parliament all concurring to design me for that post, I thought myself obliged in

in duty to accept it: though I was resolved not to suffer myself to be banished thither, as I had been formerly by Oliver Cromwell, but to return to England as soon as I should have done what might be necessary for the security of that country, to contribute my endeavours towards the settlement of a just and equitable constitution of government at home, and to prevent those mischiefs which I perceived the ambition of the army to be bringing upon us. Having opened myself freely concerning these particulars to Sir Henry Vane, it was obtained, that the parliament, after they had voted me to be commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, passed likewise an order, That when I had put the affairs of that country into a posture of security, I should have liberty to return to England. It was my design, at the next sitting of the committee of nominations, to move them to propose that Sir Henry Vane might succeed me as colonel of that regiment which the parliament had entrusted me with, that he might thereby be enabled to discover and prevent the ill designs of the army. But the presbyterian party in the house, immediately after the parliament had appointed me for the service of Ireland, moved that colonel Herbert Morley might be made colonel of my regiment, and carried it. Divers officers who had faithfully served the commonwealth, and amongst them colonel Rich, were restored to their commands, though not without difficulty: and that major-general Lambert might be altogether inexcusable if he should act against the parliament, they granted him a regiment of horse and one of foot. Then they gave order for raising a troop of horse for their own guard, and gave the command of it to colonel Alured, who had been a great sufferer on the account of the commonwealth, and very active for the restitution of the parliament. The troop consisted of about one hundred and thirty chosen men, nominated by the committee, and approved by the house. Colonel Alured scrupled to accept it, thinking it not equivalent to a regiment of horse which he had commanded, though the pay was appointed to be the same. Being in this disposition, he came to me, and having proposed his doubts, I took the liberty to inform him, as well as I could, of the honour and usefulness of that employment; and having assured him, that if it were offered to me, the circumstances of my affairs permitting, I would prefer it before any other command, he was contented to accept it. Our treasury was so low, through the male-administration of the late governments, that though our plenipotentiaries to the two northern crowns, had received their instructions, yet they were obliged to stay a fortnight longer, before they could receive the sum of two thousand pounds which had been ordered for the expences of their voyage, the taxes coming in but slowly, and the city of London terrified with the reports of an expected insurrection, being very backward in advancing money. Yet considering the great importance of the town of Dunkirk to the trade and navigation of England, the parliament took the first occasion they could, to send one month's pay for the garrison there, to colonel Lockhart governor of that place, with instructions to go on with the fortifications, and to have a vigilant eye as well upon the French as the Spaniard. They ordered him to draw the regiments that had been lent to the king of France as near to the town as he could, being

under some fears that they might be either detained by the French, or obstructed in their return by the Spanish forces. And having received information that the treaty between those two nations went prosperously on, they gave him commission, when he had provided for the security of Dunkirk, to go to the French court as agent from the parliament; and if he found encouragement from cardinal Mazarin, to take upon him the title and character of ambassador, and then to repair to the place where the treaty was carrying on between the two crowns. Colonel Lockhart, according to his instructions, having put all things into a good condition at Dunkirk, and drawn the English regiments out of the French quarters, departed for Paris, and being arrived, was very well received by the cardinal, and from thence went to St. John de Luz, which was the place of the treaty. In the mean time, the parliament, being very desirous to restore the trade with Spain to this nation, and being informed from Flanders that the Spanish ministers were willing to come to an accommodation with us, caused divers subjects of Spain, whom Cromwell had made prisoners, to be released, and would not suffer any act of hostility to be used against those of that nation.

THE act of indemnity had been read twice, and the house was as desirous to dispatch it as their affairs would permit; yet the necessary time spent in the debate and consideration of it was made great use of to incense the army against the parliament: divers warm motions were made for excepting some persons from the benefit of it, who had gotten great estates by their compliance with the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, and abetting the advancement of his son, and also to except those who had sold places, and received money for them; but the chief-justice St. Johns had such an influence upon the house, that he procured a clause to be inserted in the bill to indemnify him for such offices as he had sold in Cromwell's time: which partiality I appeared against so earnestly, that I made him thereby my declared enemy, though I never had expected any sincere friendship from him, because he knew me to be zealous for the regulation of the practice of the law, and himself an obstructor of all endeavours to that end. The two commissions of major-general Lambert being prepared and signed by the speaker, he attended at the door of the house in order to receive them; and being admitted, he was informed by the speaker, That the parliament having a good opinion of his abilities and fidelity, had intrusted him with the command of one regiment of horse and one of foot, for which he then, by their order, delivered the commissions to him. The major-general answered, That as his own inclination and interest led him to promote the service of the parliament, so the obligation they laid on him by so great a trust should doubly excite him to fidelity and obedience to their commands. And I hope he then intended what he promised, though he afterwards proved an instrument of much disorder and confusion amongst us. Mr. Henry Nevil, a person of singular affection to the commonwealth, moved the house that lieutenant-general Fleetwood might be made ranger of St. James's Park, and this he did that no occasion of obliging the army might be omitted; which motion was readily consented to by the parliament: and indeed the lieutenant general, had

had he not been too much influenced by his wife's relations, who pretending that he had injured his brother-in-law by contributing to lay him aside, continually pressed him to irregular proceedings, in order to make him some satisfaction, might have proved a person as fit to command the forces in chief, as the parliament could have chosen: though I am not able to see how he could have served him better, unless peradventure by not consenting to his advancement to the protectorship, than to procure him to be removed with so little detriment to himself and reflection on his family; considering how great a trust his father had betrayed, what dishonour he had brought on the nation, what hardships he had put upon many good men, to the hazard of that just cause which had cost so much blood and treasure of the people.

AT this time the opinions of men were much divided concerning a form of government to be established amongst us. The great officers of the army, as I said before, were for a select standing senate to be joined to the representative of the people. Others laboured to have the supreme authority to consist of an assembly chosen by the people, and a council of state chosen by that assembly, to be vested with the executive power, and accountable to that which should next succeed, at which time the power of the said council should determine. Some were desirous to have a representative of the people constantly sitting, but changed by a perpetual rotation. Others proposed that there might be joined to the popular assembly, a select number of men in the nature of the Lacedemonian Ephori, who should have a negative in things, wherein the essentials of the government should be concerned, such as the exclusion of a single person, touching liberty of conscience, alteration of the constitution, and other things of the last importance to the state. Some were of opinion that it would be most conducing to the publick happiness, if there might be two councils chosen by the people, the one to consist of about three hundred, and to have the power only of debating and proposing laws; the other to be in number about one thousand, and to have the power finally to resolve and determine: every year a third part of each council to go out, and others to be chosen in their places. For my own part, if I may be permitted to declare my opinion, I could willingly have approved either of the two latter propositions, presuming them to be most likely to preserve our just liberties, and to render us a happy people.

SOME members of the council of state proposed, at the board, that the parliament should be moved to appoint twenty of their own number, and ten of the principal officers of the army, to consider of a form of government to be reported to the parliament; and if they should approve it, that then the whole army should be drawn out, and declare their consent to it: which proposition, though it seemed then to find a general approbation, yet proved abortive, and the parliament themselves passed a resolution that on every Wednesday the house should go into a grand committee to consider of that matter.

IN the act of indemnity a clause had been inserted to restrain the favour of the parliament in regard of those who under the usurpation had received exorbitant

riding abroad, he obliged his physicians to endeavour to disperse it, which they endeavouring to do, drove it upwards to his heart. By this means he became desperately sick; and as some about him had for a long time deceived others, so they now endeavoured to impose upon God himself. For Dr. Goodwin, his creature, and trencher-chaplain, used this expression in his prayer during the time of his sickness; "Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted, and assured us of, but for his speedy recovery." At the same time I was in the county of Essex, and according to a former resolution I had taken, went to London to attend my father Oldsworth, and to bring him into the country, whither he designed to come with my mother Ludlow. On the Monday afternoon I set forward on my journey, the morning proving so tempestuous that the horses were not able to draw against it; so that I could reach no farther than Epping that night. By this means I arrived not at Westminster till Tuesday about noon, when passing by Whitehall, notice was immediately given to Cromwell, that I was come to town. Whereupon he sent for lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and ordered him to enquire concerning the reasons of my coming in such haste, and at such a time. The lieutenant-general accordingly desired by a message that I would come to him the next morning, which I did, and understood from him that Cromwell suspected I was come with a design to raise some disturbance in the army, and that he was desirous to know the occasion of my journey. I assured him, that as it was not in my power to cause any commotion in the army, so neither was it in my thoughts at this time; and that I came to town in order to bring our family together into the country, according to a resolution taken a month since, and before I heard of Cromwell's indisposition. He then told me, That the protector had been ill, but that it was now hoped he was recovering. I said, That I wished him so well, that I was not desirous he should die in the way he was in at present, and assured him, that I should be glad of the prolongation of his life, if he would employ it to the publick good, which ought to be more dear to us than life itself.

AT Whitehall they were unwilling to have it known that he was so dangerously ill; yet by reason of a clause in the "humble petition and advice" (which was the rule of government they pretended to act by) that the protector should have power to nominate his successor, the commissioners of the great seal attended for signing the declaration of the person to be appointed to succeed him. But whether he was unwilling to discover his intentions to leave the succession to his son, lest thereby he should, in case of recovery, disoblige others, whom he had put in expectation of that power; or whether he was so discomposed in body and mind, that he could not attend that matter; or lastly, whether he would have named or did name any other, is to me uncertain. But certain it is, that the commissioners were not admitted till the Friday following, when the symptoms of death were apparent upon him, and many ministers and others assembled in a chamber at Whitehall, praying for him, whilst he manifested so little remorse of conscience for his betraying the publick cause, and sacrificing it to the idol of his own ambition, that some of his

last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner, recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great care of the people whom he had so manifestly despised. But he seemed above all concerned for the reproaches he said men would cast upon his name, in trampling on his ashes when dead. In this temper of mind he departed this life about two in the afternoon; and the news of his death being brought to those who were met together to pray for him, Mr. Sterry stood up and desired them not to be troubled. For, said he, this is good news; because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions.

DIFFERENT were the effects that the death of Cromwell produced in the nation: those men who had been sharers with him in the usurped authority were exceedingly troubled, whilst all other parties rejoiced at it; each of them hoping that this alteration would prove advantageous to their affairs. The commonwealth's-men were so charitable to believe, that the soldiery being delivered from their servitude to the general, to which they were willing to attribute their former compliances, would now open their eyes and join with them, as the only means left to preserve themselves and the people. Neither were the cavaliers without great hopes that new divisions might arise, and give them an opportunity of advancing their minion, who had been long endeavouring to unite all the corrupt interests of the nation to his party. But neither the sense of their duty, nor the care of their own safety, nor the just apprehensions of being overcome by their irreconcilable enemy, could prevail with the army to return to their proper station. So that having tasted of sovereignty under the shadow of their late master, they resolved against the restitution of the parliament. And in order to this it was agreed to proclaim Richard Cromwell, eldest son to Oliver, protector of the commonwealth, in hopes that he, who by following his pleasures had rendered himself unfit for publick business, would not fail to place the administration of the government in the hands of those who were most powerful in the army. Accordingly the proclamation was published in Westminster, at Temple-bar, and at the Old Exchange, with as few expressions of joy as had ever been observed on the like occasion. This being done, the council issued out orders to the officers of civil justice, to act by virtue of their old commissions till new ones could be sent to them: and that nothing might be omitted to fortify the new government, various means were used to procure addresses from all parts, which were brought in great numbers from the several counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and also from divers regiments of the army. One of the first acts of the new government was, to order the funeral of the late usurper; and the council having resolved that it should be very magnificent, the care of it was referred to a committee of them, who sending for Mr. Kinnerly master of the Wardrobe, desired him to find out some precedent by which they might govern themselves in this important affair. After examination of his books and papers, Mr. Kinnerly, who was suspected to be inclined to popery, recommended to

them the solemnities used upon the like occasion for Philip the second, king of Spain, who had been represented to be in purgatory for about two months. In the like manner was the body of this great reformer laid in Somerset-house: the apartment was hung with black, the day-light was excluded, and no other but that of wax-tapers to be seen. This scene of purgatory continued till the first of November, which being the day preceding that commonly called All-souls, he was removed into the great hall of the said house, and represented "in effigy," standing on a bed of crimson velvet covered with a gown of the like coloured velvet, a scepter in his hand, and a crown on his head. The part of the hall wherein the bed stood was railed in, and the rails and ground within them covered with crimson velvet. Four or five hundred candles set in flat shining candlesticks were so placed round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave seemed like the rays of the sun: by all which he was represented to be now in a state of glory. This folly and profusion so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt in the night on his escutcheon that was placed over the great gate of Somerset-house. I purposely omit the rest of the pageantry, the great number of persons that attended on the body, the procession to Westminster, the vast expence in mourning, the state and magnificence of the monument erected for him, with many other things that I care not to remember.

THE necessities of the government daily increasing, it was thought expedient to call a parliament, as they termed it. Whereupon the council being summoned, three questions were debated among them.

1st. WHETHER the elections should be made by the counties, cities, and considerable towns, according to the distribution agreed on by the long parliament, and practised by Cromwell in his time; or whether they should be made by the counties, cities, and boroughs, according to the ancient law of the land.

THE 2^d was concerning the thirty members to serve for Ireland, and thirty for Scotland; whether, or how they should be chosen, there having been as yet no distribution of powers to elect, as it was ordered there should be in the humble petition and advice.

THE 3^d was touching the writs of summons to be issued to those of the other house.

FOR the first, the council learned in the art and mystery of the law, advised, That seeing there was a clause in the "petition and advice," that all should be done according to law, it was the most safe way to issue out the writs of election according to the ancient form; and this method, after some debate, was resolved upon, principally because it was well understood that mean and decayed boroughs might be much more easily corrupted, than the numerous counties and considerable cities. The motion for proceeding according to law prevailed with them also, in reference to the writs for members to serve in the "other house," which were accordingly issued out in the same form with those that had been formerly sent to the peers. The second question touching the members for Scotland and Ireland was long debated, the most prudent being of opinion, that

that since writs were to go out in the ancient manner, to elect members to serve for England in parliament, there could be no pretence for those of Scotland and Ireland to sit with them: however, the majority concluded, that members should be chosen for Scotland and Ireland, as had been practised in the time of Cromwell, with this proviso, That they should not be admitted to sit as such, till the consent of those chosen for England were first obtained. The time of election drawing near, the court used their utmost endeavours to procure such men to be chosen as were their creatures, and had their dependencies on them, in which they had no small advantages. For besides the power of discountenancing and punishing those that were not their friends, they had all the preferments as well military as civil in their disposition. The officers of the admiralty and navy had a great influence, not only upon the cinque ports, but also upon all sea-towns whatsoever, and could press at their pleasure any inhabitant to serve at sea, and thereby ruin both them and their families. The sheriffs, who generally were men chosen for such purposes, contributed no little assistance to their design, by disposing the writs to whom they pleased, and making themselves judges of the fitness and due qualifications of all those who should vote at the several elections.

IN the mean time, divers persons who continued unshaken in their zeal and affection to the commonwealth, met at the house of Sir Henry Vane, where they consulted what would be most proper for them to do, in case any of them should be elected to serve in the approaching assembly: and after mature deliberation resolved, That if they should be fairly chosen, and that no unjust or dishonourable thing were required of them, they should accept the employment, and therein use the best of their endeavours to serve the publick, being persuaded, that it is the duty of a good man at all times and in all places, when an opportunity offers itself, to be useful to his country. Neither did they think that their presence and assistance in such an assembly, could by any means be interpreted to be an acknowledgment, that they were a parliament, in prejudice of the right of the long parliament, which, though under a force, yet was never legally dissolved. In consequence of this resolution, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Thomas Scott, Mr. Weaver, colonel Kendrick, and divers others of known affection to the commonwealth, being chosen to serve, sat in the assembly. President Bradshaw was returned by the sheriff for the county of Chester; but some of that county having returned another person, he was not present at their first meetings, the assembly having made an order, That in case of a double return, neither of the competitors should sit till the matter should be heard and decided. Great endeavours were used by the court to prevent the election of Sir Henry Vane; and though their officers refused to return him at Hull and Bristol, at both which places it was said he had the majority, yet at last he was chosen and returned for the borough of Whitchurch in the county of Southampton. The people of this place were advised to this choice by Mr. Robert Wallop; at which the court-faction were so enraged, that they had sent a menacing letter to him, which was subscribed by most justices of the peace for the county, to let him know, that they
would

would oppose his election for the shire, if he persisted to recommend Sir Henry Vane to the choice of the people. But Mr. Wallop despising their threatenings, continued to assist Sir Henry Vane, and was chosen for the county in despite of them.

THOSE that governed at Whitehall had ordered an oath to be administered to all such as should be admitted to sit in the house, whereby the members were to oblige themselves not to act or contrive any thing against the protector. This oath I was unwilling to take, and therefore declined going into the assembly; but being one day walking in Westminster-hall, and meeting Sir Walter St. Johns, who was one of the persons appointed to administer the oath, he asked me why I came not to the house. I told him, That though I had heard divers arguments for taking the oath, yet my doubts not being fully satisfied by them, I had hitherto abstained. Whereupon he desired me to meet him in the lobby the next morning, promising to carry me in with him, which, said he, will create a belief in the house that I have given you the oath. Accordingly I attended, but not finding Sir Walter there, I went in, and the house being at prayers, I stood amongst the rest of the members till they were ended, and then went up to the speaker's chamber, where, and in the gallery, I sat with as much privacy as I could. Thus I continued to do for about a week, when news was brought, to the great mortification of the court, that Sir Henry Vane was chosen to serve in this assembly for the borough of Whitechurch, as was mentioned before. Sir Henry Vane being come to town, and informed that I sat in the house, he was pleased to make me a visit, and to enquire by what means I had procured admission, for he had been acquainted with my scruples touching the oath. I assured him, that my doubts remained still unsatisfied; but that I had ventured to go into the assembly, where I sat as yet without any interruption. Within a day or two a member informed me of an intention in some to complain to the house against me, for sitting amongst them without the qualification of the oath: to which I answered, That it was no more than I expected. And accordingly one of the members called Bodurdo, the same day pressed to be heard touching a matter which, he said, concerned the very being of the house; having been informed that there sat a person amongst them, who had not taken the oath required to be administered to every member before his admission. He therefore moved the house to inquire into it, and to give order that all men that sat there might be upon an equal foot. This motion was opposed by some, who alledged that it was of far less importance than many other things that were before them. But Mr. John Trevor, a leading man of the court-party, seconded the former motion, though with much civility and respect, urging, That he could not but think it very reasonable, and of consequence, considering the worth, as he was pleased to say, of the person concerned. So the debate was entered upon, and divers gave their opinions, that the oath should be peremptorily required. But Mr. Weaver and some others opposed them, alledging, that, for the most part, oaths proved only snares to honest men, it being generally observed, that those who were least conscientious in keeping an oath, were the most forward to take it.

Colonel

Colonel Eyres also informed the house, that he had sat in the long parliament without taking the oath then prescribed, and that he was fully persuaded that my omission therein proceeded not from a spirit of opposition, but from a real scruple of conscience; that his case had formerly been the same with mine; and though no man could question my affection to that parliament, yet I had moved the house in his behalf, and was the person nominated by them to bring him into the house without taking the oath. This debate continuing for two or three hours, was at length interrupted by the discovery of a person sitting in the house, who had not been elected so to do: his name was King, and being called to the bar, the house demanded of him, whether he were a member. To which he answered, That he knew not whether he were or no; for meeting with an alderman of London, who asked him if he were chosen, he demanded of him the reason of his question: whereupon the alderman saying that he had seen the name of one King upon the list of returns, he came down to the house, and had continued so to do, that he might not be wanting in his duty. This man being ordered to withdraw, many of the members willingly left the debate, and others did so too from their great zeal against him, supposing him to be a dangerous person, because he had been observed that morning in the speaker's chamber to approve and promote a paper which was there delivered, tending to shew the wickedness of the designs that were carrying on by the court-faction, and the necessity incumbent on the assembly to restore the commonwealth. So the merits of this person having been debated also, and the house being informed by one of the members serving for the city of London, that the man was distempered in his head to that degree, that his relations were often obliged to bind him hand and foot, they contented themselves to send him to Newgate for a day or two, and then ordered him to be discharged. By this means the assembly was diverted from resolving to impose the oath; and though they were much inclined to get rid of my company, yet partly by finding so great opposition, and partly by discovering that there were some of another interest which they liked better, that had not taken it, they were discouraged from resuming that debate for the future, though they did sometimes mention it by way of reflection, when I moved any thing displeasing to them.

ALL men were in great expectation what the resolutions of the house would be concerning the government. The founder part of them were very desirous to secure themselves in the two essential points which had been the ground of the quarrel between the king and the parliament, viz. "the militia" and the "negative voice," and to establish them in the representative of the people, before they should enter upon any other business. But whilst these important matters were under consideration, Mr. Thurloe a member of the assembly, and secretary to Mr. Richard Cromwell, presented them with a declaration ready drawn, wherein was contained an acknowledgment of the said Richard Cromwell to be protector, and the "petition and advice" to be the rule of government for these nations. This action was, by impartial men, esteemed to be a great injury to the assembly, but he had a sufficient strength amongst them

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to carry him through whatsoever he thought fit to undertake, and therefore, he was not only defended for what he had done, but it was resolved that the declaration should be received and debated. Hereupon it was moved, that the instrument might be produced, wherein, according to "the petition and advice," the successor ought to be nominated, and the great seal affixed; but they having no such thing to shew, over-ruled that motion. Not being able to obtain this, and being extremely desirous to place the militia in the parliament, and to make void any pretence to a negative voice in a single person, as well as to do some other things for the people's safety and welfare, the court-party refused to consent to any thing of that nature for the present, craftily insinuating and making large promises, that such things as were necessary should be done hereafter at a more convenient season. In the next place, it was desired, That since it appeared the present power had no legal foundation, and that it would be most safe for the protector to derive his authority from a right source, the words in the declaration of "recognizing" him might be altered for "agnizing" him; that so his right might appear to be founded upon the consent of the people represented in this assembly. But this proposition, though enforced with many weighty reasons, was rejected as the former had been, though it was thought convenient to divide the house upon it. Upon this success, the court presuming to carry all before them, grew unmeasurably insolent, and all that could be done was only to lengthen out their debates, and to hang on the wheels of the chariot, that they might not be able to drive so furiously. By this means time was gained to infuse good principles into divers young gentlemen, who before had never been in any publick assembly, in hopes that though for the present their previous engagements should carry them against us, yet upon more mature deliberation they might discover where their true interest lay. Neither were our endeavours without success, for, having frequently held the house nine or ten days in debate before they could come to a question, many gentlemen who came to Westminster prepossessed in favour of the court, confessed that the reasons of the commonwealth-party were so cogent, that they were not able to resist them. And because all parties had confederated against us, we, in order to lessen their numbers, impeached divers of them for having been of the king's party, by which means we procured some of them to be expelled, and frightened away some others who knew themselves to be in the same condition. The court, to requite us, brought Mr. Marvin Touchet a papist, and brother to the lord of Castlehaven, to accuse Mr. Villars, who had voted with us, of serving in the king's army; and though it appeared that he was forced so to do by those who had the government of him, he being then but sixteen years of age, and that he came into the parliament's quarters as soon as he had an opportunity, yet, all that could be said, proving not sufficient to excuse him, he was likewise voted out from the house. The next thing we endeavoured, was to remove the Scottish and Irish members, who had intruded themselves into the house, and to have the question put, "Whether those members chosen by Scotland ought, by the law of the land, to sit as members of this parliament."

ment." The reasons used to justify the wording of the question in this manner were: 1. That there was no colour, by the antient law of the land, for their sitting as members of the parliament of England, having always been a distinct kingdom from it. 2. That there had been no distribution of powers to elect, as was required by the "humble petition and advice." The court would by no means permit the question to be put in the manner before-mentioned, but moved that it might be thus proposed in the following words, "Whether the house thought fit, that those returned from Scotland should sit as members of this parliament:" by this means, turning a question of right into a question of conveniency. However, because our question was first proposed, we insisted that it might also be first put; and likewise moved, that those sent from Scotland and Ireland being the persons concerned in the question, might be ordered to withdraw, and not be permitted to sit judges of their own case: and this we thought we might with more reason demand, because their own party had already waved the legality of their election by the form of words they had used in the question they proposed: but the pretended members for Scotland and Ireland, except only one Mr. Swinton, who modestly withdrew, as they had debated their own case with much confidence, so by the support of the court, they resolved to decide it in their own favour. When we saw ourselves thus overpowered by violence and number, we had the question put for leaving out the words, "By the law of the land," which being carried in the affirmative; and therefore to be entered in the journal, we let fall words in the house to insinuate that they were not a legal parliament, having no countenance from the authority by which they acted: and as to their prudential way of admitting the Scots and Irish on the account of conveniency, we said it would weaken all that should be done by this assembly, whose actions would be weighed and duly considered by those that should come into power when they were gone: That the laws of this assembly, though it were granted that they were a legal parliament, would not bind the people of Scotland, who are not governed by the common law of England, and therefore that it was unreasonable that those chosen by that nation, should have any part in making laws for the people of England; and that it was intolerable, that they who had fought against a commonwealth should be consulted with in the framing of our constitution, and so vote us out of that with their tongues, which they could never fight us out of with their swords. But all our arguments were answered by calling for the question, which they carried by a great number of votes, as they did also that for admitting those returned for Ireland.

THE court having overcome these difficulties, doubted not to obtain the establishment of their house of lords, which they called the "other house;" and therefore moved for recognizing them also. The commonwealths-men proposed that the assembly would first take into their consideration the powers wherewith the "other house" should be vested, before they proceeded to the recognition of them, lest our qualifying them with the title of a house, and our approbation of the persons that were to fill it, might be a means to procure them

more power than otherwise we should think fit to give them. But the court-party alledged that the "other house" being already constituted, it was no more in the power of the commons to alter their establishment, than in the power of the "new house" to make any change in that of the commons. Then we endeavoured to shew them the unreasonableness of imposing such a house upon the nation, telling them, That in antient times, those that came to parliament sat there by virtue of the lands they possessed, and that he who had twenty fees, each of twenty pounds yearly rent, might demand his place in the house as an earl; and that whosoever was possessed of thirteen fees, whereof one third part was military, had a right to sit in the same house as a baron: that this method continued till the greater barons, finding themselves overvoted, withdrew into a distinct house. But king Henry the third having obtained a victory against the barons, deprived them of their antient usages, and permitted none of them to come to parliament without a writ of summons from him. We shewed them that the house of lords antiently consisted of persons, on whom the commons had their dependance; and being for the most part retainers to them, were clothed in their liveries: but the balance being now altered, and the greatest part of the lands of England devolved upon the commons, they, instead of wearing the lords blue coats, did now give wages to most of those who pretended to be members of the "other house." But notwithstanding all that could be said, the confederacy for them was strong enough to carry all before them, the cavalierish party, who were very numerous, joining with them, in expectation that it might prove a good step towards the return of the former peerage: so the question was put, "Whether this house should transact with the other house," and carried in the affirmative. We then desired, That seeing this house was undeniably more honourable in the members of it than the other, and much more in relation to those whom they represented, that the members of this house might not go to them with messages as formerly, unless the members of the "new house" would respectively come to us with their messages; or, that the masters in chancery, who were accustomed to be the lords messengers, might be divided between the two houses for that purpose: but this also was denied, and we were told, "That a feather might hinder the motion of a clock as well as a piece of iron." The subject of our first transaction with the "other house" was touching a declaration for a fast, which, by some expressions in it, "of taking shame to ourselves for neglecting to settle the government of the church, and having permitted so many erroneous and heretical opinions to be divulged," with others of the like nature, discovered plainly in what mint it was forged. This declaration being agreed to, it was ordered to be carried to the "other house" for their concurrence, by one Mr. Grove, who was accompanied by divers young gentlemen, and many of the cavalier-party, all of them attending like so many lackeys at the bar of the "other house," whilst the ceremonies of presenting it were performed, which were the same that had been formerly used to the peers on the like occasion. Those of the "other house" were wonderfully pleased with this application to them, having waited near three months for it,

and having no business to do, had consumed great store of fire to keep them warm at the publick charge: yet upon the debate they found not so great an unanimity as in the receiving it; for Mr. Cromwell's party and the presbyterians fell violently upon the independents and some of the army, concerning some clauses therein inserted, as they said, by those of their party. These divisions were not confined within the walls of that house, but broke out in the army itself, the officers every where discovering their jealousies one of another. They were divided into three parties, and neither of them much superior to the other in number. One party was known to be well affected to the commonwealth, and consisted chiefly of the following officers, viz. colonel Ashfield, colonel Lilburn, colonel Fitz, lieutenant-colonel Mason, lieutenant-colonel Moss, lieutenant-colonel Farley, major Creed, with divers captains and other inferior officers. A second party was known by the title of the Wallingford-house, or army-party, who had advanced Mr. Richard Cromwell in expectation of governing all as they pleased: of these were lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Desborough, colonel Sydenham, colonel Clarke, colonel Kelsey, colonel Berry, major Haines, treasurer Blackwel, and some others. The third party was that of Mr. Richard Cromwell, who having cast off those that had taken the pains to advance him, joined himself to men that were more suitable to his inclinations; such were colonel Ingoldsbey, colonel Gough, colonel Whalley, colonel Howard, colonel Goodrick, lieutenant-colonel Keins, with many others, and more particularly those that were officers in the Scots and Irish forces. But his cabinet-council were the lord Broghil, Dr. Wilkins, and colonel Philip Jones. The differences between these parties being already very great, were yet much increased by the following accident. Colonel Whalley, whom Richard had lately made commissary-general of the horse, meeting with colonel Ashfield in Westminster-Hall, and discoursing with him concerning the "other house," about which their sentiments were very different, the commissary-general fell into such a passion, that he threatened to strike the colonel, who thereupon daring him to do it, Whalley chose rather to make his complaint to Mr. Richard Cromwell. Colonel Ashfield being summoned to appear, the pretended protector threatened to cashier him as a mutineer, for speaking in such a manner to a general officer of the army. But the colonel desiring a fair and equal hearing by a council of officers, he was ordered to attend again. At the time appointed it was contrived that colonel Gough, colonel Ingoldsbey, colonel Howard, lieutenant-colonel Goodrick, and other creatures of the court should be present to decide the matter in dispute, who unanimously enjoined colonel Ashfield to acknowledge his fault, and to ask the commissary-general's pardon for the same: but their endeavours herein proved ineffectual, for the colonel denying that he had offended the commissary-general, refused to desire his pardon. Another thing happened about the same time, that proved very disadvantageous to the interest of Mr. Richard Cromwell: for a certain inferior officer having publicly murmured at the advancement of some that had been cavaliers to commands in the army, he was carried to Whitehall to answer for the same. Mr.

Richard Cromwell, besides other reproachful language, asked him in a deriding manner, Whether he would have him prefer none but those that were godly? "Here," continued he, "is Dick Ingoldsby who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before ye all." Those imprudent, as well as irreligious words, so clearly discovering the frame and temper of his mind, were soon published in the army and city of London, to his great prejudice. And from this time all men among them who made but the least pretences to religion and sobriety, began to think themselves unsafe whilst he governed, and thereupon soon formed a resolution to use their utmost endeavours to divide the military from the civil power, and to place the command of the army in lieutenant-general Fleetwood.

THE Wallingford-house party, finding themselves abandoned by Mr. Richard Cromwell, and being very desirous, if not to get the whole power into their hands, yet at least to preserve what they were already possessed of, and to render themselves formidable, desired to renew a correspondence with the commonwealths-men, and to that end ordered colonel Kelsey, one of their members, to let me know that if I would go to Wallingford-house, I should meet with a welcome reception from the lieutenant-general and the rest of the company. Accordingly I went thither, and perceiving them to agree that the measures then taken would inevitably bring in the common enemy, I could not forbear telling them, that though I was heartily sorry for the sad consequences such a revolution might bring upon the people of England, yet with respect to themselves they had merited whatsoever had already happened, or was justly to be feared, in that they had advanced a single person over us, when it was in their power to put us into a full possession of our liberties. However, that I presumed it was not yet too late, if they would resolve to join themselves to that part of the army who were well affected to the commonwealth, and who in conjunction with them would in all appearance be enabled to restore that government, which had cost the nation so much blood to establish. I told them, that it would be convenient to give some earnest of the sincerity of their reconciliation with us, in order to recover that trust and confidence from the commonwealth-party, which was so necessary to our present undertaking; and to that end proposed, that they would support and defend colonel Ashfield, who was like to suffer for his affection to the commonwealth. They acquainted me, that they had already appeared for the colonel, and promised to do him the best offices they could in his affair, yet expressed an unwillingness to ruin some of their friends, who were of Mr. Cromwell's party, and particularly named colonel Whalley. I replied, That if colonel Whalley was so good a man to to deserve that consideration from them, I persuaded myself he would not oppose them; but if he were otherwise, they could not justly be thought worthy of the honour of being employed in the rescue and deliverance of their country, who should suffer themselves to be so much governed by private interests and engagements. Nothing more of moment passed between us in this conversation, except that they desired to keep a good correspondence with us, and to that end moved that they might see Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haslerig,

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Haslerig, or at least be made acquainted with their opinion concerning the publick affairs, and receive their advice touching their future proceedings. I told them, It was my opinion, that those two gentlemen were too prudent to appear publicly in a matter of this nature, before full satisfaction that those of Wallingford-house were in earnest, and had done something that should put them past all retreat: yet I promised them to inform myself concerning their sentiments, and to advertise them from time to time what measures they should think most proper to be taken. The next day I acquainted Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haslerig with what had passed, and they approved the way that was proposed, and promised that when they saw it seasonable they would be ready to assist them in all things tending to the publick service. With this answer I went to colonel Sydenham, and desired him to impart it to the rest of the company at Wallingford-house; and then asking him concerning their proceedings, he told me, they designed to procure a general council of officers to be called, which if they could effect, he hoped it would be of great advantage to their affairs. After two or three days some of the principal of the party finding Mr. Cromwell alone, took the opportunity to persuade him of the necessity of calling a general council of officers, in order to present something to the house for the regulation and maintenance of the army: he not suspecting their design, consented to the proposition, and having issued out an order to that purpose, a general council of officers met. Both parties endeavoured to take advantage of this meeting, and the lightest vessels being usually most noisy, the Irish officers first moved, that the council would petition the house that the protector might be declared general of the army, as the only means to put an end to the divisions that were amongst them: but this motion found so little approbation, that the court party began to doubt of their success at this meeting, and had much more reason so to do, when they heard the hum that was given upon a proposition made to this effect, That it would be more advantageous to the army, and more conducing to the good of the nation, if the military and civil power might be placed in different hands, that the one might be a balance to the other. The temper and inclinations of the council being thus tried, they were adjourned to another day. In the mean time the party of Wallingford-house beginning to appear more publicly, colonel Desborough and colonel Sydenham sent an officer to desire me to give them a meeting in the chamber where the committee for the army usually sat, and to bring with me two or three persons, in whose affections to the publick I had the most confidence. Accordingly I made choice of colonel Dixwel, and my cousin Mr. Wallop, and with them went to the place appointed, where our discourse tended chiefly to give reciprocal assurances of our resolution to join together in order to promote the publick good, promising to use our endeavours to remove all doubts and scruples that might remain in any of us, that by a mutual trust and confidence in each other, we might be the better enabled to prevent the return of the common enemy. The second time the general council of officers met, they went a step farther, and declared their apprehensions, "That the common cause was likely to be ruined by the subtilty and artifices of those
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who had never been able to do it by open force ;” and therefore desired that the command of the army might be intrusted to the care of some fit person, in whom they might all confide. This proposition found so general an approbation, that it was impossible for the courtiers to resist the stream, and so the meeting was adjourned to another day. In the mean time Mr. Cromwell and his party were exceedingly alarmed at these proceedings ; and not daring to trust to their own authority in this matter, they contrived it so as to engage the parliament in their defence. Accordingly some members of the commons house charged the council with mutinous words there spoken against the government, and against the resolutions of the parliament itself. This accusation was so well seconded, that the house resolved to dissipate the storm, and to that end passed a vote, “ That the officers of the army should no more meet as a general council.” Yet for all this they met again at the time appointed, in order to proceed in their design : but the house having notice of it, and being very desirous to enable Mr. Cromwell to make their vote effectual, declared him to be general of their army, authorizing him to disperse the officers to their respective charges, to remove from their commands such as should disobey, and to place others in the room of them. They also voted it to be high treason in the officers to meet in council contrary to their order, and promised to cause the arrears of those that should yield obedience, to be forthwith paid, with assurances to take care of them for the future. Mr. Richard Cromwell having notice of these votes, immediately went to the place where the council of officers was assembled ; and having informed them of what had passed, he told them he expected their present obedience. The officers not being then prepared to dispute his commands, withdrew themselves ; but the chief of them continued their meetings in a more private manner, making use of all means imaginable to oblige Mr. Richard Cromwell into a compliance with them : but he relying on the strength of his new friends, refused to hearken to them ; so that they perceived it to be high time to provide for the security of themselves. Information being given at court that something extraordinary was in agitation, the protector Richard sent a message to lieutenant-general Fleetwood to come to him, but the messenger returned without an answer. Then he ordered some of the guard to be sent for him ; but they desired to be excused. The lieutenant-general having notice of this design, retired to St. James’s, where many officers of the army resorting to him, it was concluded between them, that the whole army should rendezvous at St. James’s. The news of this resolution being brought to Mr. Cromwell, he also appointed a counter-rendezvous to be at the same time at Whitehall. Accordingly colonel Gough sent orders for his regiment to march to Whitehall ; but the major had already prevailed with them to draw to St. James’s. Three troops of colonel Ingoldsbys horse marched also to St. James’s, with part of two more, so that he had only one entire troop of his regiment to stand by him. Colonel Whalley’s regiment of horse for the most part left him, and went off to St. James’s, which he seeing, opened his breast, and desired them to shoot him. Colonel Hacker’s regiment of horse being drawn up near Cheapside, Mr. Cromwell sent a mes-
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age to the colonel, with an order to require him forthwith to march to Whitehall; but he excused himself, and said that he had received orders from lieutenant-general Fleetwood to keep that post. Many also of Richard's own guard went to St. James's, and most of those that staid with him, declared they would not oppose any that should come to them by order from lieutenant-general Fleetwood. Thus here was a general without an army, and divers great officers without soldiers; who having boasted of their interest in the army, and having thereby led the house into their late rash proceedings, now being utterly disappointed in their hopes and expectations, knew not what to advise, or what to do. About noon colonel Desborough went to Mr. Richard Cromwell at Whitehall, and told him, that if he would dissolve his parliament, the officers would take care of him; but that, if he refused so to do, they would do it without him, and leave him to shift for himself. Having taken a little time to consider of it, and finding no other way left to do better, he consented to what was demanded. This great alteration was made with so little noise, that very few were alarmed at it. The next morning the house met, and divers members made extravagant motions, rather, as was supposed, to vent their own passion, than from any hopes of success: for whatever were the resolutions that had been made by the court junto, they could not suddenly be brought to a vote, because the contrary party was considerably increased by this change of affairs. Few of the house knew of the resolution taken to put a period to them, or if they did, were unwilling to take notice of it; so that when the usher of the black rod, who attended the "other house," came to let the serjeant at arms know, that it was the pleasure of the protector that the house of commons should attend him at the "other house," many of them were unwilling to admit the serjeant into the house to deliver the message; but the commonwealth party demanded and obtained that he should give the house an account of what the gentleman of the black rod had said to him. The assembly being under this confusion, adjourned themselves till eight of the clock the next morning; but care was taken to prevent their meeting again by publishing a proclamation, declaring them to be dissolved, by setting a padlock on the door of the house, and by placing a guard in the court of requests, with orders to refuse admittance to all those who should demand it. The army having broken this assembly, were not so unanimous in resolving what step to take next. The chief of them were most inclined to patch up some agreement with Mr. Richard Cromwell, if they could effect it with advantage to themselves. In the mean time they permitted the ordinary court of justice to run in his name, whilst they themselves disposed of the offices of the army at their pleasure, removing such as had appeared active against them at the time of their general rendezvous, and filling the vacancies with their own creatures. They took major-general Lambert into their councils, and restored him, together with colonel Packer and captain Gladman, to their several commands. Sir Charles Coot went post for Ireland to carry the news of this great alteration to colonel Henry Cromwell, and to consult what might be done to continue their reign. Colonel Henry Ingoldsby hastened after him on the same account; and

and soon after their arrival, all possible care was taken to maintain themselves. To that end Sir Charles Coot was sent into Connaught, lieutenant-colonel Fowler into Ulster, the lord Broghil into Munster; and the troops they most confided in were ordered to march towards Dublin. This being done, a council of officers was called together by colonel Cromwell, and a proposition made to them, that they would declare themselves ready to stand by and defend Mr. Richard Cromwell; which they declined to do at that time, desiring to see what course would be taken by the army in England before they should declare themselves. In England there were not wanting some who endeavoured to support this tottering government; but finding themselves hopeless of success in or about London, they resolved to act their parts farther off. In order to this they made choice of the north, principally by reason of the neighbourhood of Scotland, where the forces were commanded by colonel George Monk, a person of an ambitious and covetous temper, of loose, or rather no principles, and of a vicious and scandalous conversation. The chief instruments made use of in this design were the lord Falconbridge and colonel Howard, who, though they had attended on lieutenant-general Fleetwood before they began their journey, to assure him of their resolutions to acquiesce, yet had both tampered with their regiments, in order to fit them to their purposes, and also held a correspondence with colonel Monk, who was not a little suspected by the confederated officers of Wallingford-house.

THE Wallingford-house party, who had thus possessed themselves of the supreme power, were every day pressed from all parts, and especially from the city of London, to restore the long parliament, as the only means to satisfy the people, and to establish an equal and just government amongst us in the way of a commonwealth. Neither were there wanting divers officers of the army, who positively declared that they would not rest contented with any thing less. Besides, the commonwealth party had absolutely refused to hearken to any propositions of accommodation with Mr. Richard Cromwell, and great endeavours had been used by the son of the late king, in conjunction with the presbyterians, to raise tumults and insurrections in England. To which may be added, the great probability that appeared of a peace to be concluded speedily between France and Spain, who would then be at leisure to assist the common enemy. These things being seriously considered by those of Wallingford-house, and finding themselves destitute of all other means to supply the necessities of the army and navy, they were compelled at last to admit the debate of the restitution of the long parliament amongst other propositions that were under their consideration. They also restored some officers to their commands, who had suffered for their affections to the parliament; and amongst others colonel Okey and colonel Saunders, who had been cashiered by Oliver Cromwell on that account. The proposition of restoring the parliament met with great opposition, from many of those who had tasted the sweetness of power and profit under the late usurpation of the Cromwells, and who feared a more equal distribution of things; and therefore they every where affirmed, that there was not a sufficient number of members left to make up a parliament. Hereupon Dr. John Owen
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having desired me to give him a list of their names, I delivered him one, wherein I had marked those who had sat in the house since the year 1648, and were yet alive, amounting to the number of about one hundred and sixty. The doctor having perused it, carried it to those at Wallingford-house, who, for the reasons before-mentioned, appointed a committee of their associates to treat with some members of that parliament, in order to a clearing of some particulars which seemed most considerable to them, before they should proceed to a final determination in this great affair. The place of meeting was Sir Henry Vane's house at Charing-Cross; the persons of and from the army were major-general Lambert, colonel John Jones, colonel Kelsey, colonel Berry, &c. Those of the parliament were Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, major Saloway, and myself. The things demanded by those of the army were,

1. To be secured by an act of indemnity for what was past.
2. THAT some provision of power might be made for Mr. Richard Cromwell, as well as for the payment of his debts, and future subsistence in a plentiful manner, they having promised to take care of him in these particulars.
3. THAT what should stand in need of regulation both in the law and clergy, should be reformed and amended.
4. THAT the government of the nation should be by a representative of the people, and by a select senate.

FOR the first, it was thought reasonable that something of that nature should be done, as well to gratify those who should contribute to our return, as for our own future peace and quiet.

TOUCHING the second proposition concerning a provision to be made for Mr. Richard Cromwell, we said, that though the parliament and nation had been greatly injured by the interruption they had received, yet seeing those that were at present in possession of the power had engaged to make some provision for him, we were contented for ourselves, that those debts which he had contracted on the publick account should be paid, that so he might be enabled to subsist comfortably: but that we could by no means consent to continue any part of his late assumed power to him, neither could we believe, that such a proposition would ever be hearkened to by the members of the parliament, if they should come together.

THE third proposition was easily agreed to, all of us declaring, that we would use the utmost of our endeavours to rectify and reform whatsoever should appear to be amiss, either in church or state.

IN the fourth proposition we found a greater difficulty, not being all of the same opinion, with respect to that part of it relating to the "senate." Whereupon, finding that out of a desire to avoid any thing that might prove an obstruction to the return of the parliament, or possibly from an inclination in some to the thing itself, there was an intention by a general silence about that matter, to give them hopes of our compliance; therefore, that they might have no just occasion to say hereafter, that we had dealt doubly with them, keeping fair in that particular before our admission, and after we were admitted,

ted, declaring against it, I thought it my duty to let them know, that if by a select senate they understood a lasting power, co-ordinate with the authority of the people's representative, and not chosen by the people, I could not engage to promote the establishment of such a power, apprehending that it would prove a means to perpetuate our differences, and make it necessary to keep up a standing force to support it. But if they proposed to erect such an authority only for a short time, and in order to proceed with more vigour to an equal and just establishment of the commonwealth, I presumed it might be very useful, and that the people would readily acquiesce, when it should be evident, that it was designed to no other end than to prevent them from destroying themselves, and not to enslave them to any faction or party. After four or five hours debate concerning these particulars, we desired them to consider that whatsoever had been said by us in this conference, ought only to be taken as proceeding from private men, and that we durst not presume to promise any thing on the part of the parliament. However, we encouraged them to hope, that if we four joined in proposing any thing in the house for the publick good, we might probably bring it to effect. At the conclusion of our conversation, major-general Lambert assured us, that he would represent to the general council what had passed between us, as fairly and with as much advantage as we could desire. After three or four days, the same company met again at the same place, where those that were employed by the council of officers, declared the resolution of themselves, and of those they represented, to be, That the parliament should be restored, and thereupon pressed us, that the members might meet with all possible expedition, being persuaded that delays, in a matter of such importance, might hazard the success of all. Therefore it was resolved, that notice should be given to such members as were in town, to meet on the Thursday following at Mr. Lenthal their speaker's house, and that the officers of the army should come thither, and there acquaint us with the desires of the army. At the time appointed, about sixteen of us went to the speaker's house, and having informed him of the cause of our coming, he began to make many trifling excuses, pleading his age, sickness, and inability to sit long. Soon after the committee from the general council came, and major-general Lambert, in the name of the rest, acquainted the speaker, That in order to reconcile our differences, and to unite all those that were well affected to the publick, it was the desire of the army, that the parliament would return to the discharge of their duty, according to the trust reposed in them by the people of England, promising to stand by them, and serve them to the utmost of their power. The speaker, who had been lately at court, where they had prevailed with him to endeavour to render this design, which they feared above all things, ineffectual; and on the other hand, being unwilling to lose his late acquired peerage, renewed his former excuses, with this addition, that he was not fully satisfied, that the death of the late king had not put an end to the parliament. To this it was answered, That by a law made by an undisputed authority, the parliament could not be dissolved without their own consent, which had never yet been given. And therefore they desired him, as he valued the peace and happiness
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of the nation, to send his letters to such members as were about the town, requiring them to meet the next morning in the lords house, in order to resume their places in the house of commons, so soon as they might make up a "quorum." He replied, That he could by no means do as we desired, having appointed a business of far greater importance to himself, which he would not omit on any account, because it concerned the salvation of his own soul. We then pressed him to inform us what it might be: to which he answered, That he was preparing himself to participate of the Lord's supper, which he resolved to take on the next Lord's day. Upon this it was replied, That mercy is more acceptable to God than sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for the foresaid duty, than by contributing to the publick good. But he resolving to perform some part of his promise to Mr. Richard Cromwell, would not be persuaded to send letters to the members, as it was desired. So that we found ourselves obliged to tell him, That the service of the publick had been too long obstructed by the will of single persons; and that if he refused to issue out his letters to the members, we would cause it to be done by other means: and thereupon gave orders to such clerks as we then had there ready for that purpose, to draw directions for the messengers who were to summon the members, and to divide the list amongst them, in such a manner as might best provide for the expedition of the business. In the morning about thirty members being come, and the number increasing continually, the speaker, who had appointed his spies to bring him word whether he might probably make up a house or not, being informed that we wanted not above three or four, notwithstanding the salvation of his soul, thought it time to come to us, and soon after the requisite number was completed. About twelve o'clock we went to take our places in the house, Mr. Lenthal our speaker leading the way, and the officers of the army lining the rooms for us, as we passed through the painted chamber, the court of requests, and the lobby itself, the principal officers having placed themselves nearest to the door of the parliament-house, every one seeming to rejoice at our restitution, and promising to live and die with us. The same day, the house appointed a committee of safety, with authority to seize and secure such as might justly be suspected of any design to disturb the publick peace, and also to remove such officers of the army as they should think fit, and to fill their places with others, till the parliament should take farther order therein. The persons constituted to be of that committee were Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Sydenham, major Saloway, colonel John Jones, and myself. These were of the house, and to them were joined from without, major-general Lambert, colonel Desborough, and colonel Berry. The time appointed for the duration of their power was, if I mistake not, eight days, by which time it was supposed the house would be able to constitute a council of state, to take care of affairs of that nature. The parliament referred to the committee to give notice to foreign ambassadors residing in England, and to the ministers of this nation employed in foreign parts, of their return to the exercise of their authority. They likewise directed them to inform themselves what alliances England had abroad,

and to report the state of that affair to the house. They impowered them also, to make enquiry into the miscarriages of officers during the late confusions, to remove such as they found guilty, and to put others in their places, and then to lay the whole matter before the parliament for their approbation. To the members of the house that were of the committee, they added Mr. Scott; and then ordered them to take a view of all the civil officers of the nation, authorizing them to displace those that should be found unfit to serve, and to place others in the room of them, and to report what they had done to the house. Writs and all proceedings at law were directed to run as formerly, in the name of the "keepers of the liberties of England." And lest the judges who were members of the house might, by their influence there, prevent the intended reformation of the law, it was resolved, that no member of parliament should be a judge in any court. Information being given to the committee, that colonel Norton governor of Portsmouth had let fall some expressions of discontent, they knowing the place to be of great importance, sent down colonel Whet-
ham, who formerly had been governor thereof, to take possession of the government of it; at which, though the colonel was much disturbed, yet in a letter to me written by him soon after, he assured me he should be very well satisfied, if we would proceed to the settlement of an equal commonwealth. A committee for the sea-affairs was also appointed by the parliament, who being informed of the disaffection of some that managed the business of the admiralty to the present government, the house was earnestly pressed to pass a vote for excluding them from that employment; but at last they were prevailed with to refer it to the committee which they had already appointed for nominating officers, to propose some for that charge. The committee having resolved to acquaint the persons they designed to propose to the parliament, with their intentions before-hand, demanded of colonel Kelsey if he would accept of it, and easily obtained his consent, though they told him, they could not promise him any other salary than what he should merit by a diligent performance of the duties of the place. The same proposition being made to colonel Clark, he told them, he would consider well before he would engage so far with the present authority. This carriage of the colonel caused me to suspect that the army had still some design on foot, more than appeared openly; and I was the rather induced to this suspicion by his relation to Thurloe the late secretary, and his familiarity with colonel Desborough; especially considering that the way was still open to reconcile themselves to Mr. Richard Cromwell, who yet remained at Whitehall without making any preparations for his removal. The officers also, under colour of enquiring into the miscarriages of the late governments, and modelling the affairs of the army, had frequent meetings, wherein greater care was taken to maintain their own faction, than to provide for the publick service. It was very evident by the lists of officers presented to them by the committee, that the Wallingford-house party was not so averse to the creatures of Mr. Richard Cromwell, as they were to those who had been sufferers on the account of the commonwealth. So that major-general Overton, colonel Rich, colonel Alured, and captain Bremen, were not
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without great difficulty received into the service. The regiment of horse that had been commanded by colonel Howard was given to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and a day or two after, it was proposed that I should be colonel of that which had been commanded by colonel Gough; Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway earnestly pressing me to accept of it. But being unwilling to intermeddle with any employment of advantage under the parliament, that I might give my voice in the house with more freedom and impartiality, I desired to be excused. Having taken this resolution, Sir Arthur Haslerig came to me and told me, that unless I did accept it, he would quit the regiment he commanded, which he protested to have taken, not with a design to make any advantage of it, being resolved not to receive any pay, but only to have a right to be present at the councils of war, whereby he might be enabled to do some good, and possibly to prevent more mischief. Having weighed these things, and considered that our greatest danger was likely to arise from the army, the principal officers of which had been debauched from their duty by Oliver Cromwell, and had learned their own strength when they obstructed his design to be king; that they had placed his son in the same power after his death, and pulled him down again upon their dislike of his government, I consented to undertake the command of the regiment that was offered to me. The parliament having many important affairs under their consideration, were not yet at leisure to constitute a council of state, and therefore continued the powers granted to the committee of safety for a longer time, and declared their intentions to be, that the nation should be governed in the way of a commonwealth, without a king, single person, or house of lords. They also ordered that Whitehall should be cleared with all convenient speed for the use of the publick; that care should be taken of the goods and furniture belonging to it, and that the committee should take care that Mr. Richard Cromwell might have notice of these their resolutions. In the mean time the parliament took into their consideration what powers and instructions were requisite for the council of state, and voted their number to consist of thirty-one, whereof twenty-one to be of the parliament, and ten to be of such persons as were not members of the house. And the better to shew the consideration the parliament had for some eminent persons who were not of their body, and principally for the officers of the army, it was first agreed, That the lord president Bradshaw, the lord Fairfax, major-general Lambert, colonel Desborough, colonel Berry, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Sir Horatio Townsend, should be members of the council. The next morning the parliament proceeded to the election of twenty-one of their members to be of the council of state, according to their former resolution, and chose Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major Saloway, colonel Morley, Mr. Thomas Chaloner, colonel Algernon Sidney, Mr. Henry Nevil, colonel Walton, colonel Dixwell, Mr. Wallop, chief justice St. Johns, Mr. Thomas Scott, colonel Thompson, Mr. Robert Reynolds, colonel Sydenham, colonel John Jones, the lord commissioner Whitlock, Sir James Harrington, colonel Downes, and myself. Then to complete the number of ten, who were to consist of persons that were not members, they chose the lord War-

riston,

riston, Sir Robert Honnywood, and Mr. Josias Berners. The officers of the army were not at all pleased with this election, perceiving they should not be permitted to act arbitrarily, as they desired, and therefore seldom came to the council; and when they condescended to come, carried themselves with all imaginable perverseness and insolence. They scrupled to take the oath "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, in opposition to Charles Stuart, or any single person," which the parliament had appointed to be taken by every member of the council before he took his place. And because they were ashamed to own themselves dissatisfied with the substance of the oath, they pretended to be unwilling to take any; yet professing a readiness to promise as much as the oath required. This distinction seemed very nice to most of us; but that there might be no difference about ceremonies, the parliament was prevailed with to grant liberty to the council, to alter the engagement into such a form as might give them satisfaction. Notwithstanding all which condescension they were hardly persuaded to take it, and when they had done it, they seldom came to discharge their duty at the board. Things being in this posture, the enemies to the government thought it a proper time to attempt something, before a good agreement might be made between the parliament and army: in order to which, great numbers of arms were bought up by them in London, whereof notice was given to a committee of the council of state. A chest filled with arms was sent to the house of one Mr. Overbury of Gloucestershire, of which he gave notice to captain Crofts, who commanded the county-troop; and the captain having caused the trunk to be opened, found in it ten case of common pistols, one fine pair, with the name of one Harman Barnes the maker upon them, together with a complete suit of armour. The committee of the council of state sent for the said Harman Barnes, and, upon examination, found him to have been gunsmith to prince Rupert, and so confused in his answers, that we thought it necessary to secure him and his arms, amounting to the number of two hundred carabines, and as many pair of pistols ready fixed, besides a great number unfixed, though he had affirmed to us, that he had no more than thirty pair of pistols in his house. The cavalier party having boasted to divers persons, that Mr. How of Gloucestershire had given them assurances of his service, the committee sent for him to appear before them, which he did, and in his examination acknowledged, that he had a certain number of arms in his house, which he had purchased at the time of the late dispute between Richard's and the commonwealth party, that he might be ready to serve the publick on that occasion, if there had been any necessity; and had given assurance to Sir Arthur Haslerig and me of the same good intentions. Hereupon, though I could not but justify the committee in sending for him, on account of the informations we had received, yet I thought myself obliged to do him justice, and accordingly informed the committee, that on the day of the dissolution of Richard's convention, Mr. How came to me in Westminster-hall, and assured me of his affection to the commonwealth, and that whensoever I should signify to him, that there was occasion for his service, he would be ready to hazard both life and estate in the defence of it. The council being satisfied with this testimony,

testimony, gave present orders for his discharge. In the mean time, the Wallingford-house party not forgetting their design, drew an address to the parliament, and presented it by the hands of the chief officers of the army, that so it might either have a greater influence upon the house, or, if it prevailed not there, that it might be a means to unite them all against the parliament. The principal heads of the address were, that those who had acted under the late power might be indemnified by an act of parliament; that lieutenant-general Fleetwood might be appointed commander in chief of the army; that the debts of the protector might be satisfied, and that he might have ten thousand pounds by year added to his revenue; that the government of the nation might consist of a representative of the people, and of a select senate; that care might be taken for the payment of the army, and that liberty of conscience might be secured to all such who professed faith in Jesus Christ, and were not scandalous in their conversation. The parliament gave them for answer, That they would take their desires into their speedy consideration, and give them satisfaction therein as far as should be possible. And that for the future, no man might have an opportunity to pack an army to serve his ambition, as had formerly been practised, a bill was prepared and brought in, constituting the seven persons following, viz. lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Sir Arthur Haslerig, major-general Lambert, colonel Desborough, colonel Berry, Sir Henry Vane, and myself, to be commissioners for the nomination of officers to be presented to the consideration and approbation of the parliament. Another bill was brought in to constitute lieutenant-general Fleetwood commander in chief, and it was resolved, that his commission should continue during the present session, or till the parliament should take farther order therein; and instead of authorizing the lieutenant-general to grant commissions to such officers as should be appointed by the parliament, it was ordered that the said commissions should be subscribed by the speaker, and received from his hands, by which it was endeavoured to bring the military sword under the power of the civil authority, as it ought to be in a free nation. But observing that these things were greatly disliked by the officers, and knowing how much it imported the very being of our cause, to maintain a good correspondence between the parliament and army, I earnestly pressed the house not to insist upon the restrictions before-mentioned, especially considering that they consisted rather in form than substance: for though the time of a commission be not expressly limited, yet it can last no longer than during the pleasure of those that gave it; and if it should happen to be used to the destruction of those from whom it was received, it actually puts a period to itself. Neither could it be thought very material, whether a commission was signed by one person or another, so long as it was derived from the same authority. Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway were of the same opinion, but Sir Arthur Haslerig, colonel Sidney, Mr. Nevil, and the majority of the house, carried it for the said limitations and restrictions; and many of the house began to entertain a hard opinion of me on the account of this moderation, as if I had espoused the interest of the army against the parliament. The two acts being passed, it was ordered that notice
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of them should be given to the army, and that the house expected that the commander in chief, with the rest of the officers approved by the parliament, should take their commissions from the hands of the speaker as he sat in the chair. Hereupon, a council of officers being summoned to colonel Desborough's house, to consult about this affair, Sir Arthur Haslerig desired me not to fail to meet him there. The council being met, divers officers, and especially those of the first rank, openly manifested their discontent against the clauses before-mentioned; major-general Lambert saying that they implied a diffidence of the army, and that they had no assurance that the parliament would continue them in their employments, which, he said, was contrary to the promises made to them before the restitution of the parliament. It was answered, That no private persons either could, or had promised more than to use their endeavours in the house to procure certain things to be done, and that whatsoever had been so promised by any of us, had been fully effected by the parliament: for they had continued the commands of the army in such hands as had been agreed on; neither was there any colour for them to suspect any intention to alter the same. They were told, that the parliament could not justly be blamed, if they endeavoured to preserve their authority, that had been so eminently violated of late: that it was our duty to judge favourably of the actions of the parliament, and especially since they had given such evident demonstration to the world, that they designed not to perpetuate their authority, by a late vote that had passed with the two acts complained of, "That the parliament should be dissolved in the month of May next ensuing:" whereby they had engaged themselves, as they tendered their own preservation, to make a speedy provision for the settlement of the government, and the security of the common cause, in which the officers of the army were as much concerned as any persons whatsoever. We desired them to consider well, of how great importance it was to the people of England, to preserve a good correspondence between the parliament and the army at this time, when the common enemy had no hopes left but in our divisions; that they would not gratify their enemies, nor discourage their friends, by entertaining groundless suspicions and jealousies of those whose interest was the same with theirs. But notwithstanding all that could be said, the dissatisfaction of the chief officers, who had another game to play, still remained, and their confidence to carry all before them was so great, that colonel Desborough openly said, That he accounted the commission he had already, to be as good as any the parliament could give, and that he would not take another. Yet for all this ruffling insolence of the chief officers of the army, who thought they could have influenced all the rest, colonel Hacker, with the officers of his regiment, came the next morning by the persuasion of Sir Arthur Haslerig, to the parliament-house, and received their commissions from the speaker according to the directions of the act. The next day I was attended by the officers of my regiment, and we altogether received our commissions in the same manner. The ice being thus broke by colonel Hacker and me, the rest of the officers began to consider better of the matter, and divers of them growing more moderate, came also, and took out their commissions.

sions. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood received three commissions, whereof one was for a regiment of horse, another for a regiment of foot, and the third appointing him to be commander in chief, with the limitations above-mentioned, and a clause requiring him to obey such orders as he should receive from the parliament, or the council of state.

MR. Richard Cromwell not removing from Whitehall, though he received a message to that end, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Scott, and I, according to the command we had from the parliament, attended him there, and received for answer, that he would do it with all convenient speed. But the parliament being impatient of his delays, sent the chief justice St. Johns, and another person, to require him to give them a positive answer touching his removal, which he did to their satisfaction, declaring his acquiescence in the providence of God, and his resolution, not only to submit to the authority of the parliament, but also to use the best of his endeavours to persuade all those, in whom he had any interest, to do so likewise. The parliament having received his answer, ordered 2000 pounds to be presently paid him, to enable him to remove, and passed a resolution to pay those debts, which it was said he had contracted on the publick account.

THE army in Ireland being informed that the parliament was returned to the exercise of their authority, sent over commissioners to them to propose divers things relating as well to the civil as military government of that nation. The council of state having heard their propositions, prepared such of them as they thought reasonable for the consideration of the parliament; in particular, those concerning the establishment of the army, in the possession of those lands which had been assigned them in payment of their arrears; as also to confirm the adventurers, and others, in the possession of theirs, as far as might consist with the rules of justice. Then the parliament proceeded to put the administration of affairs there, into such hands as they could best confide in, declaring the government should be again managed by commissioners, as it had been formerly; and having nominated the persons to serve in that employment, they ordered the council of state to draw up instructions for them, and to report them to the house, together with whatsoever else they should think necessary to be done there. They resolved that colonel Henry Cromwell should be required to come over, to give an account of the state of things in Ireland, and empowered the commissioners, or any two of them, to take care of the safety of that nation till farther order.

THE committee of safety having dispatched a messenger to our fleet in the Sound, before the election of the council of state, to acquaint them with the restitution of the parliament, the officers of the several ships assembled, and sent an acknowledgment of their authority, with all possible demonstrations of satisfaction. Notwithstanding which, being highly sensible of how great importance the sea-affairs are to this nation, we ordered six frigates to be equipped with all diligence, and gave the command of them to Lawson, making him, at the same time, vice-admiral of the fleet. And this we did, as well to prevent an invasion from Flanders, with which the cavalier party threatened us,

as to balance the power of Montague's party, who we knew was no friend to the commonwealth. We treated also with myn heer Nieuport, ambassador from the states of Holland, that a good correspondence might be maintained between the two commonwealths, and that an accord might be made between the two kings of Denmark and Sweden, who were then enemies, by the interposition of the two states, who agreeing upon equitable terms, might be able to impose them on the refuser. And this we were in hopes to accomplish the rather, because neither the Dutch nor we pretended to any more than a freedom of passing and repassing the Sound, which could not well be, if the command of it were in the hands of either of those princes. The Dutch ambassador seemed very desirous to finish the treaty, but by several demands which he made in the behalf of their merchants, delayed it so long, that our agent in Holland had already concluded an agreement with the States, whereby the two commonwealths became engaged to compel that king that should refuse to accept the conditions which they thought just and reasonable. In order to put this resolution in execution, the states of Holland appointed their plenipotentiaries, and we on our part did the same, sending thither colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honynwood, and one Mr. Boon, a merchant, to that end. The parliament, having taken some measure of care of foreign affairs, began to make provision for the better execution of justice in England, and established judges in the upper bench, common pleas, and exchequer; but designing the reformation of the practice of the law, they, for the present, nominated no more than were sufficient to make a quorum in each court. The lord president Bradshaw, serjeant Fountain, and serjeant Tyrell, were made commissioners of the broad seal. And that the justices of the peace throughout England might be fitly qualified for that employment, the house referred to the committee of nominations for civil offices, the consideration of that matter; but finding this work to be full of difficulty, and attended with much envy, the parliament ordered the members for each county, to agree on a list of such persons as they should think most proper for that office, and to set their hands to each list. And in case of any difference of opinion, the house, upon hearing both parties, determined the matter. Colonel Zanche, colonel Laurence, Mr. auditor Roberts, and major Wallis, by the advice of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, drew up a list of officers for the army in Ireland, and presented it to the committee of nominations, and agreed to make it their request, that I might be appointed commander in chief of those forces; whether, from an opinion that I should thereby be rendered less able to oppose their designs, than by continuing my attendance in parliament, or that none of their grandees could be spared from their cabals at Wallingford-house, is uncertain. But true it is, that no man was less desirous than myself, that I should have that command, well knowing the envy and difficulties that accompanied it, and having ample experience how much easier it was to undertake great employments, than duly to perform the functions of them. Yet finding the officers of Ireland, the committee of nominations, the council of state, and the parliament all concurring to design me for that post, I thought myself obliged in

in duty to accept it: though I was resolved not to suffer myself to be banished thither, as I had been formerly by Oliver Cromwell, but to return to England as soon as I should have done what might be necessary for the security of that country, to contribute my endeavours towards the settlement of a just and equitable constitution of government at home, and to prevent those mischiefs which I perceived the ambition of the army to be bringing upon us. Having opened myself freely concerning these particulars to Sir Henry Vane, it was obtained, that the parliament, after they had voted me to be commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, passed likewise an order, That when I had put the affairs of that country into a posture of security, I should have liberty to return to England. It was my design, at the next sitting of the committee of nominations, to move them to propose that Sir Henry Vane might succeed me as colonel of that regiment which the parliament had entrusted me with, that he might thereby be enabled to discover and prevent the ill designs of the army. But the presbyterian party in the house, immediately after the parliament had appointed me for the service of Ireland, moved that colonel Herbert Morley might be made colonel of my regiment, and carried it. Divers officers who had faithfully served the commonwealth, and amongst them colonel Rich, were restored to their commands, though not without difficulty: and that major-general Lambert might be altogether inexcusable if he should act against the parliament, they granted him a regiment of horse and one of foot. Then they gave order for raising a troop of horse for their own guard, and gave the command of it to colonel Alured, who had been a great sufferer on the account of the commonwealth, and very active for the restitution of the parliament. The troop consisted of about one hundred and thirty chosen men, nominated by the committee, and approved by the house. Colonel Alured scrupled to accept it, thinking it not equivalent to a regiment of horse which he had commanded, though the pay was appointed to be the same. Being in this disposition, he came to me, and having proposed his doubts, I took the liberty to inform him, as well as I could, of the honour and usefulness of that employment; and having assured him, that if it were offered to me, the circumstances of my affairs permitting, I would prefer it before any other command, he was contented to accept it. Our treasury was so low, through the male-administration of the late governments, that though our plenipotentiaries to the two northern crowns, had received their instructions, yet they were obliged to stay a fortnight longer, before they could receive the sum of two thousand pounds which had been ordered for the expences of their voyage, the taxes coming in but slowly, and the city of London terrified with the reports of an expected insurrection, being very backward in advancing money. Yet considering the great importance of the town of Dunkirk to the trade and navigation of England, the parliament took the first occasion they could, to send one month's pay for the garrison there, to colonel Lockhart governor of that place, with instructions to go on with the fortifications, and to have a vigilant eye as well upon the French as the Spaniard. They ordered him to draw the regiments that had been lent to the king of France as near to the town as he could, being

under some fears that they might be either detained by the French, or obstructed in their return by the Spanish forces. And having received information that the treaty between those two nations went prosperously on, they gave him commission, when he had provided for the security of Dunkirk, to go to the French court as agent from the parliament; and if he found encouragement from cardinal Mazarin, to take upon him the title and character of ambassador, and then to repair to the place where the treaty was carrying on between the two crowns. Colonel Lockhart, according to his instructions, having put all things into a good condition at Dunkirk, and drawn the English regiments out of the French quarters, departed for Paris, and being arrived, was very well received by the cardinal, and from thence went to St. John de Luz, which was the place of the treaty. In the mean time, the parliament, being very desirous to restore the trade with Spain to this nation, and being informed from Flanders that the Spanish ministers were willing to come to an accommodation with us, caused divers subjects of Spain, whom Cromwell had made prisoners, to be released, and would not suffer any act of hostility to be used against those of that nation.

THE act of indemnity had been read twice, and the house was as desirous to dispatch it as their affairs would permit; yet the necessary time spent in the debate and consideration of it was made great use of to incense the army against the parliament: divers warm motions were made for excepting some persons from the benefit of it, who had gotten great estates by their compliance with the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, and abetting the advancement of his son, and also to except those who had sold places, and received money for them; but the chief-justice St. Johns had such an influence upon the house, that he procured a clause to be inserted in the bill to indemnify him for such offices as he had sold in Cromwell's time: which partiality I appeared against so earnestly, that I made him thereby my declared enemy, though I never had expected any sincere friendship from him, because he knew me to be zealous for the regulation of the practice of the law, and himself an obstructor of all endeavours to that end. The two commissions of major-general Lambert being prepared and signed by the speaker, he attended at the door of the house in order to receive them; and being admitted, he was informed by the speaker, That the parliament having a good opinion of his abilities and fidelity, had intrusted him with the command of one regiment of horse and one of foot, for which he then, by their order, delivered the commissions to him. The major-general answered, That as his own inclination and interest led him to promote the service of the parliament, so the obligation they laid on him by so great a trust should doubly excite him to fidelity and obedience to their commands. And I hope he then intended what he promised, though he afterwards proved an instrument of much disorder and confusion amongst us. Mr. Henry Nevil, a person of singular affection to the commonwealth, moved the house that lieutenant-general Fleetwood might be made ranger of St. James's Park, and this he did that no occasion of obliging the army might be omitted; which motion was readily consented to by the parliament: and indeed the lieutenant general, had

had he not been too much influenced by his wife's relations, who pretending that he had injured his brother-in-law by contributing to lay him aside, continually pressed him to irregular proceedings, in order to make him some satisfaction, might have proved a person as fit to command the forces in chief, as the parliament could have chosen: though I am not able to see how he could have served him better, unless peradventure by not consenting to his advancement to the protectorship, than to procure him to be removed with so little detriment to himself and reflection on his family; considering how great a trust his father had betrayed, what dishonour he had brought on the nation, what hardships he had put upon many good men, to the hazard of that just cause which had cost so much blood and treasure of the people.

AT this time the opinions of men were much divided concerning a form of government to be established amongst us. The great officers of the army, as I said before, were for a select standing senate to be joined to the representative of the people. Others laboured to have the supreme authority to consist of an assembly chosen by the people, and a council of state chosen by that assembly, to be vested with the executive power, and accountable to that which should next succeed, at which time the power of the said council should determine. Some were desirous to have a representative of the people constantly sitting, but changed by a perpetual rotation. Others proposed that there might be joined to the popular assembly, a select number of men in the nature of the Lacedemonian Ephori, who should have a negative in things, wherein the essentials of the government should be concerned, such as the exclusion of a single person, touching liberty of conscience, alteration of the constitution, and other things of the last importance to the state. Some were of opinion that it would be most conducing to the publick happiness, if there might be two councils chosen by the people, the one to consist of about three hundred, and to have the power only of debating and proposing laws; the other to be in number about one thousand, and to have the power finally to resolve and determine: every year a third part of each council to go out, and others to be chosen in their places. For my own part, if I may be permitted to declare my opinion, I could willingly have approved either of the two latter propositions, presuming them to be most likely to preserve our just liberties, and to render us a happy people.

SOME members of the council of state proposed, at the board, that the parliament should be moved to appoint twenty of their own number, and ten of the principal officers of the army, to consider of a form of government to be reported to the parliament; and if they should approve it, that then the whole army should be drawn out, and declare their consent to it: which proposition, though it seemed then to find a general approbation, yet proved abortive, and the parliament themselves passed a resolution that on every Wednesday the house should go into a grand committee to consider of that matter.

IN the act of indemnity a clause had been inserted to restrain the favour of the parliament in regard of those who under the usurpation had received exorbitant

bitant and double salaries, to the great discontent of divers considerable persons, who feared they might be concerned in it. In particular, major-general Lambert meeting me the next morning after the act was passed, most bitterly exclaimed against it, saying, amongst other things, That though there was no security given by the act to indemnify them for what they had done, yet the parliament had taken care to make them liable to be questioned for whatsoever they had received. To which I answered, That in my opinion, all the soldiers were indemnified for what they had received, and that if the parliament should ever make use of that clause, it would only be against those who had enriched themselves by the ruin of the commonwealth, and had opposed the return of the parliament to the exercise of their authority: That I persuaded myself he could not think that such a sort of men deserved the favour and consideration of the parliament equally with those who had contributed towards their restitution. Having said this, Sir Arthur Haslerig joined us, and the conversation continuing on the same subject, Sir Arthur affirmed, that the act was as full and comprehensive as could justly be desired; but the major-general said, That it signified nothing, and that it left them still at mercy. "You are," said Sir Arthur, "only at the mercy of the parliament who are your good friends." "I know not," said Lambert, "why they should not be at our mercy as well as we at theirs." These words, as they sounded very harsh to my ears, so they did confirm me in the suspicion I had of the design that was then on foot: and though Sir Arthur Haslerig contented himself only to shake his head, because divers officers were there present; yet, meeting me the next morning in the speaker's chamber, he told me, That if the two regiments had not been already given to major-general Lambert, he should never have them with his consent.

THE order requiring colonel Cromwell to come over from Ireland, and to give an account of affairs there, being signified to him, he retired to a house called the Phenix, belonging to the chief governor of Ireland, leaving colonel Thomas Long in the castle of Dublin; whether with an intention of keeping it, I am not assured: but the commissioners suspecting the worst, and being very desirous to be possessed of it, employed Sir Hardress Waller to surprize the place, who finding the power of colonel Cromwell to decline, and that of the parliament to increase, was very willing to attempt it, and being ready to enter by a postern into the castle, the place was immediately surrendered to him. Colonel Cromwell perceiving it to be to no purpose to stay longer in Ireland, departed for London, and being arrived, acquainted me with the time that he designed to attend the council of state, and desired me that I would be present; but I could not: for the house of Hampton Court having been ordered to be sold that day, which place I thought very convenient for the retirement of those that were employed in publick affairs, when they should be indisposed, in the summer-season, I resolved to endeavour to prevent the sale of it, and accordingly procured a motion to be made at the sitting down of the house to that end, which took effect as I desired. For this I was very much blamed by my good friend Sir Henry Vane, as a thing which was contrary to the interest
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of a commonwealth: he said, That such places might justly be accounted amongst those things that prove temptations to ambitious men, and exceedingly tend to sharpen their appetite to ascend the throne. But for my own part, as I was free from any sinister design in this action, so I was of opinion, that the temptation of sovereign power would prove a far stronger motive to aspire by the sword to gain the scepter, which when once attained, would soon be made use of to force the people to supply the want of such an accommodation. Colonel Henry Martin moved at the same time that the chapel belonging to Somerset-house might not be sold, because it was the place of meeting for the French church, and this request was also granted; but the house itself was sold for the sum of ten thousand pounds. Then it was moved that Whitehall might be also sold, and it was said that three-score thousand pounds might be had for it, in order to erect new buildings on the ground where it stands, but nothing was done farther in this matter.

AND now I began to think it time to hasten my journey into Ireland, where my station was assigned to me for some time; and in order to my departure I received four commissions from the hands of the speaker, as the parliament had directed. By the first I was appointed commander in chief of all the forces in Ireland; the second was for a regiment of horse; the third was for a regiment of foot; and by the fourth I was made lieutenant-general of the horse. Which last commission being read before the committee of nominations by Sir Arthur Haslerig, who in this whole affair of regulating the army, had served the parliament for secretary without any salary, colonel Desborough desired that it might be explained how far it should extend, suspecting that it might intrench upon the command of the horse in England and Scotland, which some thought he designed for himself. But Sir Arthur Haslerig declined to give him any other answer than that it was well enough. In this commission a clause was inserted, which had been omitted in the other three, because not thought of before, requiring me to obey not only such orders as I should receive from the parliament and council of state, but also all such as should be signified to me from time to time from the commissioners of the parliament for the affairs of Ireland. This I was so far from disliking, that I procured another order to be made, that the pay of the army should be issued out by the commissioners, and that no money, except only for contingencies, should be issued out by the commander in chief. Having prepared myself for my journey, I took leave of the principal officers of the army, and on that occasion most earnestly requested of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major-general Lambert, colonel Desborough, colonel Sydenham, colonel Berry and others, that as they valued the good of the publick and their own safety, they would be careful not to violate the authority of the parliament, who, I persuaded myself, were more ready to do any thing that might tend to the preservation of our liberties than we were to ask it: and at my parting with Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Henry Nevil, Mr. Scot, major Saloway, and the rest of my good friends that were members of the parliament, I took the liberty to beg of them not to put any unnecessary hardships upon those of the army, but rather
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to gratify them in whatsoever they could, that if after all the condescensions and favours of the parliament to them, they should be so unjust and ungrateful to offer violence to the house, they might be left inexcusable in the sight of God and men.

BEING on my way to take shipping for Ireland, accompanied by colonel John Jones, and being come as far as Whitchurch, one captain Whetway of Chester met us there, and informed us of a design to rise in and about that country by the presbyterian and cavalier parties in conjunction; who gave out that Sir George Booth, the earl of Darby, the lord Cherbury, and other persons of quality and estate, were concerned with them. We, according to our duty, immediately gave an account of what we had heard to the council of state, and desired them to inquire into the matter. Then we proceeded in our journey, and being arrived at Holyhead, we found a small vessel carrying about ten guns, sent thither by the commissioners of the parliament to transport us to Ireland, they having, at that time, no ship of greater force on that coast. Here we met my cousin Roger Ludlow, who was then newly landed from Ireland, but finding us ready to set sail, he returned thither with us. At our arrival within the bar of Dublin, we found Mr. justice Cook and my brother-in-law attending with their coaches; by which means we had an opportunity to go that evening to my house at Moncktown. The next morning, before I could get out, the mayor and aldermen of Dublin came to welcome me into the country, and to pay the usual civilities. And at the Rings-end I found the guard that had formerly attended colonel Cromwell, drawn up by the order of Sir Hardress Waller, with colonel Theophilus Jones in the head of them, all of them expressing their readiness to serve me, and so accompanied me to the city. Being arrived at Dublin, I went immediately to wait on the commissioners of parliament who were then sitting, and had been debating touching the manner of their deportment towards me, the result of which they informed me was, That each of them should successively take the chair for one month; that they would desire me to give them my assistance when the affairs of the army would permit; that I should sit with them when they sat as commissioners, in the next place to the chair-man, and that in all other places I should have the precedency. I returned them my thanks for the honour they did me, and earnestly desired to be excused in the last particular, having always declared it to be my opinion, that the military ought to submit to the civil power. But they told me, that since it had been so resolved, they would not permit me to speak any more about it. Then I delivered to them a warrant from the council of state, authorizing Mr. Blackwel and Mr. Standish, the deputy treasurers for Ireland, to charge, by bill of exchange or otherwise, the treasurers of war in England with thirty thousand pounds for the service of Ireland. Which having done, I went into another room, where the officers of the army were appointed to be, and gave them an account of the return of the parliament to the exercise of their authority, by whose wisdom and justice so many things had been formerly done for the advantage and glory of the English nation; and by whose care and good œconomy they themselves had been

been provided for, in such a manner as had never been practised in later times, nor indeed could reasonably be expected from any other persons than from those, who as they are called the fathers of the country, so they have the tenderness and affection of parents for all those who take care to deserve their kindness and protection. I assured them of their good intentions for the publick happiness, and to them in particular: and that as they were passing an act to secure to the soldiers the possession of those lands that had been assigned to them for their arrears, so they would take care to cause their armies to be constantly paid for the future: That the parliament themselves had appointed such officers to be placed over them, as had given demonstration of their affections to the publick in the late times of defection. I also informed them that the parliament had done me the honour to appoint me to be commander in chief of their forces in Ireland, as they might more fully understand by the commission itself, which I then ordered to be read in their presence: and that done, I proceeded to tell them, That being sensible of my own imperfections, and the great weight and importance of my present employment, I had neither directly nor indirectly endeavoured to obtain it; but considering that my superiors, by virtue of their authority, at the desire of divers officers commissioned by this army, had called me to the exercise of it, I was resolved to endeavour faithfully to discharge the duty of my station, and to adventure the utmost hazards for the publick good, wherein I doubted not of their cheerful and ready assistance. The officers seeming well satisfied with what I had said, I dismissed them for that time.

SOON after my coming to Dublin we received advice, by a message from England, of an insurrection against the parliament, under Sir George Booth, and that Chester was seized for the king. Upon which I caused the officers to meet, and taking into our consideration how we might best preserve the peace of Ireland, and prevent the like mischiefs there, we immediately dispatched as many officers as could be spared to their respective charges. And because we were under the greatest apprehensions for the northern parts, where the Scots and other disaffected persons were in great numbers, we sent major Dean, an active and good officer, to command some troops of horse that were in those parts. We resolved also to send for the lord Broghil, with major Warden and major Pourden, two of his officers, and to require them to give satisfaction touching their acquiescence under the present government. And that I might contribute what I could towards quenching that fire that had broken out in England, having received information, in my late journey through part of Wales, that the small garrisons of Denbigh, Beaumaris, Carnarvan, and Holyhead, were undermanned, I sent over one hundred foot to be distributed amongst them. Which small supply came so seasonably, that it not only prevented the enemy from rising in those parts, but enabled the governors of those forts to send out parties to bring in provisions for the garrisons, of which they stood in great need. Colonel Edmund Temple, being at Chester when the insurrection began in those parts, was seized by the rebels, and carried before Sir George Booth, who finding that he was going to imbarck for Ireland, per-

mitted him to proceed in his voyage. At his arrival, he gave us an account, that colonel Croxton, who was governor of Chester, finding it in vain to endeavour to keep the town, had made use of the time he had to provide all things necessary to maintain the castle till relief could be sent. He acquainted us also, that three or four hundred of the enemy's horse had marched into the town of Chester, that Sir George Booth was the commander in chief, and that the principal persons that had engaged with them were, the earl of Darby, the lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee of Limehouse, and captain Morgan. He added, that being asked by Sir George Booth, if he had not heard of any rising in other parts, and having informed him, that he had found all quiet on the road from London, Sir George seemed much surprized and discouraged, saying, That other promises had been made to him.

By the next account we received from England, we had notice, that a party of horse had appeared in Derbyshire, though, by the vigilance and courage of our friends in that county, they were speedily dispersed or taken. We were likewise informed, that the earl of Stamford had been at the head of a party, according to a promise he had made to Sir George Booth; but finding them not considerable, he had either surrendered himself, or been seized without any opposition. In Staffordshire, from whence the enemy expected great assistance, their designs were prevented by the diligence of colonel Crompton and captain Bathurst, who had secured the principal persons that were suspected in that county. Colonel Massey was seized at a gentleman's house in Gloucestershire, with some ammunition; and by that means their designs in the west were disappointed. And though there appeared about threescore horse with one Basset near Bath, and about the same number near Malmesbury; yet, wanting the colonel to head them, and being informed of the march of the county-troop against them, they dispersed themselves. Some of these, with others from the borders of Hampshire, went and joined the body that was commanded by Sir George Booth. Sir Thomas Middleton, who had made me a visit when I was going to Ireland, and had assured me of his resolution to continue steadfast in the interest of the commonwealth, did, either through dotage, being almost fourscore years of age, or through the importunity of others, or the natural depravity of his own heart, appear at the head of the cavalier party at Wrexham, and there waving his sword about his head, caused Charles Stuart to be proclaimed king in the market-place. Which encouraged the enemy so much, that they immediately sent out a party to possess themselves of Shrewsbury; but though the malecontents were very numerous in that town, and ready to join with them, yet captain Waring with the militia troop, in conjunction with many well-affected persons that went to him from Wrexham, and some others which he got together on a sudden, prevented their design, and secured that place for the parliament. This was a great disappointment to the enemy, not only because it kept their friends in those parts from rising, but in a great measure obstructed their correspondence with the western counties. However, it being reported, that Coventry had declared for them, they received fresh encouragement, and hoped that it might prove an occasion to divert

divert the London forces from advancing towards them, and were not without expectations of a party to appear for them in or about London. Neither were their hopes, in this particular, without foundation: for the presbyterian party did so greatly favour this abominable design, wherein the whole popish party was likewise engaged, that many of them, though they could not be drawn to join in the dangerous part of acting against the parliament, yet openly denied their assistance to suppress the enemy. Of this sort was colonel Fotherby who commanded the forces in the county of Warwick, and had faithfully served the parliament to this time, yet now refused to act for them. So that old colonel Purefoy, who had one foot in the grave, was obliged to undertake that employment in those parts, wherein he used such diligence, and succeeded so well, that he kept the city of Coventry and the adjacent country in the obedience of the parliament. And though the contagion had infected many within the city of London, yet the vigilance and diligence of the parliament prevented it from manifesting itself in an open revolt, by a timely seizing or frightening away, such as were most dangerous to the publick peace. The messenger that had been sent to Ireland from the council of state, brought orders to me for one thousand foot and five hundred horse, to be sent to their assistance in England. And though, considering the posture of our affairs, the suspicion we had of the Scots, the number of the Irish, and that spirit of revenge they were possessed with, together with the condition of our own forces, who had been debauching for some years from the interest of the commonwealth, we seemed rather to stand in need of relief from England, than to be in a capacity of sending any thither, yet having received such orders from our superiors, we thought it our duty to obey them. And, therefore, by the advice of the field-officers, it was resolved to draw together those forces that lay most convenient for transportation; and that the publick service might not suffer by any delay that could be avoided, the commissioners of parliament caused an embargo to be laid upon all the vessels then in the harbour. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood having, in a letter to me, desired that colonel Zanche might command the forces to be sent from Ireland, I readily consented to it, having no suspicion of any design concealed under that request; and being informed by colonel Axtel, that he also had some important affairs in England, which he had left unsettled, I appointed him to command the foot. Lieutenant-colonel Walker, major Rawlins, major Bolton, and major Godfrey, were the rest of the field-officers. I ordered that the party to be transported to England should be drawn to Dublin; and as soon as a considerable number of them were arrived there, orders were dispatched for their transportation, on assurance that the speedy landing of our forces from Ireland would tend to the discouragement of our enemies, and great encouragement of our friends. Having drawn the first party, which was to be embarked, to the water-side, consisting of about four hundred, we caused two months pay to be advanced to them, one to enable them to pay their debts in Ireland, the other was put into the hands of lieutenant-colonel Walker, who commanded them, to be delivered to them as soon as they should arrive in England. The officers and soldiers undertook the

service with all imaginable cheerfulness; and one of the vessels that was appointed to carry captain Jacomb and his company, not being able to approach so near the shore as to make it convenient for the soldiers to embark, the captain put himself into the water, which his men seeing, they soon followed his example, and all together, with the sea almost up to their shoulders, marched through to the ship. They had a very favourable passage, and landed seasonably in England; for it happened that the third day after their arrival, lieutenant-colonel Walker took up his quarters at a town in Carnarvanshire, where many disaffected gentlemen and others of those parts had appointed to rendezvous the next day: but fearing he might ruin the country, if they appeared in arms, they quitted their design, and kept themselves at home.

THE parliament, though they had resolved to send some forces against Sir George Booth, yet they were doubtful to whom they should commit that province. And whilst that matter was under their consideration, some persons of the king's party addressed themselves to the wife of colonel Lambert, endeavouring to persuade her to solicit her husband to be the instrument of the king's return, with large offers of whatsoever terms he would demand. She acquainted the colonel with their propositions; but, he having resolved to play another part, discovered the whole intrigue to Sir Henry Vane, who having communicated it to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and knowing there had been some late differences between the colonel and Sir Arthur, he persuaded them to renew their former friendship, with promises on each part, to unite their endeavours in the service of the parliament. By this means chiefly it was, that colonel Lambert was soon after appointed to command those forces that were designed to suppress the insurrection in Cheshire. In this conjuncture, the parliament sent an order to colonel Monk, who then commanded their forces in Scotland, to send them two regiments of foot and two of horse; but he excused himself, under colour of the enemy's strength and inclination to revolt, though there were not wanting some who then thought that his engagements with the common enemy were the true reasons of that refusal. And it is certain, that a gentleman from the king had been with him; and though what passed between them was not made publick, yet since he did not seize him, as it was his duty, but permitted him to return safely from whence he came, he may justly be suspected, even then, to have betrayed those whom he pretended to serve. The second party I sent for England was commanded by colonel Axtel; and the third by colonel Zanchey, to whom I gave also a commission to command the whole brigade of horse and foot, requiring him to take all advantages against the enemy, to relieve our friends, and to obey all such orders as he should from time to time receive from the parliament, the council of state, colonel Lambert, or me. Thus the whole number of the forces demanded by the parliament was shipped off within ten days after I had received their order, though some of them were quartered at a great distance from Dublin; and both horse and foot landed very seasonably in England, though not without a sad loss. For the ship wherein major Bolton and major Rawlins, with above thirty private soldiers, had embarked, sprung a leak in her passage, and

and sunk down. The Irish brigade being joined and arrived at Chester, they sent to colonel Croxton, to let him know, that if he should be driven to extremity before any relief should come to him from London, they had resolved to attempt it themselves.

ON the 6th of August 1659, colonel Lambert, at the head of three regiments of horse, one of dragoons, and three regiments of foot, marched from London against Sir George Booth and his party, who were about four thousand in number. The enemy had possessed themselves of the town of Warrington, and had placed a party of about three hundred to defend it, having lodged their main body on the other side of the river, and posted a good number of men to keep the bridge against ours. At this place the forces on each side met, and the enemy began the action, by sending out a party to skirmish with an advanced party of colonel Lambert. But being repulsed, and retreating beyond the bridge, their body of horse consisting of about seventeen or eighteen hundred, one half whereof they reported to be gentlemen, began to run before our horse could come up to charge them, leaving their foot to be cut in pieces, except only about thirty or forty of their horse commanded by captain Morgan, who endeavouring to secure their retreat, was killed in the action. Many of their foot escaped by leaping over the hedges, and hiding themselves. But their surest protection was their having engaged against those that were more ready to save than destroy them. So that though the whole force of the enemy was entirely defeated, yet there were not above forty of them killed. About six or seven hundred of their horse, in scattered and broken parties, fled to Chester; but not thinking themselves safe there, they went into North-Wales, and the town was delivered up to colonel Lambert. Sir George Booth, after his defeat, put himself into a woman's habit, and with two servants hoped to escape to London, riding behind one of them. The single horseman going before, went to an inn on the road, and, as he had been ordered, bespoke a supper for his mistress, who he said was coming after. The pretended mistress being arrived, either by alighting from the horse, or some other action, raised a suspicion in the master of the house, that there was some mystery under that dress. And thereupon resolving to make a full enquiry into the matter, he got together some of his neighbours to assist him, and with them entered the room where the pretended lady was. But Sir George Booth suspecting their intentions, and being unwilling to put them to the trouble of a farther search, discovered himself. Whereupon they took him into their custody, and sent him up to London, where the parliament committed him prisoner to the Tower. From the sad consideration of these and other unsuccessful attempts, the cavalier party, and those that sided with them, began to despair, and to give their cause for lost, unless by divisions amongst ourselves we should render our victories useless to us: which fell out sooner than they expected. For the officers of the army, whom nothing could satisfy less than an absolute tyranny over the nation, notwithstanding the solemn engagement they had taken before the parliament, at the time when they received their commissions from the hands of the speaker, and all their

expressions of sorrow for their former apostacy so often repeated in their last declarations; these wretched men, I say, contrary to their faith, and the duties of common honesty, resolved to destroy the parliament, and in imitation of their late master Oliver, to sacrifice the common cause to their insatiable ambition. In order to this, lieutenant-general Fleetwood moved the house, at the time when they had received the account of Sir George Booth's defeat, that they would appoint colonel Lambert to be major-general of their army; and this was done, upon certain assurance, that Sir Arthur Haslerig and other members would endeavour to obstruct it; whereby they doubted not the colonel would be so far disobliged, as to be ready to join with them in their detestable design. And it succeeded according to their expectations: for Sir Arthur Haslerig, well knowing that in a free commonwealth no man ought to be trusted with too great power, and especially such as had made very ill use of it before, prevailed with the parliament to declare, that they would not create any more general officers than those that were so already; which method they took, that they might not seem to put a negative upon him in particular. The lieutenant-general having attained his end in the first motion, was encouraged to move again, that seeing the house had not thought fit to do as he had proposed, they would be pleased to present the sum of five hundred or a thousand pounds to colonel Lambert, as a mark of their favour, to be conferred on him in consideration of his late service. This proposition was most willingly entertained, Sir Arthur Haslerig concurring with those who were for the greater sum, which was paid to him accordingly. But the parliament's refusal to gratify him with the title before-mentioned, was aggravated to that degree, that he, together with many officers more amongst whom he had an interest, became most implacable enemies to the parliament. In the mean time, a committee was sent to examine Sir George Booth in the Tower, touching the design wherein he had been engaged, and the persons that had promised to join with him. He confessed to have received a commission from the king, and that many of the nobility and gentry had promised to appear with him, whereof he discovered some, and desired more time to recollect himself concerning others.

DURING these transactions I had endeavoured as well as I could, to dispatch those affairs in Ireland which were entrusted to my care. I had delivered out new commissions to the officers there, and had disposed of several commands, that were either vacant by the refusal of some to take the engagement enjoined by the parliament, or in the hands of persons disaffected to the government. I had furnished the garrisons with provisions and ammunition for three months, and settled a militia in each county as considerable as the army itself, consisting for the most part of men that had experience, and had readily engaged to be true and faithful to the commonwealth. This work was attended with many difficulties; for I found divers of the officers guilty of habitual immoralities, many of them accustomed to detain the pay of the private soldiers, and most of them debauched in their principles by the late usurpation of the Cromwells. I endeavoured to clear the army of such as were most guilty, and thereby hoped to reform the rest. I also appointed fit persons to enquire into the principles and practices

practices of the private soldiers, as well horse as foot; and upon full information, dismissed such as appeared incorrigible, and placed others in the room of them, of whom we had better hopes, together with as many of those as we could find, who had been cashiered on account of their affection to the parliament.

UPON the news of our success against Sir George Booth, colonel Lockart our ambassador at the Pyrenean treaty, began to be courted by the Spaniard, as he had been before by the French; and our plenipotentiaries met with good success in their mediation for an agreement between the two northern crowns; and the Dutch not daring to attempt what they had designed for the king of Denmark, the two kings were in a fair way to a peace, though the king of Sweden had expressed his discontent, that the two commonwealths should form conditions to be imposed upon crowned heads. But being told by colonel Algernon Sidney, that the friendship of England was not to be obtained on any other terms, he seemed to acquiesce. But to return from my digression.

IN the month of September, 1659, a petition came to my hands, that had been addressed to the parliament, from the officers of the brigade which was commanded by colonel Lambert, and signed from Darby; wherein they aspersed the parliament for not endeavouring to suppress the late rebellion with such vigour as they ought, for not punishing those who had been engaged in it, and for not rewarding the officers who had defeated the enemy. They pressed for a settlement of the government after their own mode, in a representative of the people, and a select senate. And for the better discovery of their arbitrary designs, they demanded that lieutenant-general Fleetwood might be made commander in chief of the army, without any limitation of time; colonel Lambert appointed major-general, colonel Desborough lieutenant-general of the horse, and colonel Monk major-general of the foot. To which they added, that no officer of the army should be dismissed from his command, unless by a court-martial. Copies of this petition were sent by colonel Zanchey into Ireland, accompanied with letters to desire that it might be communicated to the officers there, and their concurrence procured. Being sensible of the ill effects that might arise from this wicked attempt, if it should succeed according to their hopes, amongst the officers in Ireland, I summoned as many of them as were quartered near Dublin, to meet there; and being met, I endeavoured to convince them of the deformity and hazard of this design of the army, desiring them to remember how successful they had been whilst they contained themselves within their proper station, and how all their attempts had miscarried when they intermeddled with those things that did not belong to them; and that they would not forget how well the army had been paid as long as the parliament had the management of affairs, and how much they had been in arrears since that time. I shewed them that the parliament could not fail of coming to a speedy determination touching the settlement of a just and equal government, since they had declared that a period should be put to their sitting in the month of May next following: that the nation would never endure to be governed by the sword: that it was a meer calumny to say, that the parliament

ment had not contributed their endeavours towards the suppression of the late tumults; for nothing could have been attempted against the enemies but by their orders: that it was manifest they had gratified those that had been instrumental in that service, having freely given the sum of a thousand pounds to colonel Lambert, and two hundred pounds to lieutenant-colonel Duckenfield; and that no private soldier, who had been concerned in that action might remain unrewarded, they had given the personal estate of Sir Thomas Middleton, amounting to about three thousand pounds, to be distributed amongst them. I endeavoured to persuade them, that the commission granted to lieutenant-general Fleetwood was as full and ample as could justly be desired, he being thereby appointed to continue in his command till the parliament should find cause to the contrary: that if they had refused to make more general officers, it was because they knew it to be unnecessary and dangerous; and that colonel Lambert, without the title of major-general, had done as good service as if he had been graced with that addition. Then the council of officers entered upon the debate of the heads of the petition from point to point, and after mature deliberation unanimously declared their dislike of it, and their resolutions to acknowledge the supreme authority of the nation to be in the parliament, and to stand by them in the prosecution of the common cause wherein they had been employed. And because a petition to that effect could not be immediately drawn, I sent away the said resolutions that very day to Sir Arthur Haslerig, with a promise of a farther declaration as soon as possible, resolving not to neglect this opportunity, out of a belief that our proceedings might be of use, as well to encourage our friends, as to discourage our enemies in England. It may be observed, that in this conjuncture colonel Monk sent also letters to the parliament, declaring his resolution not to join in the dangerous counsels of the army; but to keep the officers that were under his command within the rules of modesty and obedience.

THE army, not unmindful of their grand design, persuaded some of their friends in the parliament, to move for an order to continue alderman Ireton, then mayor, and one of their confidants, in that office for the next succeeding year. And the parliament seemed at the first inclined to grant their request, having perceived great discontents amongst the citizens of London at the time of the late insurrections: but the spirit of sedition being much allayed since the suppression of the rebels, the city petitioned the parliament to permit them the enjoyment of their privilege to elect their mayor, promising to employ that favour, and all that they had, for their service. Whereupon they were permitted to proceed in that affair according to custom; and Sir Thomas Allen, a man of a moderate spirit, being chosen, they invited the parliament and chief officers of the army to a splendid entertainment at dinner.

By this time I had almost completed a list for new-modelling the army in Ireland, in order to be presented to the committee of nominations; and thinking it necessary, before my departure for England, to remove such persons as gave the greatest cause of suspicion, I filled their places with those, in whom I might best confide, and who had given evident proof of their affection to the publick.

publick. There remained another business of the greatest importance, and wherein I found it difficult to come to a resolution, and that was to appoint a person to command the forces in Ireland in my absence. My inclinations led me to lodge that power with the commissioners of the parliament: but lieutenant-general Fleetwood pressed me so earnestly against it, that I was prevailed with to lay aside that thought. 'Tis probable that the lieutenant-general was unwilling to have it discovered, that such an office might be managed by more than one, lest it should tend to the diminution of his own power, he being commander in chief of the forces in England and Scotland. But the parliament having made no distinction amongst the colonels by any superior titles, I was much embarrassed how to proceed. Colonel Zanche was the eldest colonel, and most earnestly desired the employment; but when I considered his carriage in the contriving, abetting and promoting that base petition, lately sent from Darby by the officers of the army to the parliament, as I mentioned before, I could not think him to be a man proper for so great a trust. Sir Hardress Waller had been major-general of the foot, one of the late king's judges, and of good ability and experience in war: but he having complied with every party that had been uppermost; and especially having not yet received the parliament's confirmation for the regiment he commanded, I durst by no means intrust him with the command of the intire forces. After much deliberation, I resolved, as the best expedient I could find, to nominate colonel John Jones to command the forces of Ireland in my absence; he being a member of parliament, one of the late king's judges, and one of the commissioners of parliament for the administration of the civil government in Ireland: by virtue of which qualifications, I hoped he might be approved by the parliament, acceptable to the officers of the army, and stedfast in the defence of the common cause. Having taken this resolution, and being willing to keep a good correspondence with the army in England, I informed lieutenant-general Fleetwood with my intentions, desiring that if he approved my choice, he would procure the parliament to be moved to give their approbation. But he having, it seems, cast off his respect to the parliament, returned me in answer, that I was sufficiently authorized in my commission, to constitute one to command in chief during my absence; and that I had made, in his opinion, a very good choice. All this while, I had not acquainted colonel Jones with my resolution touching him, nor intended to do it till the time of my departure drew near, and till I had prepared the officers of the army to give him their assistance in the execution of his charge. To this end I discoursed with Sir Hardress Waller, and freely told him the reasons why I had not appointed him to command in chief, assuring him, that I had committed that employment to one of the commissioners of the parliament, in a great measure out of respect to him, that I might not be obliged to lodge it with colonel Zanche, who though he was a younger officer, yet being the first that was commissioned by the parliament, expected it of course. Sir Hardress seemed well satisfied with what I had said, and promised his hearty assistance to colonel Jones. There was no necessity to labour so much, to give satisfaction to Sir Charles Coote in this particular: for

he seemed to aim at nothing more than to keep his government in Connaught, of which province he was president by act of parliament, and to have his regiment of foot and troop of horse continued to him. I assured him of my endeavours, that all those things might be confirmed to him by the parliament, in hopes that he would employ them in the defence and preservation of that authority, under which he had done so many services, and from whom he had received so many marks of favour. This he promised to do, and added, that he was fully convinced that his interest was wholly involved in the preservation of the parliament, all that he enjoyed being derived from their authority; and that as he had opposed the late king in his arbitrary designs, so he would continue to act in conformity to those actions, well knowing that if the son should happen to prevail, the English interest would be lost in Ireland, and the Irish restored to the possession of their lands, according to an agreement passed between them. So having given me these assurances, he took his leave, in order to return to his government.

THE petition before-mentioned that had been agreed on by the officers of the army at Darby, coming to the knowledge of the parliament, with the endeavours that were used to procure subscriptions to it; some, who knew it to be a contrivance of colonel Lambert, moved that he might be sent to the Tower: and it had been well, either that the motion had better succeeded, or that it had never been made. But it ended only in passing a vote to disapprove the petition and the proceedings thereupon, and to require lieutenant-general Fleetwood to send letters to all parts to obstruct any farther progress therein. One of the said letters was sent to Ireland, which, in effect, was answered before it came, we having drawn up a petition in consequence of our vote, which I mentioned before; wherein, after we had asserted our cause, desired a just and equal magistracy, and the reformation of such things as should be found amiss in church and state, we assured the parliament of our readiness to lay down our lives in their service, and in the prosecution of those great ends. This affair being dispatched, colonel Lawrence, who, I am persuaded, was accessory to the design carried on at Wallingford-house, suspecting that whilst I staid in Ireland, the army there could not be wrought upon by that faction, advised me to hasten my departure, telling me, that Ireland being now settled, I might do more good in England, where my assistance might be wanted. I suspected not the sincerity of his council, and having divers reasons to move me to it, I prepared myself for my journey, and, with much difficulty, prevailed with serjeant Steel, who had supplied the place of chancellor during the usurpation, to remain in Ireland, though he earnestly desired to go over with me about some affairs relating to his office: but I thought it might prove too great a discouragement to our friends, if we should both leave them together, and therefore promised him to endeavour, that nothing might pass the parliament relating to the courts of justice in Ireland, till he should be heard concerning it. These things done, I acquainted colonel Jones with my resolution, who after some expressions of modesty and gratitude accepted the employment, and promised to apply himself, with all possible fidelity and diligence, to the discharge

charge of it. Upon which promise and acceptance, I went to the commissioners, and desired their approbation. But colonel Thomlinson, who was one of them, either from a belief that I had not power to constitute a deputy, or resenting that he was not the person, or at least joined in the commission with colonel Jones, moved the rest of the commissioners not to intermeddle in that affair, though without effect. For it was carried against his opinion at the board, and colonel Jones approved, in virtue of a clause in my commission, authorizing me to depute whom I thought fit for leading and conducting the army. In consequence of this, they passed an order to confirm my choice, and to require all colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and other inferior officers, &c. to yield obedience to him, in the execution of the commission which he had received from me. Then I called a council of officers, and informed them that the commissioners of parliament and myself had impowered colonel John Jones, of whose fidelity to the publick, and peculiar affection to them, they had large experience, to command the army during the time that their service might detain me in England; desiring them to afford him the best of their assistance in the execution of that trust, which they unanimously promised to do. Before my departure, the mayor and aldermen of Dublin having formed the militia of that place, whereof both officers and soldiers had taken the engagement, they were desirous to give some publick expression of their affection to the commonwealth; and to that end, on the day I designed to embark, they drew their forces into the field, consisting of about twelve hundred foot, and one hundred and twenty horse, that I might view them, and report to the parliament their readiness to serve the publick. Accordingly, the commissioners in their coaches, and I, with the officers of the army on horseback, took a view of them, as they were drawn up on the College-green, being all very well equipped, and drawn up in good order, and indeed so exact in the performance of their exercise, that one would have thought them to have been long in the service. Here they repeated their resolutions to serve the cause of God and their country, with the utmost of their endeavours, and promised to live and die with us in the assertion of our just rights and liberties. When they had finished their exercise, I took leave of each officer at the head of his respective company, and went that evening to my house at Moncktown, in order to embark for England. The commissioners of the parliament did me the honour to accompany me about half a mile out of town, and the officers of the army would have attended me to my house. But because it was late, I would not permit Sir Hardress Waller and the rest of the officers to go further than half way. The next day, after I had signed such commissions and orders as I thought necessary, and was ready to go on board, colonel Jones, Sir Hardress Waller, with most of the officers about Dublin, and my good friend chief justice Cook, came down to me, and accompanied me to the sea-side, where we took leave of each other, with mutual recommendations to the direction and protection of Almighty God. The next day I arrived in the road without the bay of Beaumaris, and there meeting with some vessels coming from Chester, I inquired of them if the Irish brigade were yet put to sea for Ireland, having

been assured that the council of state had given orders for their transportation. They informed me, that the said brigade had lain long at the water-side, in order to embark, and had prepared many vessels to that end; but that all the ships were now discharged, upon orders received from colonel Zanche for those forces to march for London. This information gave me occasion to suspect what was soon after confirmed to me: for at my arrival in the bay, which was in the evening, the governor of Beaumaris and another officer came to me on board, and informed me that the army had offered violence a second time to the parliament, and resumed the power into their hands. This astonishing news put me into a doubt, whether I should return to my command in Ireland, or continue my journey to London. On the one hand, I considered that those who were under my particular care and conduct being in Ireland, my presence might be necessary amongst them, to excite them to the performance of their duty. On the other side, when I called to mind that I had done as much as I could to secure their service to the parliament, that I had brought a declaration from them to that purpose, and left the chief command in the hands of a person, that had great reasons to move him to be faithful in his charge, I was inclined to go forward in my journey. And when I considered the mischiefs likely to follow, upon a breach between the parliament and army, which I concluded would inevitably prove the ruin of both; and that it was not impossible that I might contribute something towards a reconciliation: in conclusion, knowing that in my way I should have an opportunity of conferring with the Irish brigade, I resolved to continue my journey; and the next morning, as I passed the ferry at Conway, I perceived a person riding post towards us, who coming nearer, appeared to be one colonel Barrow, dispatched from the council of officers at London, with a message to me and the rest of the officers in Ireland, to give us an account of their proceedings, and what satisfaction they could concerning them. He delivered to me two letters, one from the council of officers directed to me, and to be communicated to the army in Ireland: the other from lieutenant-general Fleetwood to myself. In that from the officers, they endeavoured to put the best gloss they could upon their late action, pleading the force of necessity in their excuse, and protesting to improve every opportunity to promote the publick good, with this expression inserted, "That they had been necessitated to obstruct the sitting of the parliament for the present." That from lieutenant-general Fleetwood was much to the same purpose, desiring me to exercise my charity to them, and labouring to clear his own integrity in the late transaction. Colonel Barrow also endeavoured to persuade me, that the parliament had on many occasions manifested such a spirit of imposition, as was become intolerable; that they had designed to ruin their most ancient and best friends; and that the officers had taken the power into their own hands, only to employ it to the full satisfaction of all honest men. I told him, that though I should be extremely glad to see it so employed, yet when I considered how grossly the nation had been formerly abused under the same pretences, I had not the least expectation of it, being well informed, that all their discontent had no other foundation, than the experience they had, that the parliament

liament would not permit the officers of the army to be their superiors, and the sword to tyrannize over the civil power. After I had spent about an hour with colonel Barrow, in conversation touching this affair, I found no cause to alter my resolution concerning my journey, but was rather confirmed in my opinion, that my endeavours to adjust the differences between the parliament and army might prove successful; and therefore, having perused the letter from the officers at London, which was to be communicated to those in Ireland, I delivered it again to colonel Barrow, with another for colonel Jones, wherein I desired him to take all possible care, that the common enemy might not be able to take advantage from this sad conjuncture, to disturb the publick peace. Then I proceeded in my journey towards Chester, and being arrived within three miles of that town, I found the officers of horse belonging to the Irish brigade, who gave themselves the trouble to wait my coming, and accompanied me to the city, where the foot were drawn up, and had lined the streets to the place where I was to lodge. The next day being Sunday, I staid there, and taking that occasion to speak with the officers of the said brigade, together with colonel Croxton governor of Chester, I told them freely my thoughts concerning the late precipitate enterprize of the army, and, as I was able, endeavoured to convince them of the imprudence and injustice of it; delivering for my opinion, that the late address, contrived at Darby, had given birth to this unnatural attempt, as it was itself the offspring of pride and ambition: that it was apparent the army had not put this affront upon the parliament for having omitted the performance of their duty in relation to the publick, but meerly on account of themselves and their own private interest, having expressed their resentment in the most outrageous manner against the parliament, for not advancing some officers of the army to such powers and titles as had formerly proved fatal to the government; though they might have seen by the late success of colonel Lambert, that victory is not entailed upon empty titles. During this conference there was not one word said in excuse of the late horrid act committed by the Wallingford-house party, but only by one captain Winckworth a creature of colonel Zanchey; all the rest seeming to be convinced of the truth of what I had said, affirming that they had been surprized, and prevailed upon to sign it, without having sufficiently weighed the consequences it might produce. In particular lieutenant-colonel Walker, the chief officer then upon the place, assured me, that it being suddenly presented to him with a letter from colonel Zanchey, he had too hastily signed it; but after better consideration, he had resolved to stop the paper at the post-house, which he had done if it had not been dispatched away sooner than he expected.

WHILST I was at Chester there came a messenger from the officers of the army at London with letters for those in Ireland, which he presented to me, as they were directed. Upon the perusal of them I found my former suspicions justified, and that the army would be contented with nothing less than to have the government established in a court-martial. To this end they had agreed that lieutenant-general Fleetwood should be commander in chief of all the forces of the commonwealth, colonel Lambert major-general of the army,

colonel Desborough lieutenant-general of the horse, colonel Monk major-general of the foot; and that all officers of the army who should by their subscriptions testify their submission to this agreement, should be confirmed in their commands, from thence never to be discharged, unless by a court-martial: that all officers to be presented to any command that should be vacant by dismissal, death, or otherwise, should be nominated by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, major-general Lambert, colonel Desborough, colonel Berry, myself, or any three of us; and to receive their commissions from lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who also was to grant new ones to those that were already possessed of any military command. We were informed also by this messenger, that the council of officers had agreed upon one and twenty persons, with whom they pretended to intrust the administration of all civil affairs, under the title of a "committee of safety," resolving to obey them so long as they would do what should be prescribed to them. This number, though filled up with men of almost all parties, yet was so craftily composed, that the balance was sufficiently secured to those of their own faction. The names of the committee were as followeth; lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major-general Lambert, colonel Desborough, Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, the lord Wariston, colonel Titchburn, commissioner Whitlock, colonel Berry, Mr. Walter Strickland, colonel Hewetson, Mr. Cornelius Holland, Sir James Harrington, alderman Ireton, colonel Sydenham, Mr. serjeant Steel, Mr. Henry Brandriff, colonel Monk, Sir Gilbert Pickering, one person more, and myself. Notwithstanding all this bad news, I resolved to pursue my journey; and having viewed the castle of Chester, exhorted the officers of the Irish brigade to persist in their resolutions of fidelity to the parliament, and written to the officers in Ireland to the same purpose, I departed from thence on Monday about noon, the streets being lined with soldiers as at my arrival. The horse accompanied me about three miles on my way, and there I found another troop waiting to attend me to Whitchurch, where I lay that night. But the next morning having permitted them to accompany me about a mile from the town, I dismissed them with thanks for their affection, and extremely pleased to be freed from such ceremonies, admiring how it should come to pass that so many men delight in numerous and magnificent trains, which, besides the trouble it puts others to, must necessarily render those for whose service they are designed, less useful and easy to themselves. At Coventry I found some of the forces that had been in the service of the king of France, and lately brought to England by order of the parliament, upon the insurrection of Sir George Booth's party. I discoursed with the officers concerning their duty in this conjuncture, and exhorted them to continue stedfast in their obedience to the parliament, which they promised to do. The next night I lay at Northampton, and was informed by some passengers who came from London, that colonel Monk had declared against the late proceedings of the army. Which news was so welcome that I could not give entire credit to it, till it was confirmed to me the next night at Dunstable, and the day after by my wife, who came to meet me at St. Albans. Being arrived at London, I went to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who endeavouring

vouring to persuade me to go into a council of officers that was then assembled at Wallingford-house, to consider of letters brought from colonel Monk, I desired to be excused from intermeddling in their consultations, being very ill satisfied with their proceedings, accounting them to be founded upon a selfish bottom, and therefore not likely to produce any good to the publick. He requested me to put a charitable construction on their actions, making solemn protestations of his own integrity, and adding, That whatsoever opinion I might have conceived of them, I should certainly find that Monk's intentions were neither sincere nor honest. To which I replied, That though I knew not what designs he might have to carry on, yet it ought to be confessed that his publick declaration had a better appearance than theirs, who demanded nothing less than a government by the sword. By him and others whom I conversed with, I was fully acquainted with the grounds and causes of this second violence offered to the parliament, which had been designed soon after their restitution, when the grandees of the army perceived they would not be governed by them; and had been more speedily put in execution, if the late tumults of the cavaliers and presbyterians had not caused it to be put off till they were suppressed. The parliament on their part being sensible of their danger, were not wholly negligent of the means to prevent it; though I cannot say they gave no advantages to the faction of the army, by disgusting the sectarian party, and falling in with the corrupt interests of the lawyers and clergy, wherein the army did not fail to outbid them when they saw their time. But Sir Arthur Haslerig, supposing that a conjunction with these men would contribute much to deter the officers from any attempt against the parliament, closed with them, and thereby dissatisfied many of the commonwealth-party. Neither did it a little contribute to this disorder, that Sir Arthur, who took upon him to be the principal manager of affairs in parliament, was a man of a disobliging carriage, sour and morose of temper, liable to be transported with passion, and to whom liberality seemed to be a vice. Yet to do him justice, I must acknowledge, that that I am under no manner of doubt concerning the rectitude and sincerity of his intentions. For he made it his business to prevent arbitrary power wheresoever he knew it to be effected, and to keep the sword subservient to the civil magistrate. To this end he had procured many officers to be chosen into the army, with whom he hoped to balance that faction that appeared every day more and more amongst them. He had recommended colonel Fitz to the parliament for lieutenant of the Tower, and took care on all occasions to oblige colonel Monk who commanded the forces in Scotland. He presumed upon the fidelity of the fleet and forces in Ireland, on account of the past services of those that commanded them, and their former opposition to the usurpation of Cromwell. He had procured a guard of chosen horse commanded by major Evelyn, to attend the parliament, and was assured of colonel Morley's regiment, with those of colonel Hacker, colonel Okey, and some others that lay in or near the town. In the mean time the officers at Wallingford-house had not been idle, and accounting it lawful for them to do whatsoever they had power to do, they agreed on that petition which I mentioned before to have been sent

from Darby, and privately sent it down thither to be signed and dispersed, and then to be returned to London, as if it had been drawn at Darby, and by no means to be presented to the parliament, unless it were first approved by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and signed, at his recommendation, by the officers about London. The lieutenant-general having received this pernicious paper, being one morning at a committee in the speaker's chamber before the house was sat, shewed it to Sir Arthur Haslerig, acquainting him how it came to his hands, pretending his dislike of it, and a resolution to put a stop to it. Sir Arthur said not much to him concerning it, either suspecting him to be in the plot, or thinking that if speedy care were not taken, it would be past all remedy: and therefore procured the speaker immediately to take the chair, and to send for the members from the committee into the house. Which being done, he obtained an order for shutting the door, and bringing the keys to the table, alledging that the business which he had to impart to the parliament required that care. Then he communicated to them the petition itself, which being read, he aggravated the heinousness of the attempt, and moved that colonel Lambert, who commanded that part of the army amongst whom it was said to have had its beginning, might be accused of high treason, and committed to the Tower; and that one major Creed and colonel Zanche might also be taken into custody. The major part of the house, finding their very being struck at by this combination, seemed very ready to agree with those who were the most zealous for the suppression of it. But the lieutenant-general affirming, that, according to the best of his information, the petition had been begun and carried on by the inferior officers of the brigade, without the knowledge or consent of colonel Lambert: that it was not to have been presented to the parliament without the approbation of himself, and the rest of the officers about London; and that he had taken a resolution to suppress it; the house inclined to more gentle methods, and contented themselves with passing a vote, to express their dislike of the said petition, requiring those of the army to forbear any farther prosecution of it, and commanding lieutenant-general Fleetwood to issue out his letters to that effect to the several quarters of the army, which he did accordingly. But for all this a council of officers was summoned to meet at Wallingford-house; and though it was pretended to be only in order to declare their acquiescence in the resolution of the parliament, yet the officers fell into debates of the utmost rage and madness, colonel Lambert, who was present, sitting still as a person altogether unconcerned, and not reproving them in the least for their excesses. The result of all was, that a committee of the council of officers was directed to prepare an address to the parliament, wherein, after the specious promises of obedience, they desired that those who should hereafter misinform the house, as had been done in their case, might undergo the censure of the parliament: that a commander in chief might be constituted without limitation of time: that no officer might be displaced unless by a court-martial: that the act of indemnity might be enlarged: that the revenue of Mr. Richard Cromwell might be augmented, and that his debts might be paid; with other particulars, most of which were as absurd for the army to ask, as for

for the parliament to grant. However, the parliament being willing to leave no means unattempted that might give satisfaction to the army, taking hold of that clause in the address wherein they had promised obedience, gave them thanks for their affection expressed therein, and promised to take the particulars of the petition into their speedy and serious consideration, to do therein according to justice, and as far as they could to their satisfaction. In pursuance of this promise the parliament proceeded to the consideration of the several parts of the address, and had made a good progress in it, when colonel Okey communicated to them a letter subscribed by colonel Lambert, colonel Desborough, colonel Berry, colonel Clerk, colonel Barrow, who were of a committee nominated by the council of officers, which had been sent to him to encourage subscriptions to the petition lately read in the house. By which proceeding it was manifest, that they intended the petition to be the ground on which they designed to unite the army against the civil authority. The parliament finding that the ways of compliance which they had been taking served only to encourage the army to mutiny and rebellion, resolved upon sharper counsels. And to that end, having caused the door of the house to be locked, and fully informed themselves of the matter of fact, they voted the commissions of those who had subscribed the said letter to be void. They voted the commission of lieutenant-general Fleetwood to be void also, and placed by an act the power of commander in chief of all the forces in England and Scotland in the seven following persons, viz. lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Monk, Sir Arthur Haslerig, colonel Walton, colonel Morley, colonel Overton, and me. Then they caused the speaker to demand of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who was present in the house, if he would submit to this resolution of the parliament; to which he answered, that he would. They also declared, that no tax should be laid or levied upon the people, unless by act of parliament, under the penalty due to those that are guilty of high treason. This business, though carried with as much privacy as it could be, yet came to the notice of the officers without doors, who being surprized at the resolution of the parliament, and convinced that the least delay might prove dangerous, used all possible diligence in drawing together their party, and preparing themselves for their designed work.

In the mean time the parliament ordered the regiments of colonel Morley and colonel Moss to march forthwith to Westminster for their security, and sent for the rest of the troops that were about the town to draw down to them also with all convenient speed. In pursuance of which order colonel Okey endeavoured to bring down his regiment of horse, but the greatest part of them deserted him. For most of the old officers whom Cromwell had by his example corrupted with the horrid vices of ambition and treachery, found it easy to delude the inferior officers and private soldiers, who had either utterly forgot their trades, or were unwilling to return to an industrious life, into a compliance with any design, in order to get a living. Colonel Lambert was the person that made the first attempt against the parliament's guard, endeavouring at the head of a party of horse to break in upon that part where colonel Morley

was posted with his regiment. But the colonel advancing, and assuring him, that if he persisted, he would fire upon him, Lambert answered, "I will then go the other way," which he did, after he had given order to block up the avenues by the Mill-bank with carts and other impediments, to prevent the guards of the parliament from falling out upon them by that way. The army had also placed a party of theirs in King-street, and in the church-yard near the Abby, some of colonel Morley's regiment having already possessed themselves of the Old palace-yard. In this posture they continued all night. The next morning that guard of the army which lay in the church-yard advanced, with one major Grimes at the head of them, towards those of colonel Morley's regiment, who were in the Palace-yard: of which motion the colonel being informed, drew out those that he had with him, and hastened to their relief. Both parties being come within pistol-shot, and each of them ready to fire, those of the army began to invite colonel Morley's men to go over to them, desiring them to remember that they had hitherto fought together, and that it was unreasonable now to become enemies. In like manner colonel Morley's party endeavoured to persuade those of the army to join with them in the defence of the parliament, who, they said, had been always successful in the administration of publick affairs, and to whom the officers of the army had so lately promised obedience, when they received their last commissions: who had always taken effectual care for their constant pay, and who were the only authority that could do so for the future. The chief officers at length interposing, it was agreed, that both parties should for the present retire to their former stations. On the other side colonel Lambert, being advanced near that party which was commanded by colonel Moss, demanded of them if they would suffer nine of their old officers, who had so often spent their blood for them and with them, to be disgraced and ruined with their families. The colonel answered, That though that should be the case, yet it were much better that nine families should be destroyed, than the civil authority of the nation trampled under foot, who designed not the ruin of any, but only to remove from their commands nine officers, who by their seditious carriage had rendered themselves unworthy of that trust. But colonel Lambert's oratory was more prevalent with the person that commanded the parliament's guard of horse, who perceiving that divers of his men had left him, and revolted by the treacherous persuasions of one Caithness his lieutenant, dismounted in the head of his troop at the command of Lambert. Some of colonel Moss his regiment went off also, each party using their rhetoric to bring over as many as they could. On the other part some came over to the parliament's party, and particularly three entire companies of colonel Sydenham's regiment. But at last the army gained their point, and placed guards both by land and water, to hinder the members of parliament from approaching the house, though Sir Peter Wentworth being rowed by a crew of able watermen, broke through their guard on the river, and got into the house. In the mean time the speaker endeavouring to pass in his coach through the guards of the army, was stopped near the gate of the Palace-yard by lieutenant-colonel Duckenfield; and being demanded whither

he was going, the speaker answered, To perform his duty at the house: then turning himself to the soldiers, he told them, That he was their general, and expected their obedience. But these men having resolved to destroy the civil authority, and to set up the sword in the room of it, forced his coachman to drive back, and as he passed by Wallingford-house, would have compelled him to drive in at the gate, telling the speaker, that he must go to lieutenant-general Fleetwood. But the speaker commanded the coachman to drive home: and having told the officers, that if lieutenant-general Fleetwood had any business with him, he might come to his house, they desisted from giving him any farther trouble at that time.

DURING those disorders, the council of state still assembled at the usual place, and at one of their meetings, colonel Sydenham, who was one of them, made a speech, wherein he endeavoured to justify these proceedings of the army, undertaking to prove that they were necessitated to make use of this last remedy by a particular call of the divine providence. But the lord president Bradshaw, who was then present, though by long sickness very weak and much extenuated, yet animated by his ardent zeal and constant affection to the common cause, upon hearing those words, stood up and interrupted him, declaring his abhorrence of that detestable action, and telling the council, that being now going to his God, he had not patience to sit there to hear his great name so openly blasphemed; and thereupon departed to his lodgings, and withdrew himself from publick employment. The army having resolved to finish the work, appointed a select number of persons, consisting for the most part of themselves and their creatures, to have the administration of civil affairs, calling them, as I said before, "A committee of safety:" and knowing that it was of great importance to secure the forces in Ireland and Scotland to their interest, they dispatched colonel Barrow, formerly mentioned, to Ireland, and colonel Cobbet to Scotland, on that design.

THE news of this great change being brought to Ireland, was at first received with great sadness and discontent; but after three or four days, when colonel Barrow had given assurances of favour and advancement to divers officers, he easily persuaded many of them, that the army would make use of their power to good ends. Yet so much dissatisfaction remained in the major part of them, that the colonel could not obtain any publick approbation from them of the proceedings of the army in England: only they sent a letter inclosed in one to me, and directed to the council of officers at London, advising them to be very circumspect in their actions, lest they should happen to split, as formerly, upon the rocks of pride and ambition. At the same time I received letters from Sir Hardress Waller, colonel Cooper, and other officers, to inform me, that those who had the management of affairs in Ireland, endeavoured on all occasions to impose upon them, and therefore earnestly desired my presence there. Colonel Cobbet had not so good success in Scotland: for colonel Monk, who had another part to play, having secured to himself the fidelity of most of his officers who had been with him for many years, and by the particular favour of Sir Arthur Haslerig had not been altered by the committee

of nominations, seized colonel Cobbet with some officers that he suspected might oppose his designs, and sent them prisoners into one of the islands. After that, he declared for the parliament, and writ three letters, whereof the first was directed to the speaker, the second to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, the third to colonel Lambert. In that to the speaker, he assured him, that he would expose himself and the forces with him to all hazards for the restitution of the parliament to the exercise of their authority, in obedience to the commission he had received from them. In his letters to the lieutenant-general and colonel Lambert, he endeavoured to persuade them to use their interest and power to restore the parliament, declaring his own resolution in that matter. I also received a letter from him, wherein he acquainted me with his intentions touching the parliament, and desired my assistance therein.

IN this confusion of things it was brought about, chiefly by the interest of Sir Henry Vane with colonel Lambert, that the said Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, and myself, should meet and confer with lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Lambert, colonel Sydenham, and colonel Desborough, concerning the present condition of affairs. Accordingly we met in one of the council-chambers at Whitehall, where colonel Lambert, in the first place, demanded of me, If I could give him my hand. I answered, That though, according to my information, his part in the late action appeared to me very unwarrantable; yet if it might make me more capable of serving the publick, and recommend my endeavours for the peace of the nation, and the reconciliation of the differences amongst us, I could not only give him my hand, but my heart also. Then he laboured to justify his late proceedings, protesting that he had no intention to interrupt the parliament till the time that he did it, and that he was necessitated to that extremity for his own preservation, saying, That Sir Arthur Haslerig was so enraged against him, that he would be satisfied with nothing but his blood. I endeavoured to take him off from that opinion, by telling him, that being assured of Sir Arthur's sincere affection to the commonwealth, I could not think that he would do any thing to the prejudice of those that were friends to it. I told him also, that according to my notion of things, the aim and design of Sir Arthur Haslerig was good, even in that matter, which had been the first occasion of difference between them, concerning new titles and powers, which had proved so fatal to the parliament in former time, and which he thought very unsafe under an equal and moderate government. I assured him, that Sir Arthur had a personal respect for him, which he had manifested on several occasions; particularly, I desired him to remember, that he had prevailed with the parliament to grant him the command of two regiments, and sided with those members who were for the greatest sum to be given him in acknowledgment of his service in Cheshire. In conclusion, I told him, that Sir Arthur was well known not to be of an obliging carriage; and therefore, if ever he had been used too roughly by him, it would become him to pardon it, and to charge it upon his temper, especially since he had not spared the best of his friends, of which I gave him divers instances, some of which related to myself. After this discourse, the officers declared to us their refo-

resolution to do great things for the publick good, and pressed us earnestly to come amongst them to their committee of safety : but we desired to be excused, till such time as the common cause might be secured to the satisfaction of good men, and therefore agreed upon another meeting, wherein this affair might be fully debated. In the mean time, I endeavoured to moderate the warmth of some of the parliament-party, and to bring them to desire a reconciliation with the army, that by that means the publick might be preserved from ruin; and to this end, a meeting was appointed between Mr. Scot, colonel Morley, Mr. Say, myself, and one person more, whose name I have forgot; where after much debate on that subject, I shewed them the address which I had brought from all the officers in Ireland, as well general as inferior, to whom it had been tendered, and informed them, that the Irish brigade had assured me at Chester, that they would continue faithful to the parliament, and had acknowledged their error in signing the petition from Darby. Hereupon they desired me to publish the address from Ireland, together with what had passed between the Irish brigade and me, supposing it might be of great service in that conjuncture. I told them, I would consider of it, and that for the present I had nothing to object against the publication of those papers, except my fear, that by so doing I might so far exasperate the army, as to render all my offices to reconcile them to the parliament utterly ineffectual. When the company was separated, and Mr. Scot and I going away together, he earnestly pressed me to improve the opportunity, which, he said, I had in my hands, to be highly serviceable to the publick, which if neglected, I should repent it as long as I had an hour to live. I told him, That I thought he had laid too much weight on my interest: but yet desired him to inform me, what he thought it my duty to do. He said, That I ought by all means to declare against the proceedings of the army, and to join with Monk in opposition to them. I replied, That though I knew not what the design of Monk might be, yet I had entertained a charitable opinion of him, by reason of his declaration for the parliament: but that it was my judgment, that if either the parliament or the army should entirely prevail one against the other in this conjuncture, it would hazard the ruin of both; and therefore, I thought myself obliged in duty to use the utmost of my endeavours to bring them to a reconciliation, before I should think of declaring myself. For as there was no appearance that the army could long subsist without a due provision for their payment, which the parliament only could make to the content of the people, especially since the passing of the vote against levying money unless by their authority; so also it was necessary for the parliament to have the assistance of the army in the great work they had before them, to establish a just and equal government in the nation.

AFTER this I waited on Mr. Lenthal the speaker of the parliament, and gave him also an account of the state of affairs in Ireland, and that I had many things to offer to the parliament from that nation, which I hoped speedily to do, when he should return to the chair of the house; to which end I assured him I would employ all my interest, being fully convinced of the in-
justice

justice of the army in the late violence, and that no authority but that of the parliament can render any form of government agreeable to the people. I acquainted him also with the sentiments of the Irish brigade, with all which he declared himself much satisfied; and having given me a relation of his own gallantry towards those of the army that mutinied against him, as before mentioned, I took my leave for that time. Some of the council of state writ letters to colonel Monk, to encourage him in his resolutions for the parliament; and lieutenant-general Fleetwood sent one captain Lloyd with an answer to that which he had received from the colonel, and to promise on his part all the advantages that he could desire. Colonel Jones, Sir Hardress Waller, and about six or seven officers more, drew up an answer to Monk's letter directed to me in Ireland, and sent it to me at London for my approbation, together with the letter itself. Having perused both, I perceived a great alteration in many of the officers of Ireland, and a great defection from their duty. For in their answer they manifestly took part with the army, and required Monk to desist from his undertaking, charging the blood that might be shed in this quarrel on his head, with much more to the same effect. With these letters I received others from colonel Cooper and major Warren, complaining of the said breach, and of the hardships which, they said, were put upon them; by those whom I had entrusted with the command of the forces, and earnestly pressing me to return to them. I thought myself obliged to answer these letters, and in that to colonel Jones, I expressed my dissatisfaction with what he and some others had written to colonel Monk, wherein they had espoused the interests of the army, contrary to the trust they had received from the parliament and me, which thing deserved the more blame, because the army had as yet declared for no other government than that of a court-martial; whereas colonel Monk, whatever his designs might be, had hitherto asserted the authority of the parliament. To the same purpose, I writ to colonel Cooper and major Warren, advising them to be careful not to join themselves to a faction in opposition to the civil authority of the nation; and sent orders to colonel Cooper, who was a good officer, and very acceptable to the best sort of people in the northern parts, to command the forces there, and to be vigilant on all occasions to promote the publick service: and though the letters which had been sent to Ireland by the council of officers at Wallingford-house were, for the present, laid aside; yet being informed, that endeavours were used privately to make them take effect, and to engage those forces to the faction of the army, I went to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and desired him, that to prevent setting the army in Ireland together by the ears, the proceedings in that matter might be let fall, telling him, that if they absolutely required the officers there to subscribe their confederacy, it would come to pass that many of them would lay down their commissions, and thereby a way would be open to fill their places with corrupt and scandalous persons, who might not only prove the causes of great disorders in that country, but also would be so fixed in their stations, as not easily to be removed again, it being one of the articles of their papers, that no officers should be displaced but by a court-martial.

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The lieutenant-general, avowing that he had not foreseen either of those inconveniencies, promised to desist from any farther prosecution of that matter.

IN the mean time the officers at Wallingford-house were not negligent, and having drawn up an engagement, as I said before, they required those of the army who desired to continue in their employments, to subscribe it. By this means, colonel Okey, colonel Morley, colonel Alured, lieutenant-colonel Farley, and divers others who were not of their faction, were removed from their commands; though colonel Moss and colonel Rich were permitted to continue in their charges without subscribing. Colonel Rich was the more willing to retain his regiment, that he might be the better acquainted with the designs of the army, and have more opportunities of rectifying the mistakes of such officers, who, though honest and well meaning men, yet might happen to be deluded by the plausible pretences of their superiors. But that which principally persuaded him to continue amongst them, was the interest and friendship which he had with vice-admiral Lawson, who commanded the fleet at that time, and who very much depended upon the advice of the colonel for the measures he should take to serve the publick. Their committee of safety also nominated lieutenant-general Fleetwood, commissioner Whitlock, Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, colonel Tichburn, and me, to consider of a form of government for the three nations, and to report our opinions to them. And though some of us were very unwilling to have any part in an affair of this nature, yet seeing we were now under the power and government of the sword, we resolved to procure the best settlement we could get, if we could not obtain such a one as we desired, hoping at least to procure the regulation of what was most amiss. And therefore we had several meetings on this subject, wherein we agreed upon the principal points in dispute. But the greatest difficulty was, in what manner the result of our debates should receive a sanction. The army-party desired, that the forces on foot in the three nations should be drawn together, and that they, with such of the people who would join with them, should give their consent to the form agreed on in a publick assembly. This I could not approve, but resolved, if we could come to any agreement, to procure it to be laid before the parliament for their approbation, or never to assent to it.

DURING these transactions, colonel Monk having received the answer of colonel Jones, and other officers in Ireland, to the letter he had written to them, and not liking the contents of it, seized major Barret, by whom it was sent; and resolving to march to London with all possible expedition, he fell upon new-modelling his men; wherein he had two notable advantages, the one from divers of his officers, who being of the Wallingford-house party, voluntarily surrendered their commissions to him, whose places he immediately filled with his own creatures: the other from the late act of parliament, whereby he was constituted one of the seven generals appointed to command the army, by virtue of which authority he undertook so to regulate his forces, as might be most for his purpose. Before his departure from Scotland, he
procured

procured a sum of money from the Scots, with which he paid his soldiers, and thereby obliged them the more to his service, especially at this time, when they knew the army in England were in want of it, and knew not well how to raise any, having interrupted the civil authority, by whom alone money might rightfully be raised. The army-party being informed of his design, resolved to draw a body of their troops together, to be sent against him, with orders, if possible, to possess themselves of Newcastle, a place of great importance to the city of London, and to fight him, if an opportunity should be offered. Four thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, were appointed for this service, together with the Irish brigade, commanded by colonel Zanche, who, notwithstanding his late carriage, came with great confidence to me to receive my orders; but I was very reserved to him in that particular, knowing how instrumental he had been in promoting the present disorders. The committee of the army intrusted colonel Lambert with the command of these forces, who having dispatched his orders to the soldiery that were quartered in the north to draw together, and to seize on the town of Newcastle, went himself by post for that place. Before his departure, he desired those who had been appointed to consider of a form of government, to proceed in their consultations, and to send the result of them to him, promising to give his assent and approbation to it. But some of us earnestly pressed, that we might come to an agreement before he began his journey, assuring him, that it would very much tend to facilitate his present undertaking, especially if the establishment designed might be so just and equal, that a good man might reasonably adventure his life in defence of it; whereas, on the contrary, if things were left uncertain, and no form of government agreed upon, men would not easily be persuaded to engage for a party, against those who at least pretended to act for the civil authority. He acknowledged the force of these reasons, but could not be prevailed upon to stay till it should be perfected, though he desired it might be sent after him with all possible expedition.

IN the mean time, colonel Jones, and those officers who were in and about Dublin, sent lieutenant-colonel Dobson to be their agent in England, and to inform them of publick affairs. He had been used ill by Oliver, and unjustly removed from his command; which being represented to me when I was there, I advanced him to be a field-officer: but being a man of slender ability, and little acquainted with publick affairs, he was easily deluded by the fair pretences of the Wallingford-house party, and became their creature, rather than the agent of those that sent him. And now colonel Jones, despairing to prevail upon the council of officers, whilst together, to subscribe the design of governing the three nations by a council of war, dispersed them to their respective quarters, and sent the Wallingford-house paper to be subscribed by them when they could not have an opportunity of consulting together, accompanied with letters from himself to press them to it: and having declared openly, that if they refused to subscribe, the army in England would find a way to detain the pay that had been assigned to them by the parliament; many of those who had signed an engagement to the parliament, which I had carried

ried over to England, and therein expressed their sorrow for the interruption of the civil authority, together with their firm resolution to adhere constantly to them for the future, were now brought to sign an engagement directly contrary to the former. Of which being informed, I thought myself obliged to write to colonel Jones, and other officers of the army, and to expostulate with them concerning the foulness of these practices, that were not only contrary to their late solemn promises, and pretended sorrow for their former evil compliances, but also tending in a high degree to set up the power of the sword upon the ruins of the civil authority. Colonel Jones in his answer excused himself, as not having foreseen the inconveniencies of the foresaid paper, affirming that he had only permitted it to be promoted at the incessant importunities of others; but yet he expressed some discontent that I should lay so heavy a charge upon him, who had undertaken his employment at my desire, and had managed it according to the best of his understanding. He concluded, that he earnestly desired I would return to my command, and ease him of the burden that was upon him. About the same time serjeant Steel, one of the commissioners in Ireland, being nominated of the committee of safety, took that opportunity to go into England, as he had long desired to do, by whose departure the affairs of Ireland suffered much, he being generally esteemed to be a man of great prudence and uncorrupted integrity. At London he refused to act in the committee of safety; and though he sometimes went to Wallingford-house, and discoursed with lieutenant-general Fleetwood and some others about things relating to a future establishment, yet he always declared his opinion to be, That the parliament were the only proper judges of that matter, and used the best of his endeavours that they might be restored to their authority. After his departure, the commissioners of the parliament in Ireland fell in with the party of the army, and altered their title in the orders and commissions signed by them, from that of commissioners of the parliament, to that of commissioners of the commonwealth; and being informed that the garrison of Air in Scotland had discharged their governor, and declared for Monk, they ordered a ship of war to cruize on that coast, to prevent their correspondence with the northern parts of Ireland. Colonel Lambert being now in the north of England, and his forces in possession of Newcastle, divers messages past between him and colonel Monk, the latter always declaring his resolution, as he had done before to the generals commissioned by the parliament, to be assisting to them in settling the government on the foot of a commonwealth, without a king, single person, or house of lords: and seeing that the army had begun to treat with him, he nominated colonel Wilkes, colonel Knight, and lieutenant-colonel Clobery, to be commissioners to adjust the present differences with those of the Wallingford-house party.

THE Irish brigade, though colonel Zanche and others endeavoured to persuade them to join heartily with those of the army, had not quite forgot our discourse at Chester, and therefore they resolved not to engage against Monk, till they might see that what they were about to fight for, was worth the hazard they were to run. To this end they signed a paper in the nature of

an association, whereby they obliged themselves to live and die together; one of the principal officers informing me by a letter, that if colonel Lambert designed to advance himself, he must chuse another pole to climb by than the Irish brigade, who were fully resolved not to assist him in such an attempt. Lambert being made acquainted with the foresaid paper, concluded that the jealousy they had of him arose from the influence I had upon that brigade, and thereupon wrote to Sir Henry Vane, desiring him to procure a letter from me to them, to remove that prejudice which they had entertained against him. Accordingly Sir Henry Vane came to me, and having assured me that colonel Lambert had rather been made use of by the Wallingford-house party, than that he had been in any manner the principal contriver of the late disorders, and that he would be an impediment to them in their design of advancing a single person, I consented to desire our brigade, that they would be careful to inform themselves well before they should determine what course to take, that they might not, out of a jealousy of one person, contribute to the advancement of others, who might possibly prove to be worse. Upon the receipt of my letter, which I sent to one of the principal officers amongst them, to be communicated to the rest, they marched nearer to the forces of colonel Lambert, who thereupon sent me a letter of thanks, acknowledging that I had exercised my charity to him in an extraordinary manner, considering the late transactions; protesting that he designed not the violence that was offered to the parliament, and was wholly innocent from promoting that petition which had a tendency to it; that he knew not of any interruption to be given to the house, till the day it was put in execution; and that he had no further design therein, than to preserve himself from destruction, which he conceived was intended against him. He concluded with assurances, that he would take all opportunities to advance the good of the commonwealth, and desired my friendship no farther than he should act in order to that end.

ABOUT this time I went to Sir Arthur Haslerig, whom I knew to be of a most rigid and inflexible spirit, and endeavoured as well as I could to persuade him of the necessity incumbent on us all to lay aside our private animosities, and unite our whole strength to preserve the vessel of the commonwealth from sinking. I desired him to entertain a better opinion of Sir Henry Vane, and some other persons, than he seemed to have, assuring him, that it was impossible to prevent that ruin which threatened us, but by a hearty reconciliation, and a solid union amongst ourselves. I acknowledged his care of the publick, in the endeavours he had used to hinder the accumulation of extraordinary powers and titles upon any person, and to render the sword subservient to the civil magistrate. But I could not forbear to acquaint him, that in my poor opinion, he had not taken the right way to that great end, having lately estranged himself from his ancient friends, and fallen in with the lawyers and clergy, putting those, who would have been his principal strength in times of necessity, into despair of receiving any good from him, and relying upon men whose principles and practices are inconsistent with a just and equal government. I agreed with him, that nothing could recover us from the present confusions, but

but the restitution of the parliament to their authority; though I thought myself obliged to add, that if he and others should return to the exercise of their power, with a spirit of revenge against those that had wronged them and the publick, and not rather contribute their utmost to reconcile all those whose interests were involved in that of the commonwealth, they would certainly ruin themselves, and every one that wished well to the parliament and the common cause. Sir Arthur seemed so sensible of the truth of what I had said, that he assured me, if ever he returned to sit in parliament, and thereupon shewed himself revengeful to any man, he would permit me to spit in his face. In the mean time many members of the parliament had frequent meetings with their friends, to consult about the most proper means to be used for their restitution, to which I was never called, they having conceived a suspicion that I had too much sided with the army. And on the other side, those of the army were jealous of me, as indeed they had more cause, for my adherence to the parliament. For I had openly declared my dissatisfaction with their late proceedings, and my doubts of the sincerity of their protestations to improve their power to the publick advantage. I had refused to be present at their committee of safety, or in that of nominations, though consisting of the same persons the parliament had formerly appointed, excepting only Sir Arthur Haslerig. And being one day in the next room to that where they used to sit, and lieutenant-general Fleetwood, with others, pressing me to go in, telling me, that they wanted one to make a quorum, and that the officers to be approved were honest men, and such as I esteemed; yet I utterly refused to have any thing to do with them. But Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway did prevail with themselves to act with them in their committees, and to discharge the office of commissioners of the navy, to which they had been nominated by the parliament, and continued by the officers of the army.

It being resolved by the members of parliament to open a way, if possible, for their return to the house, they prevailed with colonel Whetham, then governor of Portsmouth, to admit Sir Arthur Haslerig, colonel Walton, and colonel Morley, with some forces, into that important place: who thereupon immediately declared for the parliament, and issued out orders for more forces to come to their assistance. They also dispatched letters to Monk to warrant his undertaking, and invited the fleet to join with them. The commissioners that had been appointed by colonel Monk to treat with those of the army, had no small part in promoting this diversion of the forces of the army; yet to colour their designs, they endeavoured, at the same time, to lay asleep the Wallingford-house party, and to make them believe that they designed nothing more than a good understanding with them. By which artifice they caused them to neglect those means which they had in their hands to reduce Monk and his party, who were not to be compared with the forces of the army, either in number, experience, or unanimity. For though by his solemn protestations and publick declaration of his firm resolution to adhere to the parliament and their cause against a king, single person, or house of peers, he had deluded divers of those who were at a distance from him, and who from their

enmity to the faction of the army, were ready to trust any that might probably rescue them from that servitude; yet those who approached him nearer, and understood him better, finding him on all occasions to encourage the most vicious, and to prefer men of monarchical principles, though of the most scandalous lives, to all the offices that became vacant, saw so clearly into the drift of his design, that most of the officers who had any sense of religion or common honesty abandoned him, and joined themselves to colonel Lambert; and after them about three hundred horsemen, leaving their horses and equipage behind them, did the same. But this proved very prejudicial in the consequence to the publick service. For those officers that deserted Monk gave him an opportunity of filling their commands with his own creatures, whereas, if they had continued with him, they might have had a considerable influence upon the whole party, to make use of as opportunities had offered. The horse likewise that abandoned him made room for others, who were mounted and equipped without expence, and composed of such as were fit for his purpose. Yet for all this the treaty went on between him and the army, and seemed to draw near to a conclusion, it being agreed that he should have one part of a sum of money that had been appointed to pay his forces: that he should be one of their committee for the nomination of officers to such places as should be vacant in the army: that a representative of the people should be called with all convenient speed; and to that end commissioners should be appointed by the military power of the three nations, to consider and agree upon the qualifications of such as might be elected, and sit as members. Accordingly, those entrusted by Monk nominated Mr. Scot, Sir James Harrington, and colonel Thompson, on their part: lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, and major Saloway, were appointed for the army or Wallingford-house party; and on the part of the forces in Ireland, colonel Barrow and lieutenant-colonel Dobson were joined with me, to be commissioners to consider of the qualifications of the persons to be elected, as aforesaid. A general council of officers was also appointed to meet at Whitehall on a certain day, and to consist of two persons of each regiment in the three nations, to be chosen by the officers of the several regiments. It was desired also, that the fleet would send their deputies to this assembly, who were to prepare matters for the consideration of the representative that they pretended to call. I was altogether a stranger to these councils, the articles having been drawn up by a private junto; yet I know not how, I was persuaded to be present when they were read to the council of officers for their approbation, where I absolutely refused to consent to any part of it, except that whereby two of each regiment in the three nations were proposed to meet in a general council. Which I accounted to be the most probable way of finding out the true sense of the armies, into whose hands the power was most unhappily fallen, and much less dishonourable, if not more safe, than to continue longer under the servitude of the faction at Wallingford-house, who had presumed to give law both to the parliament and the army. I cannot omit, that at this meeting some persons having moved that the commissioners from Monk might be required to produce their powers, that
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it might appear whether he would stand obliged to what should be agreed, they could not be persuaded to shew any orders from him to that purpose; and yet lieutenant-general Fleetwood and his cabinet council were contented to treat with them, though they had never seen any commission that they had. And now it began to be suspected, that the design of Clobery and the rest of the commissioners was only to prolong the treaty in which they were engaged, that the forces of the army might be kept from attacking Monk, which he was afraid of, having found his own party wavering and doubtful. They well knew, that if they could spin out the time in treaty till the expiration of the taxes that had been laid by the parliament, which would happen in the month of January next ensuing, the army would then be driven to great straits for want of money, wherewith Monk's forces had been supplied by the Scots. Of this Sir Henry Vane was very sensible, and gave both army and parliament for lost when they began to treat. But the chief officers of the army having already parted with their honesty, by driving on their own private interest, were now resolved to shake hands with their reason also, and sent down to Scotland one Dr. Clarges, brother to Monk's wife, and a known loyalist, with a commission to persuade him to an accommodation with them. They dispatched also some forces for the reduction of Portsmouth, but gave the command of them to such as were either little acquainted with their soldiers, or inclining in their affections to the parliament. And though they knew not how to procure money for the payment of their standing army, they raised the militia in divers parts, and gave out commissions for horse and foot to be levied, promising pay to all. Some of them earnestly solicited me to raise two regiments, one of horse, another of foot; but I told them, they had already as many as they could pay, and I feared more than would be well employed. They endeavoured all this while to keep fair with Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, and me, making large protestations of the sincerity of their intentions, and the great designs they had to promote the service of the publick, hoping that by our continuing to come amongst them, it would come to pass that those who had a good opinion of us, would extend it also to them and their actions. But they were obliged to discover themselves more openly on the following occasion. The parliament had manifested before the last interruption, an inclination to ease the people of the payment of tithes, and in lieu of them, to appropriate a certain sum of money for the maintenance and encouragement of the ministry, to be distributed in a more equal manner than had been formerly practised; hoping, if this could be effected, that the clergy would no longer have any other interest to promote than that of the whole commonwealth, nor be a distinct party from the people. It was well known also to the lawyers, that they still retained the design of regulating the practice of the law, and relieving the people in that particular. These two parties therefore, being equally concerned to perpetuate the abuses practised amongst them, became equally sensible of the common dangers. And in order to prevent it, Whitlock and St. Johns for the lawyers, with Dr. Owen and Mr. Nye for the clergy, who at this time had frequent meetings in the Savoy, entered into a
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private treaty with the principal persons of the Wallingford-house party, and offered to raise a hundred thousand pounds for the use of the army, upon assurance of being protected by them in the full enjoyment of their respective advantages and profits; with this farther condition, that they should oblige themselves not to hearken any longer to the advice of Sir Henry Vane. Whereby we were left destitute of hope to see any other reformation of the clergy than what they themselves would consent to, any other regulation of the law than the chief justice and the commissioner of the seal would permit, or any more liberty for tender consciences than the lord Warriston would be pleased to grant, who representing the Scottish interest, made up the third estate of our reformation.

I BEGAN now to think all my time lost that I had spent in endeavouring to reconcile our broken and divided counsels, and had no hopes left, but from the general council of officers, which was to consist of two persons to be nominated by each regiment in the three nations, as I said before. In order to this meeting, warrants were signed and issued out for their election to the armies in England and Ireland; and Monk's commissioners departed for Scotland to procure, as they said, all things to be done there according to their agreement. But Monk kept himself upon the reserve, and instead of making good what his commissioners had promised, he desired time to consider of the articles of the treaty, and required an explanation of several particulars therein contained: so that much time was spent in messages between him and Lambert. Amongst others colonel Zanche was sent to tempt him with promises and offers of advantage; but he having struck a bargain in another place, made use of Zanche's presence only to keep the army-party in expectation of his compliance, thereby gaining time, which he knew would shortly bring the affairs of the army to the last extremities. He gave out no orders to the regiments that were with him to elect members for the general council of officers, as had been agreed by his commissioners, but formed new difficulties every day to avoid confirming the treaty; and under pretence that colonel Wilkes, one of his commissioners had too much inclined to the interest of the army, he dismissed him from his command. Notwithstanding which, such folly and stupidity had seized those of the army, that upon loose and general promises of compliance they continued their correspondence with him. The time fixed for the meeting of the general council of officers being come, though the deputies from Ireland were not arrived, nor any from the army under colonel Lambert; and though it was well known that none were chosen to represent the forces with Monk in Scotland, yet those of Wallingford-house resolved to act as if they had all been present. I had written to some of the officers in Ireland, that if they should take a resolution to send any persons to this council, they would do well to make choice of such as were most inclined to the restitution of the parliament; but that, as to my own particular, I was not willing to have any thing to do amongst them. Notwithstanding which I soon received a letter by the hands of colonel Salmon from the officers in Ireland, to desire me to act for them at the general council; which having im-

parted to some of my friends, and they concurring to encourage me to it, I would not refuse to serve them. Being in the council, I did what I could to procure the restitution of the parliament, wherein I was much assisted by colonel Rich. Five or six days we spent in a debate concerning the form of government, which had been drawn up, as I said before, expecting the arrival of those that should be chosen for Ireland, Scotland, and the army in the north of England, during which time colonel Rich and I took frequent occasions of informing the officers concerning the publick affairs, desiring them to be cautious of engaging themselves in any design, of which they might have cause afterwards to repent, and exhorting them to contribute their endeavours towards settling such a government as all good men might concur in, and live happily under. We met with such success in our discourses with the officers, that though the Wallingford-house party had influenced the elections as much as they could, and under pretence that the fleet was at too great a distance, and divided into too many squadrons to be in a capacity of chusing in due time, had caused the committee of the admiralty to nominate whom they pleased to serve for the fleet, yet they found their wheels to move so slowly, that to facilitate their business they were obliged to send away divers officers to their commands, under colour that their presence was necessary in their respective stations, by reason of the dangers that threatened them from all parts; when indeed, the true reason of their dismissal was taken from the dissatisfaction they began to shew with the proceedings of the chief officers. By these and other means it came to pass that the grandees of the army resolved to spend no more time in the debate touching the form of government, and therefore desired a conference with Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway, who being unwilling to meet them without me, prevailed with me to accompany them to Wallingford-house; where lieutenant-general Fleetwood expressed great uneasiness on account of the publick distractions, and desired them to advise him what measures to take to remove the present difficulties, and to prevent greater mischiefs which seemed impending over us. These gentlemen suspecting the designs of Fleetwood and his party, kept themselves on their guard, and in an ironical manner told him, That the most certain way to cure all things would be to set up Richard again. "Just as I thought," said Fleetwood, "it has happened, that the coming of my Lord Richard to Hampton-Court would give an occasion of jealousy;" and then protested that his removal thither proceeded from himself, that he had not been advised to it by them, and that they had no intention to set him up again. We believed what we thought most reasonable concerning his removal to that place. But to that of his restitution, major Saloway asked them, Whether things might not be brought to that pass as to make it necessary, though they intended it not? which Fleetwood denying, the major pressed him farther, and desired to know from him, if it were not possible that the necessity of our affairs might oblige us to a compliance with Charles Stuart. Thus they stood upon their guard on both parts, not adventuring to trust one another; that mutual confidence by which they had done so much being entirely lost. However, that I might not be wanting

wanting on my part, I told them, with my usual freedom, That the restitution of the parliament seemed to me to be the only remedy to recover us from our present distempers, and to prevent the fatal consequences of our divisions. To this the lieutenant-general answered, That according to an agreement made between them and major-general Lambert, before his departure, nothing could be done in that matter without mutual consent; and so we parted with as little satisfaction on either side as we brought with us. From them I went to the council of officers, who were then assembled, and was much surprized to find them debating whether a new parliament should be called, and ready to go to the question; which I doubted not would pass in the affirmative, having observed that it met with little opposition, except from colonel Rich. And though I had but little hope to obstruct the design, yet, that I might discharge my duty, I took the liberty to lay before them the injustice and vanity of such a resolution, endeavouring to prove, that as they had no authority to warrant them in that attempt, so neither would it be of any advantage to the nation if it should succeed. I desired them to consider how great an enterprize they were about to undertake, without any sufficient authority to justify them in it: That they could not pretend to any from the parliament, and that it was as evident they had none from the nations, no not from the military part of them, the deputies from Scotland and Ireland being not arrived, nor any from the army in the north of England: That at least one third part of the officers present were against their design; and that it seemed to me to be an unaccountable presumption for two thirds of about a fourth part of the army to undertake to put a period to the civil authority. I endeavoured to persuade them that the design was as vain and foolish as unwarrantable and unjust; for by this means they would utterly disoblige the parliament and all their friends, who were very numerous: That Monk having declared against them already, and the greatest number of their own body disapproving the thing, it would come to pass, that all things would be brought into a miserable confusion; and it may be, the common enemy would find means to return and utterly destroy the contending parties. But their resolution being already taken, in consequence of the agreement they had made with the clergy and lawyers, we could obtain no more than a respite of the conclusion of this debate till the afternoon. Going out of the council, I desired colonel Desborough, whose interest I knew to be very great with the rest, that he would desist from the farther prosecution of this design, representing to him, as well as I could, the confusions and mischiefs that would inevitably ensue upon it. To which he answered, That the parliament had deceived them twice, and that they were now resolved to put it out of their power to do it again. In the afternoon the debate was reassumed; and a motion being made that they would take the restitution of the parliament into their consideration, colonel Desborough, to keep his word, did what he could to asperse the parliament, saying, That they had not performed any part of the promises that had been made for them before their first return to the house, having made no provision for the lord Richard, as he called him, nor granted a satisfactory indemnity, but by the insertion of divers oblique

oblique clauses had rendered it absolutely ineffectual: That they had taken no care to secure a liberty to tender consciences, nor to provide for the publick safety by establishing a select senate: That they had manifested their unworthiness not only in these negatives, but had also positively declared their intentions to ruin the army, by removing the principal officers, and placing others in their commands who were of a different spirit and principles, and by drawing up one part of the army against the other, in order to destroy both. For which reasons he declared his opinion to be, That to reinvest those with authority who were so manifestly unfit for that trust, would prove the worst of all the expedients that could be proposed. To this discourse I thought myself obliged to make some answer, and therefore took the freedom to say, That the parliament being men, were liable to passions, and subject to imperfections, but that it might be said, without immodesty, that they had been chargeable with as few as any of their predecessors, and possibly fewer than those who had pretended to succeed them: That they were the only number of men that had any legal call to the supreme authority: That God had eminently appeared for them, and wonderfully assisted them to subdue all those that had opposed them both at home and abroad: That they had been so frugal of the publick purse, that upon the first interruption by Cromwell a vast sum was found in the treasury, though their armies and fleets had been fully paid, and their magazines plentifully furnished with naval stores. How these advantages had been improved by those that had usurped their authority, was well known; and how the armies and fleets had been paid, they themselves were the best judges. At the return of the parliament to the exercise of their authority, in the place of those vast sums they had left in the publick coffers, they found a debt of two millions and four hundred thousand pounds contracted by those who had taken upon them the management of affairs. I desired them to observe how unjustly the parliament was accused of breaking their promises, who had promised nothing: That some of us indeed, as private men, had engaged to promote certain things in the house at the request of some officers of the army; but at the same time we acquainted them, that we could not answer for any thing except our own sincere endeavours in that affair. And yet I appealed to themselves, if the parliament had not done those things in which we had promised our endeavours, having undertaken to pay more than thirty thousand pounds for Mr. Richard Cromwell, whereby he would be left in the clear possession of about eight thousand pounds a year, besides woods, plate, jewels, and other things of value: having passed that very clause for liberty of conscience which had been brought in by the officers themselves in their address; and having indemnified the soldiery in as full and ample manner as could be desired, with respect to their past actions, not only military but civil also; with this only reservation, that the parliament might, if they should find cause, call to account such as had received bribes and exorbitant salaries, which was only designed as a check upon those who had been and still were enemies to the commonwealth. As to what related to the chief officers of the army, I told them it had been made good to a tittle; for they had con-

tinued lieutenant-general Fleetwood to be commander in chief of all their forces in England and Scotland: but if it was their intention that he should be commander in chief of the parliament also, I confessed myself persuaded that it never had entered into the head of any of those persons before-mentioned, to engage for that; and therefore what the parliament did in causing him and the rest of the officers to take their commissions from them, and inserting a clause in that of the commander in chief, that it should continue during this parliament, or till their farther order, was no way contrary to the promise of the said gentlemen. Neither could it be a just ground of exception to those of the army, if their intentions were such as they ought to be; for the parliament being embarked in the same vessel, would find it necessary, as well for their own security, as for that of the people, to leave the sword in faithful hands at the time of their dissolution, which they had fixed by a vote of the house. And since they still insisted upon their select senate, I desired them to remember that I had declared in the conference my opinion to be, That if such a thing could be made use of for a time to preserve our cause by an extraordinary power, I thought I should not be against it without better information; but if they designed thereby to erect a military power, in equal or superior authority to the civil, I should oppose it to the utmost of my ability: and had farther added, That I was fully persuaded I therein delivered the sense and intentions of the greatest part of the parliament. To this they could make no reply, being conscious of the truth of what I said; but having made an agreement with the clergy, as I said before, that used to meet at the Savoy, they resolved to pursue it, and concluded, that considering the present posture of affairs, a new parliament should be called as the most probable means to reconcile all differences. They agreed also with the ministers, that their maintenance by tithes should not be taken away till another revenue as ample and certain should be settled upon them: that some provision should be made for those who differed in faith and worship from the established church; but that the quakers and some others, whose principles, they said, tended to the destruction of the civil society, should not be tolerated at all.

WHILST the army was thus employed, the parliament party was not wanting to promote their interest, and to that end formed a design to get the Tower into their hands. Colonel Fitz, who was then lieutenant of the place, had consented that colonel Okey, with three hundred men, should lie dispersed about the Tower, prepared for the enterprize, promising, that on a certain day he would cause the gates to be opened early in the morning, to let him pass in his coach; which opportunity colonel Okey with his men taking, might easily seize the guards, and possess himself of the place: and their attempt might have succeeded, had it not, by I know not what accident, been discovered to the lord mayor, who informed the army of it the night before it was to be put in execution. Whereupon colonel Desborough, with some forces, was sent thither, who changed the guards, seized the lieutenant of the Tower, and left colonel Miller to command there till farther order. Another party appeared for the parliament in Wiltshire, under the command of major Croke;

Croke; who having told divers of my friends, in that county, that the principal reasons of his dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the army, had been taken from what I had said in the late council of officers, he prevailed with divers of them to side with him, and so marched towards Portsmouth, in order to join Sir Arthur Haslerig and colonel Morley, who had already possessed themselves of that place, and declared for the restitution of the parliament. About the same time Hurst-castle was secured for the parliament, whereby the communication of those in the Isle of Wight with England being rendered very difficult, they declared for the parliament also. The fleet began to incline to the same counsels, and dispatched a messenger to Sir Arthur Haslerig, at Portsmouth, to assure him they would do nothing in opposition to them. In this conjuncture the parliament party resolved to send colonel Walton, who was one of them, to communicate the present state of affairs to colonel Monk, and to advise him what measures he should take.

IN the mean time, the Wallingford-house party, as if infatuated by a superior power, to procure their own destruction, continued obstinately to oppose the parliament, and fixed in their resolution to call another. On the other side, I was sorry to find most of the parliament men as stiff, in requiring an absolute submission to their authority, as if no differences had happened amongst us, nor the privileges of parliament even been violated, peremptorily insisting upon the intire subjection of the army, and refusing to hearken to any terms of accommodation, though the necessity of affairs seemed to demand it, if we would preserve our cause from ruin. Therefore, though I had resolved to depart, with all convenient speed, to my charge in Ireland, yet I was induced to defer my journey for some time, at the solicitations of my friends, who persuaded themselves that I might have interest enough with both parties, to procure an accommodation between them. To that end, I took all occasions to moderate the spirits of the members of parliament; and that I might not render myself suspected to the officers, I continued to frequent their councils, which I was the more willing to do, because the Irish brigade that was with colonel Lambert had signified to the council of officers, that they had chosen me with lieutenant-colonel Walker, and two gentlemen more, whose names I cannot recollect, to represent them at their meetings.

AT this time colonel Lockart, governor of Dunkirk, finding his work at an end abroad, by the conclusion of a peace between the crowns of France and Spain, returned to England; and coming to wait on Sir Henry Vane one day at his house, it was my fortune to be there at the same time. In the conversation we had, he very much lamented the divisions that were among us, affirming, that if they had not proved an obstruction to him in his negotiations, we might have made what terms we could have asked, either from France or Spain.

THE army having resolved, as I said before, to call a new parliament, and many difficulties arising amongst them touching that matter, they referred the consideration of it to their committee of safety, who having spent some time in the debate, reported as their opinion, to the council of officers, That the best

way to be taken for summoning a parliament would be to act therein according to ancient custom, directing only some few qualifications to be observed as well in the electors as in the persons to be elected. Which when I perceived, and that no rules for qualifications could possibly be given and executed within the time appointed for the parliament to meet, and that the design of the army tended manifestly to have such a parliament, as would permit the men of the sword to possess themselves of the supreme authority; or if they should refuse to be brought to that, then, being a creature of the army, they should be dismissed with scorn, and the power resumed by the military men: for the prevention of these mischiefs, I proposed to the council of officers, that the essentials of our cause might be clearly stated, and declared inviolable by any authority whatsoever; and that in case any difference should hereafter arise between the parliament and the army touching those particulars or any of them, a certain number of persons of known integrity might be appointed by this council finally to determine the matter. The council having, without much difficulty, agreed to this proposition, I presumed to proceed farther; and being fully persuaded, that if such a power were conferred upon honest and disinterested persons, it would give more satisfaction to good men, and better provide for the publick safety, than to have the final decision of all things left to a mercenary army, I adventured to give in a list of one and twenty persons for that service, who should be called "conservators of liberty." Then we went upon the debate of such particulars as should be referred to their cognizance and judgment, which were as followeth:

1. THAT the government should not be always from a commonwealth, by setting up a king, single person, or house of peers.
2. THAT liberty of conscience should not be violated.
3. THAT the army should not be diminished, their conduct altered, nor their pay lessened, without the consent of the major part of the conservators.

HAVING proceeded thus far, it was resolved to put the names of the persons contained in the list, to the vote of the council for their approbation, which was done in this manner. Every one of the council having received two small pieces of paper, in one of which was written an N for the negative, and in the other an A for the affirmative, when the candidate's name was proposed, every man put which of those he pleased into a hat; which done, the papers were taken out, and being found to agree for number with the persons there present, if the greater number of papers were marked with the letter A, then the person proposed was accounted to be chosen, otherwise to be omitted. I had contrived it so, that the names of the first seven or eight persons of the list were officers of their own party, except Major Saloway and Sir Henry Vane, by which means chiefly it came to pass, that the last two passed without opposition: but then they made a breach upon the order, and having put my name to the question against my will, I was approved. Which when they had done, lieutenant-general Fleetwood proposed colonel Tichburn, one who had lately

lately moved to set up Richard Cromwell again, and after him the lord War-
rington, who had publicly declared against liberty of conscience, with Mr.
Strickland, Sir Gilbert Pickering, and two or three more, all of their faction,
and procured them to be chosen in the room of Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Wal-
lop, colonel Walton, colonel Morley, Mr. Henry Nevil, and colonel Monk,
who were next in order upon the list, and with whom I designed to balance
the Wallingford-house party. But by putting in these creatures in their
places, it was evident they designed nothing less than to draw the whole power
into their own hands; and lest we should doubt of their intentions, they gave
an exclusion to colonel Rich, though present, and a considerable officer in the
army, because they suspected him not to favour their arbitrary designs. Here
my patience began to leave me, and I told them openly, That seeing they in-
tended only to carry on a faction, and to govern the nation by the sword, I
resolved to have no more to do with them, and thereupon refused to give in my
billet upon the names of the six or seven persons that were last proposed: but
they completed their number, and in the next publick intelligence caused the
names of those one and twenty persons whom they had elected to be the con-
servators of liberty, to be published to the world, with notice of their resolution
to summon a new parliament, thinking thereby to please the people: but they
were mistaken, for no man that loved his country could approve of it. And
the cavalier party conceived such hopes of their own affairs, that they grew im-
patient of any further delays, and designed the destruction of the army by open
force. To that end, divers of their party, who had fled to parts beyond the
seas, returned secretly to London, and entered into the confederacy. The time
of putting their design in execution was agreed, and the places of rendezvous
being ten in number, all in and about the city, were appointed: but it hap-
pened again that the army received information of the conspiracy the evening
before it should have been executed, and being alarmed at the danger, they
immediately sent divers parties of horse and foot to take possession of those
places which were appointed by the enemy for their drawing together, by
which means they seized some of them, who at twelve o'clock the same night
were already come together, completely armed, on a part of the Temple near
the water-side. Others of the same company got over the walls, and escaped
in boats. They took also at an inn in London thirty horses with saddles and
holsters, and as many men ready to mount them. Many more of the conspi-
rators were taken at the several places of rendezvous, where the army had placed
their guards; and some of them confessed that the officer who commanded the
party that was placed near Paul's Church had promised to join with them;
which was not improbable, he being one of those who having never engaged
in our cause, was advanced by Oliver Cromwell as his creature, and sent to
Dunkirk, from whence he had been lately recalled by the army, whose ambi-
tion he had thoroughly seconded by his votes in the council of officers. And
though this storm was by the vigilance and care of the army pretty well dis-
persed; yet their insolent and arbitrary actions gave birth to other clouds that
threatened them with ruin more than the former. For soon after, the officers
that

was posted with his regiment. But the colonel advancing, and assuring him, that if he persisted, he would fire upon him, Lambert answered, "I will then go the other way," which he did, after he had given order to block up the avenues by the Mill-bank with carts and other impediments, to prevent the guards of the parliament from falling out upon them by that way. The army had also placed a party of theirs in King-street, and in the church-yard near the Abby, some of colonel Morley's regiment having already possessed themselves of the Old palace-pard. In this posture they continued all night. The next morning that guard of the army which lay in the church-yard advanced, with one major Grimes at the head of them, towards those of colonel Morley's regiment, who were in the Palace-yard: of which motion the colonel being informed, drew out those that he had with him, and hastened to their relief. Both parties being come within pistol-shot, and each of them ready to fire, those of the army began to invite colonel Morley's men to go over to them, desiring them to remember that they had hitherto fought together, and that it was unreasonable now to become enemies. In like manner colonel Morley's party endeavoured to persuade those of the army to join with them in the defence of the parliament, who, they said, had been always successful in the administration of publick affairs, and to whom the officers of the army had so lately promised obedience, when they received their last commissions: who had always taken effectual care for their constant pay, and who were the only authority that could do so for the future. The chief officers at length interposing, it was agreed, that both parties should for the present retire to their former stations. On the other side colonel Lambert, being advanced near that party which was commanded by colonel Moss, demanded of them if they would suffer nine of their old officers, who had so often spent their blood for them and with them, to be disgraced and ruined with their families. The colonel answered, That though that should be the case, yet it were much better that nine families should be destroyed, than the civil authority of the nation trampled under foot, who designed not the ruin of any, but only to remove from their commands nine officers, who by their seditious carriage had rendered themselves unworthy of that trust. But colonel Lambert's oratory was more prevalent with the person that commanded the parliament's guard of horse, who perceiving that divers of his men had left him, and revolted by the treacherous persuasions of one Caithness his lieutenant, dismounted in the head of his troop at the command of Lambert. Some of colonel Moss his regiment went off also, each party using their rhetorick to bring over as many as they could. On the other part some came over to the parliament's party, and particularly three entire companies of colonel Sydenham's regiment. But at last the army gained their point, and placed guards both by land and water, to hinder the members of parliament from approaching the house, though Sir Peter Wentworth being rowed by a crew of able watermen, broke through their guard on the river, and got into the house. In the mean time the speaker endeavouring to pass in his coach through the guards of the army, was stopped near the gate of the Palace-yard by lieutenant-colonel Duckenfield; and being demanded whither

he was going, the speaker answered, To perform his duty at the house: then turning himself to the soldiers, he told them, That he was their general, and expected their obedience. But these men having resolved to destroy the civil authority, and to set up the sword in the room of it, forced his coachman to drive back, and as he passed by Wallingford-house, would have compelled him to drive in at the gate, telling the speaker, that he must go to lieutenant-general Fleetwood. But the speaker commanded the coachman to drive home: and having told the officers, that if lieutenant-general Fleetwood had any business with him, he might come to his house, they desisted from giving him any farther trouble at that time.

DURING those disorders, the council of state still assembled at the usual place, and at one of their meetings, colonel Sydenham, who was one of them, made a speech, wherein he endeavoured to justify these proceedings of the army, undertaking to prove that they were necessitated to make use of this last remedy by a particular call of the divine providence. But the lord president Bradshaw, who was then present, though by long sickness very weak and much extenuated, yet animated by his ardent zeal and constant affection to the common cause, upon hearing those words, stood up and interrupted him, declaring his abhorrence of that detestable action, and telling the council, that being now going to his God, he had not patience to sit there to hear his great name so openly blasphemed; and thereupon departed to his lodgings, and withdrew himself from publick employment. The army having resolved to finish the work, appointed a select number of persons, consisting for the most part of themselves and their creatures, to have the administration of civil affairs, calling them, as I said before, "A committee of safety:" and knowing that it was of great importance to secure the forces in Ireland and Scotland to their interest, they dispatched colonel Barrow, formerly mentioned, to Ireland, and colonel Cobbet to Scotland, on that design.

THE news of this great change being brought to Ireland, was at first received with great sadness and discontent; but after three or four days, when colonel Barrow had given assurances of favour and advancement to divers officers, he easily persuaded many of them, that the army would make use of their power to good ends. Yet so much dissatisfaction remained in the major part of them, that the colonel could not obtain any publick approbation from them of the proceedings of the army in England: only they sent a letter inclosed in one to me, and directed to the council of officers at London, advising them to be very circumspect in their actions, lest they should happen to split, as formerly, upon the rocks of pride and ambition. At the same time I received letters from Sir Hardress Waller, colonel Cooper, and other officers, to inform me, that those who had the management of affairs in Ireland, endeavoured on all occasions to impose upon them, and therefore earnestly desired my presence there. Colonel Cobbet had not so good success in Scotland: for colonel Monk, who had another part to play, having secured to himself the fidelity of most of his officers who had been with him for many years, and by the particular favour of Sir Arthur Haslerig had not been altered by the committee

of nominations, seized colonel Cobbet with some officers that he suspected might oppose his designs, and sent them prisoners into one of the islands. After that, he declared for the parliament, and writ three letters, whereof the first was directed to the speaker, the second to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, the third to colonel Lambert. In that to the speaker, he assured him, that he would expose himself and the forces with him to all hazards for the restitution of the parliament to the exercise of their authority, in obedience to the commission he had received from them. In his letters to the lieutenant-general and colonel Lambert, he endeavoured to persuade them to use their interest and power to restore the parliament, declaring his own resolution in that matter. I also received a letter from him, wherein he acquainted me with his intentions touching the parliament, and desired my assistance therein.

IN this confusion of things it was brought about, chiefly by the interest of Sir Henry Vane with colonel Lambert, that the said Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, and myself, should meet and confer with lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Lambert, colonel Sydenham, and colonel Desborough, concerning the present condition of affairs. Accordingly we met in one of the council-chambers at Whitehall, where colonel Lambert, in the first place, demanded of me, If I could give him my hand. I answered, That though, according to my information, his part in the late action appeared to me very unwarrantable; yet if it might make me more capable of serving the publick, and recommend my endeavours for the peace of the nation, and the reconciliation of the differences amongst us, I could not only give him my hand, but my heart also. Then he laboured to justify his late proceedings, protesting that he had no intention to interrupt the parliament till the time that he did it, and that he was necessitated to that extremity for his own preservation, saying, That Sir Arthur Haslerig was so enraged against him, that he would be satisfied with nothing but his blood. I endeavoured to take him off from that opinion, by telling him, that being assured of Sir Arthur's sincere affection to the commonwealth, I could not think that he would do any thing to the prejudice of those that were friends to it. I told him also, that according to my notion of things, the aim and design of Sir Arthur Haslerig was good, even in that matter, which had been the first occasion of difference between them, concerning new titles and powers, which had proved so fatal to the parliament in former time, and which he thought very unsafe under an equal and moderate government. I assured him, that Sir Arthur had a personal respect for him, which he had manifested on several occasions; particularly, I desired him to remember, that he had prevailed with the parliament to grant him the command of two regiments, and sided with those members who were for the greatest sum to be given him in acknowledgment of his service in Cheshire. In conclusion, I told him, that Sir Arthur was well known not to be of an obliging carriage; and therefore, if ever he had been used too roughly by him, it would become him to pardon it, and to charge it upon his temper, especially since he had not spared the best of his friends, of which I gave him divers instances, some of which related to myself. After this discourse, the officers declared to us their refo-

resolution to do great things for the publick good, and pressed us earnestly to come amongst them to their committee of safety : but we desired to be excused, till such time as the common cause might be secured to the satisfaction of good men, and therefore agreed upon another meeting, wherein this affair might be fully debated. In the mean time, I endeavoured to moderate the warmth of some of the parliament-party, and to bring them to desire a reconciliation with the army, that by that means the publick might be preserved from ruin; and to this end, a meeting was appointed between Mr. Scot, colonel Morley, Mr. Say, myself, and one person more, whose name I have forgot; where after much debate on that subject, I shewed them the address which I had brought from all the officers in Ireland, as well general as inferior, to whom it had been tendered, and informed them, that the Irish brigade had assured me at Chester, that they would continue faithful to the parliament, and had acknowledged their error in signing the petition from Darby. Hereupon they desired me to publish the address from Ireland, together with what had passed between the Irish brigade and me, supposing it might be of great service in that conjuncture. I told them, I would consider of it, and that for the present I had nothing to object against the publication of those papers, except my fear, that by so doing I might so far exasperate the army, as to render all my offices to reconcile them to the parliament utterly ineffectual. When the company was separated, and Mr. Scot and I going away together, he earnestly pressed me to improve the opportunity, which, he said, I had in my hands, to be highly serviceable to the publick, which if neglected, I should repent it as long as I had an hour to live. I told him, That I thought he had laid too much weight on my interest: but yet desired him to inform me, what he thought it my duty to do. He said, That I ought by all means to declare against the proceedings of the army, and to join with Monk in opposition to them. I replied, That though I knew not what the design of Monk might be, yet I had entertained a charitable opinion of him, by reason of his declaration for the parliament: but that it was my judgment, that if either the parliament or the army should entirely prevail one against the other in this conjuncture, it would hazard the ruin of both; and therefore, I thought myself obliged in duty to use the utmost of my endeavours to bring them to a reconciliation, before I should think of declaring myself. For as there was no appearance that the army could long subsist without a due provision for their payment, which the parliament only could make to the content of the people, especially since the passing of the vote against levying money unless by their authority; so also it was necessary for the parliament to have the assistance of the army in the great work they had before them, to establish a just and equal government in the nation.

AFTER this I waited on Mr. Lenthal the speaker of the parliament, and gave him also an account of the state of affairs in Ireland, and that I had many things to offer to the parliament from that nation, which I hoped speedily to do, when he should return to the chair of the house; to which end I assured him I would employ all my interest, being fully convinced of the in-
justice

justice of the army in the late violence, and that no authority but that of the parliament can render any form of government agreeable to the people. I acquainted him also with the sentiments of the Irish brigade, with all which he declared himself much satisfied; and having given me a relation of his own gallantry towards those of the army that mutinied against him, as before mentioned, I took my leave for that time. Some of the council of state writ letters to colonel Monk, to encourage him in his resolutions for the parliament; and lieutenant-general Fleetwood sent one captain Lloyd with an answer to that which he had received from the colonel, and to promise on his part all the advantages that he could desire. Colonel Jones, Sir Hardress Waller, and about six or seven officers more, drew up an answer to Monk's letter directed to me in Ireland, and sent it to me at London for my approbation, together with the letter itself. Having perused both, I perceived a great alteration in many of the officers of Ireland, and a great defection from their duty. For in their answer they manifestly took part with the army, and required Monk to desist from his undertaking, charging the blood that might be shed in this quarrel on his head, with much more to the same effect. With these letters I received others from colonel Cooper and major Warren, complaining of the said breach, and of the hardships which, they said, were put upon them; by those whom I had entrusted with the command of the forces, and earnestly pressing me to return to them. I thought myself obliged to answer these letters, and in that to colonel Jones, I expressed my dissatisfaction with what he and some others had written to colonel Monk, wherein they had espoused the interests of the army, contrary to the trust they had received from the parliament and me, which thing deserved the more blame, because the army had as yet declared for no other government than that of a court-martial; whereas colonel Monk, whatever his designs might be, had hitherto asserted the authority of the parliament. To the same purpose, I writ to colonel Cooper and major Warren, advising them to be careful not to join themselves to a faction in opposition to the civil authority of the nation; and sent orders to colonel Cooper, who was a good officer, and very acceptable to the best sort of people in the northern parts, to command the forces there, and to be vigilant on all occasions to promote the publick service: and though the letters which had been sent to Ireland by the council of officers at Wallingford-house were, for the present, laid aside; yet being informed, that endeavours were used privately to make them take effect, and to engage those forces to the faction of the army, I went to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and desired him, that to prevent setting the army in Ireland together by the ears, the proceedings in that matter might be let fall, telling him, that if they absolutely required the officers there to subscribe their confederacy, it would come to pass that many of them would lay down their commissions, and thereby a way would be open to fill their places with corrupt and scandalous persons, who might not only prove the causes of great disorders in that country, but also would be so fixed in their stations, as not easily to be removed again, it being one of the articles of their papers, that no officers should be displaced but by a court-martial.

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The lieutenant-general, avowing that he had not foreseen either of those inconveniencies, promised to desist from any farther prosecution of that matter.

IN the mean time the officers at Wallingford-house were not negligent, and having drawn up an engagement, as I said before, they required those of the army who desired to continue in their employments, to subscribe it. By this means, colonel Okey, colonel Morley, colonel Alured, lieutenant-colonel Farley, and divers others who were not of their faction, were removed from their commands; though colonel Moss and colonel Rich were permitted to continue in their charges without subscribing. Colonel Rich was the more willing to retain his regiment, that he might be the better acquainted with the designs of the army, and have more opportunities of rectifying the mistakes of such officers, who, though honest and well meaning men, yet might happen to be deluded by the plausible pretences of their superiors. But that which principally persuaded him to continue amongst them, was the interest and friendship which he had with vice-admiral Lawson, who commanded the fleet at that time, and who very much depended upon the advice of the colonel for the measures he should take to serve the publick. Their committee of safety also nominated lieutenant-general Fleetwood, commissioner Whitlock, Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, colonel Tichburn, and me, to consider of a form of government for the three nations, and to report our opinions to them. And though some of us were very unwilling to have any part in an affair of this nature, yet seeing we were now under the power and government of the sword, we resolved to procure the best settlement we could get, if we could not obtain such a one as we desired, hoping at least to procure the regulation of what was most amiss. And therefore we had several meetings on this subject, wherein we agreed upon the principal points in dispute. But the greatest difficulty was, in what manner the result of our debates should receive a sanction. The army-party desired, that the forces on foot in the three nations should be drawn together, and that they, with such of the people who would join with them, should give their consent to the form agreed on in a publick assembly. This I could not approve, but resolved, if we could come to any agreement, to procure it to be laid before the parliament for their approbation, or never to assent to it.

DURING these transactions, colonel Monk having received the answer of colonel Jones, and other officers in Ireland, to the letter he had written to them, and not liking the contents of it, seized major Barret, by whom it was sent; and resolving to march to London with all possible expedition, he fell upon new-modelling his men; wherein he had two notable advantages, the one from divers of his officers, who being of the Wallingford-house party, voluntarily surrendered their commissions to him, whose places he immediately filled with his own creatures: the other from the late act of parliament, whereby he was constituted one of the seven generals appointed to command the army, by virtue of which authority he undertook so to regulate his forces, as might be most for his purpose. Before his departure from Scotland, he
procured

procured a sum of money from the Scots, with which he paid his soldiers, and thereby obliged them the more to his service, especially at this time, when they knew the army in England were in want of it, and knew not well how to raise any, having interrupted the civil authority, by whom alone money might rightfully be raised. The army-party being informed of his design, resolved to draw a body of their troops together, to be sent against him, with orders, if possible, to possess themselves of Newcastle, a place of great importance to the city of London, and to fight him, if an opportunity should be offered. Four thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, were appointed for this service, together with the Irish brigade, commanded by colonel Zanche, who, notwithstanding his late carriage, came with great confidence to me to receive my orders; but I was very reserved to him in that particular, knowing how instrumental he had been in promoting the present disorders. The committee of the army intrusted colonel Lambert with the command of these forces, who having dispatched his orders to the soldiery that were quartered in the north to draw together, and to seize on the town of Newcastle, went himself by post for that place. Before his departure, he desired those who had been appointed to consider of a form of government, to proceed in their consultations, and to send the result of them to him, promising to give his assent and approbation to it. But some of us earnestly pressed, that we might come to an agreement before he began his journey, assuring him, that it would very much tend to facilitate his present undertaking, especially if the establishment designed might be so just and equal, that a good man might reasonably adventure his life in defence of it; whereas, on the contrary, if things were left uncertain, and no form of government agreed upon, men would not easily be persuaded to engage for a party, against those who at least pretended to act for the civil authority. He acknowledged the force of these reasons, but could not be prevailed upon to stay till it should be perfected, though he desired it might be sent after him with all possible expedition.

In the mean time, colonel Jones, and those officers who were in and about Dublin, sent lieutenant-colonel Dobson to be their agent in England, and to inform them of publick affairs. He had been used ill by Oliver, and unjustly removed from his command; which being represented to me when I was there, I advanced him to be a field-officer: but being a man of slender ability, and little acquainted with publick affairs, he was easily deluded by the fair pretences of the Wallingford-house party, and became their creature, rather than the agent of those that sent him. And now colonel Jones, despairing to prevail upon the council of officers, whilst together, to subscribe the design of governing the three nations by a council of war, dispersed them to their respective quarters, and sent the Wallingford-house paper to be subscribed by them when they could not have an opportunity of consulting together, accompanied with letters from himself to press them to it: and having declared openly, that if they refused to subscribe, the army in England would find a way to detain the pay that had been assigned to them by the parliament; many of those who had signed an engagement to the parliament, which I had carried

ried over to England, and therein expressed their sorrow for the interruption of the civil authority, together with their firm resolution to adhere constantly to them for the future, were now brought to sign an engagement directly contrary to the former. Of which being informed, I thought myself obliged to write to colonel Jones, and other officers of the army, and to expostulate with them concerning the foulness of these practices, that were not only contrary to their late solemn promises, and pretended sorrow for their former evil compliances, but also tending in a high degree to set up the power of the sword upon the ruins of the civil authority. Colonel Jones in his answer excused himself, as not having foreseen the inconveniencies of the foresaid paper, affirming that he had only permitted it to be promoted at the incessant importunities of others; but yet he expressed some discontent that I should lay so heavy a charge upon him, who had undertaken his employment at my desire, and had managed it according to the best of his understanding. He concluded, that he earnestly desired I would return to my command, and ease him of the burden that was upon him. About the same time serjeant Steel, one of the commissioners in Ireland, being nominated of the committee of safety, took that opportunity to go into England, as he had long desired to do, by whose departure the affairs of Ireland suffered much, he being generally esteemed to be a man of great prudence and uncorrupted integrity. At London he refused to act in the committee of safety; and though he sometimes went to Wallingford-house, and discoursed with lieutenant-general Fleetwood and some others about things relating to a future establishment, yet he always declared his opinion to be, That the parliament were the only proper judges of that matter, and used the best of his endeavours that they might be restored to their authority. After his departure, the commissioners of the parliament in Ireland fell in with the party of the army, and altered their title in the orders and commissions signed by them, from that of commissioners of the parliament, to that of commissioners of the commonwealth; and being informed that the garrison of Air in Scotland had discharged their governor, and declared for Monk, they ordered a ship of war to cruize on that coast, to prevent their correspondence with the northern parts of Ireland. Colonel Lambert being now in the north of England, and his forces in possession of Newcastle, divers messages past between him and colonel Monk, the latter always declaring his resolution, as he had done before to the generals commissioned by the parliament, to be assisting to them in settling the government on the foot of a commonwealth, without a king, single person, or house of lords: and seeing that the army had begun to treat with him, he nominated colonel Wilkes, colonel Knight, and lieutenant-colonel Cloberry, to be commissioners to adjust the present differences with those of the Wallingford-house party.

THE Irish brigade, though colonel Zanche and others endeavoured to persuade them to join heartily with those of the army, had not quite forgot our discourse at Chester, and therefore they resolved not to engage against Monk, till they might see that what they were about to fight for, was worth the hazard they were to run. To this end they signed a paper in the nature of

an association, whereby they obliged themselves to live and die together; one of the principal officers informing me by a letter, that if colonel Lambert designed to advance himself, he must chuse another pole to climb by than the Irish brigade, who were fully resolved not to assist him in such an attempt. Lambert being made acquainted with the foresaid paper, concluded that the jealousy they had of him arose from the influence I had upon that brigade, and thereupon wrote to Sir Henry Vane, desiring him to procure a letter from me to them, to remove that prejudice which they had entertained against him. Accordingly Sir Henry Vane came to me, and having assured me that colonel Lambert had rather been made use of by the Wallingford-house party, than that he had been in any manner the principal contriver of the late disorders, and that he would be an impediment to them in their design of advancing a single person, I consented to desire our brigade, that they would be careful to inform themselves well before they should determine what course to take, that they might not, out of a jealousy of one person, contribute to the advancement of others, who might possibly prove to be worse. Upon the receipt of my letter, which I sent to one of the principal officers amongst them, to be communicated to the rest, they marched nearer to the forces of colonel Lambert, who thereupon sent me a letter of thanks, acknowledging that I had exercised my charity to him in an extraordinary manner, considering the late transactions; protesting that he designed not the violence that was offered to the parliament, and was wholly innocent from promoting that petition which had a tendency to it; that he knew not of any interruption to be given to the house, till the day it was put in execution; and that he had no further design therein, than to preserve himself from destruction, which he conceived was intended against him. He concluded with assurances, that he would take all opportunities to advance the good of the commonwealth, and desired my friendship no farther than he should act in order to that end.

ABOUT this time I went to Sir Arthur Haslerig, whom I knew to be of a most rigid and inflexible spirit, and endeavoured as well as I could to persuade him of the necessity incumbent on us all to lay aside our private animosities, and unite our whole strength to preserve the vessel of the commonwealth from sinking. I desired him to entertain a better opinion of Sir Henry Vane, and some other persons, than he seemed to have, assuring him, that it was impossible to prevent that ruin which threatened us, but by a hearty reconciliation, and a solid union amongst ourselves. I acknowledged his care of the publick, in the endeavours he had used to hinder the accumulation of extraordinary powers and titles upon any person, and to render the sword subservient to the civil magistrate. But I could not forbear to acquaint him, that in my poor opinion, he had not taken the right way to that great end, having lately estranged himself from his ancient friends, and fallen in with the lawyers and clergy, putting those, who would have been his principal strength in times of necessity, into despair of receiving any good from him, and relying upon men whose principles and practices are inconsistent with a just and equal government. I agreed with him, that nothing could recover us from the present confusions,
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but the restitution of the parliament to their authority; though I thought myself obliged to add, that if he and others should return to the exercise of their power, with a spirit of revenge against those that had wronged them and the publick, and not rather contribute their utmost to reconcile all those whose interests were involved in that of the commonwealth, they would certainly ruin themselves, and every one that wished well to the parliament and the common cause. Sir Arthur seemed so sensible of the truth of what I had said, that he assured me, if ever he returned to sit in parliament, and thereupon shewed himself revengeful to any man, he would permit me to spit in his face. In the mean time many members of the parliament had frequent meetings with their friends, to consult about the most proper means to be used for their restitution, to which I was never called, they having conceived a suspicion that I had too much sided with the army. And on the other side, those of the army were jealous of me, as indeed they had more cause, for my adherence to the parliament. For I had openly declared my dissatisfaction with their late proceedings, and my doubts of the sincerity of their protestations to improve their power to the publick advantage. I had refused to be present at their committee of safety, or in that of nominations, though consisting of the same persons the parliament had formerly appointed, excepting only Sir Arthur Haslerig. And being one day in the next room to that where they used to sit, and lieutenant-general Fleetwood, with others, pressing me to go in, telling me, that they wanted one to make a quorum, and that the officers to be approved were honest men, and such as I esteemed; yet I utterly refused to have any thing to do with them. But Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway did prevail with themselves to act with them in their committees, and to discharge the office of commissioners of the navy, to which they had been nominated by the parliament, and continued by the officers of the army.

It being resolved by the members of parliament to open a way, if possible, for their return to the house, they prevailed with colonel Whetham, then governor of Portsmouth, to admit Sir Arthur Haslerig, colonel Walton, and colonel Morley, with some forces, into that important place: who thereupon immediately declared for the parliament, and issued out orders for more forces to come to their assistance. They also dispatched letters to Monk to warrant his undertaking, and invited the fleet to join with them. The commissioners that had been appointed by colonel Monk to treat with those of the army, had no small part in promoting this diversion of the forces of the army; yet to colour their designs, they endeavoured, at the same time, to lay asleep the Wallingford-house party, and to make them believe that they designed nothing more than a good understanding with them. By which artifice they caused them to neglect those means which they had in their hands to reduce Monk and his party, who were not to be compared with the forces of the army, either in number, experience, or unanimity. For though by his solemn protestations and publick declaration of his firm resolution to adhere to the parliament and their cause against a king, single person, or house of peers, he had deluded divers of those who were at a distance from him, and who from their

enmity to the faction of the army, were ready to trust any that might probably rescue them from that servitude; yet those who approached him nearer, and understood him better, finding him on all occasions to encourage the most vicious, and to prefer men of monarchical principles, though of the most scandalous lives, to all the offices that became vacant, saw so clearly into the drift of his design, that most of the officers who had any sense of religion or common honesty abandoned him, and joined themselves to colonel Lambert; and after them about three hundred horsemen, leaving their horses and equipage behind them, did the same. But this proved very prejudicial in the consequence to the publick service. For those officers that deserted Monk gave him an opportunity of filling their commands with his own creatures, whereas, if they had continued with him, they might have had a considerable influence upon the whole party, to make use of as opportunities had offered. The horse likewise that abandoned him made room for others, who were mounted and equipped without expence, and composed of such as were fit for his purpose. Yet for all this the treaty went on between him and the army, and seemed to draw near to a conclusion, it being agreed that he should have one part of a sum of money that had been appointed to pay his forces: that he should be one of their committee for the nomination of officers to such places as should be vacant in the army: that a representative of the people should be called with all convenient speed; and to that end commissioners should be appointed by the military power of the three nations, to consider and agree upon the qualifications of such as might be elected, and sit as members. Accordingly, those entrusted by Monk nominated Mr. Scot, Sir James Harrington, and colonel Thompson, on their part: lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, and major Saloway, were appointed for the army or Wallingford-house party; and on the part of the forces in Ireland, colonel Barrow and lieutenant-colonel Dobson were joined with me, to be commissioners to consider of the qualifications of the persons to be elected, as aforesaid. A general council of officers was also appointed to meet at Whitehall on a certain day, and to consist of two persons of each regiment in the three nations, to be chosen by the officers of the several regiments. It was desired also, that the fleet would send their deputies to this assembly, who were to prepare matters for the consideration of the representative that they pretended to call. I was altogether a stranger to these councils, the articles having been drawn up by a private junto; yet I know not how, I was persuaded to be present when they were read to the council of officers for their approbation, where I absolutely refused to consent to any part of it, except that whereby two of each regiment in the three nations were proposed to meet in a general council. Which I accounted to be the most probable way of finding out the true sense of the armies, into whose hands the power was most unhappily fallen, and much less dishonourable, if not more safe, than to continue longer under the servitude of the faction at Wallingford-house, who had presumed to give law both to the parliament and the army. I cannot omit, that at this meeting some persons having moved that the commissioners from Monk might be required to produce their powers, that
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it might appear whether he would stand obliged to what should be agreed, they could not be persuaded to shew any orders from him to that purpose; and yet lieutenant-general Fleetwood and his cabinet council were contented to treat with them, though they had never seen any commission that they had. And now it began to be suspected, that the design of Clobery and the rest of the commissioners was only to prolong the treaty in which they were engaged, that the forces of the army might be kept from attacking Monk, which he was afraid of, having found his own party wavering and doubtful. They well knew, that if they could spin out the time in treaty till the expiration of the taxes that had been laid by the parliament, which would happen in the month of January next ensuing, the army would then be driven to great straits for want of money, wherewith Monk's forces had been supplied by the Scots. Of this Sir Henry Vane was very sensible, and gave both army and parliament for lost when they began to treat. But the chief officers of the army having already parted with their honesty, by driving on their own private interest, were now resolved to shake hands with their reason also, and sent down to Scotland one Dr. Clarges, brother to Monk's wife, and a known loyalist, with a commission to persuade him to an accommodation with them. They dispatched also some forces for the reduction of Portsmouth, but gave the command of them to such as were either little acquainted with their soldiers, or inclining in their affections to the parliament. And though they knew not how to procure money for the payment of their standing army, they raised the militia in divers parts, and gave out commissions for horse and foot to be levied, promising pay to all. Some of them earnestly solicited me to raise two regiments, one of horse, another of foot; but I told them, they had already as many as they could pay, and I feared more than would be well employed. They endeavoured all this while to keep fair with Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, and me, making large protestations of the sincerity of their intentions, and the great designs they had to promote the service of the publick, hoping that by our continuing to come amongst them, it would come to pass that those who had a good opinion of us, would extend it also to them and their actions. But they were obliged to discover themselves more openly on the following occasion. The parliament had manifested before the last interruption, an inclination to ease the people of the payment of tithes, and in lieu of them, to appropriate a certain sum of money for the maintenance and encouragement of the ministry, to be distributed in a more equal manner than had been formerly practised; hoping, if this could be effected, that the clergy would no longer have any other interest to promote than that of the whole commonwealth, nor be a distinct party from the people. It was well known also to the lawyers, that they still retained the design of regulating the practice of the law, and relieving the people in that particular. These two parties therefore, being equally concerned to perpetuate the abuses practised amongst them, became equally sensible of the common dangers. And in order to prevent it, Whitlock and St. Johns for the lawyers, with Dr. Owen and Mr. Nye for the clergy, who at this time had frequent meetings in the Savoy, entered into a
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private treaty with the principal persons of the Wallingford-house party, and offered to raise a hundred thousand pounds for the use of the army, upon assurance of being protected by them in the full enjoyment of their respective advantages and profits; with this farther condition, that they should oblige themselves not to hearken any longer to the advice of Sir Henry Vane. Whereby we were left destitute of hope to see any other reformation of the clergy than what they themselves would consent to, any other regulation of the law than the chief justice and the commissioner of the seal would permit, or any more liberty for tender consciences than the lord Warriston would be pleased to grant, who representing the Scottish interest, made up the third estate of our reformation.

I BEGAN now to think all my time lost that I had spent in endeavouring to reconcile our broken and divided counsels, and had no hopes left, but from the general council of officers, which was to consist of two persons to be nominated by each regiment in the three nations, as I said before. In order to this meeting, warrants were signed and issued out for their election to the armies in England and Ireland; and Monk's commissioners departed for Scotland to procure, as they said, all things to be done there according to their agreement. But Monk kept himself upon the reserve, and instead of making good what his commissioners had promised, he desired time to consider of the articles of the treaty, and required an explanation of several particulars therein contained: so that much time was spent in messages between him and Lambert. Amongst others colonel Zanche was sent to tempt him with promises and offers of advantage; but he having struck a bargain in another place, made use of Zanche's presence only to keep the army-party in expectation of his compliance, thereby gaining time, which he knew would shortly bring the affairs of the army to the last extremities. He gave out no orders to the regiments that were with him to elect members for the general council of officers, as had been agreed by his commissioners, but formed new difficulties every day to avoid confirming the treaty; and under pretence that colonel Wilkes, one of his commissioners had too much inclined to the interest of the army, he dismissed him from his command. Notwithstanding which, such folly and stupidity had seized those of the army, that upon loose and general promises of compliance they continued their correspondence with him. The time fixed for the meeting of the general council of officers being come, though the deputies from Ireland were not arrived, nor any from the army under colonel Lambert; and though it was well known that none were chosen to represent the forces with Monk in Scotland, yet those of Wallingford-house resolved to act as if they had all been present. I had written to some of the officers in Ireland, that if they should take a resolution to send any persons to this council, they would do well to make choice of such as were most inclined to the restitution of the parliament; but that, as to my own particular, I was not willing to have any thing to do amongst them. Notwithstanding which I soon received a letter by the hands of colonel Salmon from the officers in Ireland, to desire me to act for them at the general council; which having im-

parted to some of my friends, and they concurring to encourage me to it, I would not refuse to serve them. Being in the council, I did what I could to procure the restitution of the parliament, wherein I was much assisted by colonel Rich. Five or six days we spent in a debate concerning the form of government, which had been drawn up, as I said before, expecting the arrival of those that should be chosen for Ireland, Scotland, and the army in the north of England, during which time colonel Rich and I took frequent occasions of informing the officers concerning the publick affairs, desiring them to be cautious of engaging themselves in any design, of which they might have cause afterwards to repent, and exhorting them to contribute their endeavours towards settling such a government as all good men might concur in, and live happily under. We met with such success in our discourses with the officers, that though the Wallingford-house party had influenced the elections as much as they could, and under pretence that the fleet was at too great a distance, and divided into too many squadrons to be in a capacity of chusing in due time, had caused the committee of the admiralty to nominate whom they pleased to serve for the fleet, yet they found their wheels to move so slowly, that to facilitate their business they were obliged to send away divers officers to their commands, under colour that their presence was necessary in their respective stations, by reason of the dangers that threatened them from all parts; when indeed, the true reason of their dismissal was taken from the dissatisfaction they began to shew with the proceedings of the chief officers. By these and other means it came to pass that the grandees of the army resolved to spend no more time in the debate touching the form of government, and therefore desired a conference with Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway, who being unwilling to meet them without me, prevailed with me to accompany them to Wallingford-house; where lieutenant-general Fleetwood expressed great uneasiness on account of the publick distractions, and desired them to advise him what measures to take to remove the present difficulties, and to prevent greater mischiefs which seemed impending over us. These gentlemen suspecting the designs of Fleetwood and his party, kept themselves on their guard, and in an ironical manner told him, That the most certain way to cure all things would be to set up Richard again. "Just as I thought," said Fleetwood, "it has happened, that the coming of my Lord Richard to Hampton-Court would give an occasion of jealousy;" and then protested that his removal thither proceeded from himself, that he had not been advised to it by them, and that they had no intention to set him up again. We believed what we thought most reasonable concerning his removal to that place. But to that of his restitution, major Saloway asked them, Whether things might not be brought to that pass as to make it necessary, though they intended it not? which Fleetwood denying, the major pressed him farther, and desired to know from him, if it were not possible that the necessity of our affairs might oblige us to a compliance with Charles Stuart. Thus they stood upon their guard on both parts, not adventuring to trust one another; that mutual confidence by which they had done so much being entirely lost. However, that I might not be wanting

wanting on my part, I told them, with my usual freedom, That the restitution of the parliament seemed to me to be the only remedy to recover us from our present distempers, and to prevent the fatal consequences of our divisions. To this the lieutenant-general answered, That according to an agreement made between them and major-general Lambert, before his departure, nothing could be done in that matter without mutual consent; and so we parted with as little satisfaction on either side as we brought with us. From them I went to the council of officers, who were then assembled, and was much surprized to find them debating whether a new parliament should be called, and ready to go to the question; which I doubted not would pass in the affirmative, having observed that it met with little opposition, except from colonel Rich. And though I had but little hope to obstruct the design, yet, that I might discharge my duty, I took the liberty to lay before them the injustice and vanity of such a resolution, endeavouring to prove, that as they had no authority to warrant them in that attempt, so neither would it be of any advantage to the nation if it should succeed. I desired them to consider how great an enterprize they were about to undertake, without any sufficient authority to justify them in it: That they could not pretend to any from the parliament, and that it was as evident they had none from the nations, no not from the military part of them, the deputies from Scotland and Ireland being not arrived, nor any from the army in the north of England: That at least one third part of the officers present were against their design; and that it seemed to me to be an unaccountable presumption for two thirds of about a fourth part of the army to undertake to put a period to the civil authority. I endeavoured to persuade them that the design was as vain and foolish as unwarrantable and unjust; for by this means they would utterly disoblige the parliament and all their friends, who were very numerous: That Monk having declared against them already, and the greatest number of their own body disapproving the thing, it would come to pass, that all things would be brought into a miserable confusion; and it may be, the common enemy would find means to return and utterly destroy the contending parties. But their resolution being already taken, in consequence of the agreement they had made with the clergy and lawyers, we could obtain no more than a respite of the conclusion of this debate till the afternoon. Going out of the council, I desired colonel Desborough, whose interest I knew to be very great with the rest, that he would desist from the farther prosecution of this design, representing to him, as well as I could, the confusions and mischiefs that would inevitably ensue upon it. To which he answered, That the parliament had deceived them twice, and that they were now resolved to put it out of their power to do it again. In the afternoon the debate was reassumed; and a motion being made that they would take the restitution of the parliament into their consideration, colonel Desborough, to keep his word, did what he could to asperse the parliament, saying, That they had not performed any part of the promises that had been made for them before their first return to the house, having made no provision for the lord Richard, as he called him, nor granted a satisfactory indemnity, but by the insertion of divers oblique

oblique clauses had rendered it absolutely ineffectual: That they had taken no care to secure a liberty to tender consciences, nor to provide for the publick safety by establishing a select senate: That they had manifested their unworthiness not only in these negatives, but had also positively declared their intentions to ruin the army, by removing the principal officers, and placing others in their commands who were of a different spirit and principles, and by drawing up one part of the army against the other, in order to destroy both. For which reasons he declared his opinion to be, That to reinvest those with authority who were so manifestly unfit for that trust, would prove the worst of all the expedients that could be proposed. To this discourse I thought myself obliged to make some answer, and therefore took the freedom to say, That the parliament being men, were liable to passions, and subject to imperfections, but that it might be said, without immodesty, that they had been chargeable with as few as any of their predecessors, and possibly fewer than those who had pretended to succeed them: That they were the only number of men that had any legal call to the supreme authority: That God had eminently appeared for them, and wonderfully assisted them to subdue all those that had opposed them both at home and abroad: That they had been so frugal of the publick purse, that upon the first interruption by Cromwell a vast sum was found in the treasury, though their armies and fleets had been fully paid, and their magazines plentifully furnished with naval stores. How these advantages had been improved by those that had usurped their authority, was well known; and how the armies and fleets had been paid, they themselves were the best judges. At the return of the parliament to the exercise of their authority, in the place of those vast sums they had left in the publick coffers, they found a debt of two millions and four hundred thousand pounds contracted by those who had taken upon them the management of affairs. I desired them to observe how unjustly the parliament was accused of breaking their promises, who had promised nothing: That some of us indeed, as private men, had engaged to promote certain things in the house at the request of some officers of the army; but at the same time we acquainted them, that we could not answer for any thing except our own sincere endeavours in that affair. And yet I appealed to themselves, if the parliament had not done those things in which we had promised our endeavours, having undertaken to pay more than thirty thousand pounds for Mr. Richard Cromwell, whereby he would be left in the clear possession of about eight thousand pounds a year, besides woods, plate, jewels, and other things of value: having passed that very clause for liberty of conscience which had been brought in by the officers themselves in their address; and having indemnified the soldiery in as full and ample manner as could be desired, with respect to their past actions, not only military but civil also; with this only reservation, that the parliament might, if they should find cause, call to account such as had received bribes and exorbitant salaries, which was only designed as a check upon those who had been and still were enemies to the commonwealth. As to what related to the chief officers of the army, I told them it had been made good to a tittle; for they had con-

tinued lieutenant-general Fleetwood to be commander in chief of all their forces in England and Scotland: but if it was their intention that he should be commander in chief of the parliament also, I confessed myself persuaded that it never had entered into the head of any of those persons before-mentioned, to engage for that; and therefore what the parliament did in causing him and the rest of the officers to take their commissions from them, and inserting a clause in that of the commander in chief, that it should continue during this parliament, or till their farther order, was no way contrary to the promise of the said gentlemen. Neither could it be a just ground of exception to those of the army, if their intentions were such as they ought to be; for the parliament being embarked in the same vessel, would find it necessary, as well for their own security, as for that of the people, to leave the sword in faithful hands at the time of their dissolution, which they had fixed by a vote of the house. And since they still insisted upon their select senate, I desired them to remember that I had declared in the conference my opinion to be, That if such a thing could be made use of for a time to preserve our cause by an extraordinary power, I thought I should not be against it without better information; but if they designed thereby to erect a military power, in equal or superior authority to the civil, I should oppose it to the utmost of my ability: and had farther added, That I was fully persuaded I therein delivered the sense and intentions of the greatest part of the parliament. To this they could make no reply, being conscious of the truth of what I said; but having made an agreement with the clergy, as I said before, that used to meet at the Savoy, they resolved to pursue it, and concluded, that considering the present posture of affairs, a new parliament should be called as the most probable means to reconcile all differences. They agreed also with the ministers, that their maintenance by tithes should not be taken away till another revenue as ample and certain should be settled upon them: that some provision should be made for those who differed in faith and worship from the established church; but that the quakers and some others, whose principles, they said, tended to the destruction of the civil society, should not be tolerated at all.

WHILST the army was thus employed, the parliament party was not wanting to promote their interest, and to that end formed a design to get the Tower into their hands. Colonel Fitz, who was then lieutenant of the place, had consented that colonel Okey, with three hundred men, should lie dispersed about the Tower, prepared for the enterprize, promising, that on a certain day he would cause the gates to be opened early in the morning, to let him pass in his coach; which opportunity colonel Okey with his men taking, might easily seize the guards, and possess himself of the place: and their attempt might have succeeded, had it not, by I know not what accident, been discovered to the lord mayor, who informed the army of it the night before it was to be put in execution. Whereupon colonel Desborough, with some forces, was sent thither, who changed the guards, seized the lieutenant of the Tower, and left colonel Miller to command there till farther order. Another party appeared for the parliament in Wiltshire, under the command of major Croke;

Croke; who having told divers of my friends, in that county, that the principal reasons of his dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the army, had been taken from what I had said in the late council of officers, he prevailed with divers of them to side with him, and so marched towards Portsmouth, in order to join Sir Arthur Haslerig and colonel Morley, who had already possessed themselves of that place, and declared for the restitution of the parliament. About the same time Hurst-castle was secured for the parliament, whereby the communication of those in the Isle of Wight with England being rendered very difficult, they declared for the parliament also. The fleet began to incline to the same counsels, and dispatched a messenger to Sir Arthur Haslerig, at Portsmouth, to assure him they would do nothing in opposition to them. In this conjuncture the parliament party resolved to send colonel Walton, who was one of them, to communicate the present state of affairs to colonel Monk, and to advise him what measures he should take.

IN the mean time, the Wallingford-house party, as if infatuated by a superior power, to procure their own destruction, continued obstinately to oppose the parliament, and fixed in their resolution to call another. On the other side, I was sorry to find most of the parliament men as stiff, in requiring an absolute submission to their authority, as if no differences had happened amongst us, nor the privileges of parliament even been violated, peremptorily insisting upon the intire subjection of the army, and refusing to hearken to any terms of accommodation, though the necessity of affairs seemed to demand it, if we would preserve our cause from ruin. Therefore, though I had resolved to depart, with all convenient speed, to my charge in Ireland, yet I was induced to defer my journey for some time, at the solicitations of my friends, who persuaded themselves that I might have interest enough with both parties, to procure an accommodation between them. To that end, I took all occasions to moderate the spirits of the members of parliament; and that I might not render myself suspected to the officers, I continued to frequent their councils, which I was the more willing to do, because the Irish brigade that was with colonel Lambert had signified to the council of officers, that they had chosen me with lieutenant-colonel Walker, and two gentlemen more, whose names I cannot recollect, to represent them at their meetings.

AT this time colonel Lockart, governor of Dunkirk, finding his work at an end abroad, by the conclusion of a peace between the crowns of France and Spain, returned to England; and coming to wait on Sir Henry Vane one day at his house, it was my fortune to be there at the same time. In the conversation we had, he very much lamented the divisions that were among us, affirming, that if they had not proved an obstruction to him in his negotiations, we might have made what terms we could have asked, either from France or Spain.

THE army having resolved, as I said before, to call a new parliament, and many difficulties arising amongst them touching that matter, they referred the consideration of it to their committee of safety, who having spent some time in the debate, reported as their opinion, to the council of officers, That the best

way to be taken for summoning a parliament would be to act therein according to ancient custom, directing only some few qualifications to be observed as well in the electors as in the persons to be elected. Which when I perceived, and that no rules for qualifications could possibly be given and executed within the time appointed for the parliament to meet, and that the design of the army tended manifestly to have such a parliament, as would permit the men of the sword to possess themselves of the supreme authority; or if they should refuse to be brought to that, then, being a creature of the army, they should be dismissed with scorn, and the power resumed by the military men: for the prevention of these mischiefs, I proposed to the council of officers, that the essentials of our cause might be clearly stated, and declared inviolable by any authority whatsoever; and that in case any difference should hereafter arise between the parliament and the army touching those particulars or any of them, a certain number of persons of known integrity might be appointed by this council finally to determine the matter. The council having, without much difficulty, agreed to this proposition, I presumed to proceed farther; and being fully persuaded, that if such a power were conferred upon honest and disinterested persons, it would give more satisfaction to good men, and better provide for the publick safety, than to have the final decision of all things left to a mercenary army, I adventured to give in a list of one and twenty persons for that service, who should be called "conservators of liberty." Then we went upon the debate of such particulars as should be referred to their cognizance and judgment, which were as followeth:

1. THAT the government should not be always from a commonwealth, by setting up a king, single person, or house of peers.
2. THAT liberty of conscience should not be violated.
3. THAT the army should not be diminished, their conduct altered, nor their pay lessened, without the consent of the major part of the conservators.

HAVING proceeded thus far, it was resolved to put the names of the persons contained in the list, to the vote of the council for their approbation, which was done in this manner. Every one of the council having received two small pieces of paper, in one of which was written an N for the negative, and in the other an A for the affirmative, when the candidate's name was proposed, every man put which of those he pleased into a hat; which done, the papers were taken out, and being found to agree for number with the persons there present, if the greater number of papers were marked with the letter A, then the person proposed was accounted to be chosen, otherwise to be omitted. I had contrived it so, that the names of the first seven or eight persons of the list were officers of their own party, except Major Saloway and Sir Henry Vane, by which means chiefly it came to pass, that the last two passed without opposition: but then they made a breach upon the order, and having put my name to the question against my will, I was approved. Which when they had done, lieutenant-general Fleetwood proposed colonel Tichburn, one who had
lately

lately moved to set up Richard Cromwell again, and after him the lord War-
rington, who had publicly declared against liberty of conscience, with Mr.
Strickland, Sir Gilbert Pickering, and two or three more, all of their faction,
and procured them to be chosen in the room of Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Wal-
lop, colonel Walton, colonel Morley, Mr. Henry Nevil, and colonel Monk,
who were next in order upon the list, and with whom I designed to balance
the Wallingford-house party. But by putting in these creatures in their
places, it was evident they designed nothing less than to draw the whole power
into their own hands; and lest we should doubt of their intentions, they gave
an exclusion to colonel Rich, though present, and a considerable officer in the
army, because they suspected him not to favour their arbitrary designs. Here
my patience began to leave me, and I told them openly, That seeing they in-
tended only to carry on a faction, and to govern the nation by the sword, I
resolved to have no more to do with them, and thereupon refused to give in my
billet upon the names of the six or seven persons that were last proposed: but
they completed their number, and in the next publick intelligence caused the
names of those one and twenty persons whom they had elected to be the con-
servators of liberty, to be published to the world, with notice of their resolution
to summon a new parliament, thinking thereby to please the people: but they
were mistaken, for no man that loved his country could approve of it. And
the cavalier party conceived such hopes of their own affairs, that they grew im-
patient of any further delays, and designed the destruction of the army by open
force. To that end, divers of their party, who had fled to parts beyond the
seas, returned secretly to London, and entered into the confederacy. The time
of putting their design in execution was agreed, and the places of rendezvous
being ten in number, all in and about the city, were appointed: but it hap-
pened again that the army received information of the conspiracy the evening
before it should have been executed, and being alarmed at the danger, they
immediately sent divers parties of horse and foot to take possession of those
places which were appointed by the enemy for their drawing together, by
which means they seized some of them, who at twelve o'clock the same night
were already come together, completely armed, on a part of the Temple near
the water-side. Others of the same company got over the walls, and escaped
in boats. They took also at an inn in London thirty horses with saddles and
holsters, and as many men ready to mount them. Many more of the conspi-
rators were taken at the several places of rendezvous, where the army had placed
their guards; and some of them confessed that the officer who commanded the
party that was placed near Paul's Church had promised to join with them;
which was not improbable, he being one of those who having never engaged
in our cause, was advanced by Oliver Cromwell as his creature, and sent to
Dunkirk, from whence he had been lately recalled by the army, whose ambi-
tion he had thoroughly seconded by his votes in the council of officers. And
though this storm was by the vigilance and care of the army pretty well dis-
persed; yet their insolent and arbitrary actions gave birth to other clouds that
threatened them with ruin more than the former. For soon after, the officers
that

that commanded the fleet published a declaration against the arbitrary proceedings of the Wallingford-house party, rehearsing the particulars for which they had engaged in the publick service, and declaring their resolution to continue faithful to those engagements. This declaration came out somewhat earlier than was intended, by reason of the arrival of colonel Okey and Mr. Scot in the fleet, who were obliged to go thither for protection from the power of the army, the former being known to have had the principal share in the design of seizing the Tower for the parliament: the other was not only suspected to have been concerned in that affair, but also to keep correspondence with the generals at Portsmouth, and with colonel Monk in Scotland. The army hoping to quiet the fleet with fair words and large promises, dispatched colonel Barrow to them, supposing him to be a proper person to be employed to lay them asleep, because they knew he had the good opinion of vice-admiral Lawson, and indeed not undeservedly, for he was a man of probity; and though he had been in some measure seduced by their subtleties, yet he was not a confident of their junto. But the vice-admiral was too well acquainted with the pernicious designs of the army, to be cajoled into a retraction of what he had done.

THE cavalier party about London finding themselves disappointed in their design of destroying the army by an insurrection, attempted to do it another way, and to that end encouraged the apprentices to meet in great multitudes to petition the aldermen and common council, that they would use their endeavours to procure a free parliament to be speedily called, well knowing what the consequence of that would be in the present conjuncture of affairs. Many men of the king's party, and of desperate fortunes, intermixed themselves with them, and inflamed them to such a height of violence, that the army thought it necessary to send a regiment of foot to suppress them, under the command of colonel Hewetson; who, when he was come into the city, was affronted to his face, his men fired upon from the windows, and stones thrown on them from the tops of the houses; and as they proceeded in their march were so pressed by the multitude, that the soldiers, to preserve themselves from their violence, were obliged to fire upon them, and having killed three or four of their number, the rest dispersed themselves for that time: but tumults were now become so frequent in the city, that the army party found themselves obliged to send considerable guards thither almost every day to suppress them; one of which being commanded by colonel Desborough, carried themselves so roughly towards divers eminent citizens, that they greatly disgusted the whole city. The aldermen and common council, not thinking it convenient openly to patronize these disorders, agreed upon a paper to be presented to the council of officers, wherein having disowned the late tumults, they complained of the killing of their men, and of the guards that were kept in the city, desiring that they might be withdrawn, and the guard of the city left to the civil magistrate, who could not otherwise undertake to secure the peace, and that a free parliament might be forthwith called. This paper was brought to the council of officers, by divers members of the court of aldermen and of the common council;

cil; and being read, it was resolved by those of the army, that if the aldermen and common council would declare against the family of the Stuarts, and promise to be true and faithful to the commonwealth without a king, single person, or house of lords, they would withdraw their foldiers, and leave the city to be guarded by itself. They acquainted them also, that they had already resolved to call a parliament: and for the farther satisfaction of the aldermen and common council, they appointed six of their own number, whereof they constrained me to be one, to confer with them touching the reasons of these resolutions, and of the late proceedings of the army in the city. We met at Whitehall, and after colonel Desborough had spent some time in shewing the necessity of sending part of the army to secure the peace of the city, and had made large protestations of the army's friendship to them, I took the liberty to say, that those who were members of the army could best inform them of their own intentions in the late proceedings in the city, wherein I should not intermeddle; but having this opportunity, and being a well-wisher to the commonwealth, I would take upon me to put them in mind, that we had all been engaged together in the defence of our rights and liberties against arbitrary power; that the city had been eminently instrumental in assisting the parliament and army to carry on that weighty affair, whereby they had acquired honour to themselves, esteem amongst good men, and satisfaction to their own minds. But withal it ought to be considered, that by this they had highly incensed and vehemently provoked the common enemy against them, who though they might care for them for the present, and make them the most solemn promises of future kindness, would never forget the aid and support they had afforded to the parliament during the whole course of the late war; but would certainly take a time to be revenged on them to the utmost. Wherefore I desired them, as they tendered the peace of the nation, and the preservation of their persons and estates, that they would not suffer themselves to be deluded by our common adversaries, and seduced by specious pretences to promote that interest, which prevailing, would not only render all the blood and treasure that had been spent in asserting our liberties, of no use to us, but also force us under such a yoke of servitude, that neither we nor our posterity should be able to bear. Divers of them seemed much surprized at this discourse, because they had taken other resolutions: yet others, and particularly alderman Fowke, expressed their approbation of what I had said, and declared their resolution to act accordingly, provided they might be assured not to be governed by an army, in which I assured them my judgment concurred with them, which my actions should always demonstrate. And as I did upon all publick occasions endeavour to persuade our divided parties to unite for their common safety, so I am not sensible that I neglected any private opportunity to bring about that end. Therefore when I waited on lieutenant-general Fleetwood, which frequently happened, I never failed to exhort him during this unhappy breach, that he would use his endeavours for the restitution of the parliament. About which, being one day somewhat earnest with him, and having acquainted him, that finding my good offices between the parliament-men and the army were likely to prove ineffectual,

ineffectual, I was resolved to go to my station in Ireland. His lady overhearing these last words from her chamber, and being informed that I was alone with the lieutenant-general, she came into the room where we were, and with tears began to lament the present condition of her husband, who, she said, had been always unwilling to do any thing in opposition to the parliament, assuring me, that he was utterly ignorant of the contrivance of the officers at Darby to petition the parliament in so insolent a manner, and had not had any part in their proceedings upon it afterwards: that, as to herself, she had always solicited him to comply in all things with the orders of the parliament; and that fearing the consequences of the petition from Darby, she had taken the original and locked it up in her cabinet, where it still was. She desired me to defer my journey to Ireland, till differences should be composed between the parliament and the army, saying, That she knew I had an interest in both, which she hoped I would improve for the good of both, and not forget to do what good offices I could for her husband, who, she said, had always expressed a great friendship for me. I confess, I was moved with the discourse of the lady, and could have been contented to put off my journey for Ireland for sometime longer, if I had not clearly seen it impossible to adjust the differences between our contending parties. For the army, instead of hearkening to an accommodation, had not only resolved to call a new parliament, but also published a proclamation to appoint the day and place of their meeting. Besides, I was under no small apprehensions, that disorders might arise amongst the officers in Ireland, which was my peculiar province, and therefore I resolved to hasten my departure, and acquainted the lieutenant-general that my resolution was fixed, at which both he and his lady seemed much troubled. The next morning I went with Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway to the chamber of the horse-guard at Whitehall, where the principal officers used to meet, in order to take leave of them, and to let them know how much we were dissatisfied with the measures they had taken: but when we came there, we found them under great confusion, by reason of the certain information they had received, that the fleet had unanimously declared for the restitution of the parliament. This news had wrought such an alteration in them, that they expressed to us their readiness to comply with the desires of the fleet, so it might be done upon convenient terms, and earnestly importuned Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway to go down to the fleet with some of their party, to treat with the commanders at sea about that affair. Sir Henry Vane, who was always ready to promote the service of the publick, accepted the employment without any hesitation, though the weather was then extreme sharp, it being in the midst of winter, and he distempered with a great cold: to him were joined major Saloway and colonel Salmon, with powers from the officers of the army to treat with those of the fleet; where after they had spent four or five days in that negociation, they returned to make their report to those who had desired them to undertake that trouble, which, to the best of my remembrance, was to this effect: That at their first coming on board, Mr. Scot declined to speak with them, and colonel Okey used them more roughly; but that

that by the persuasions of vice-admiral Lawson, they did at last consent to a conference, where they appeared very averse to any proposal of terms to be made with the parliament before their readmission, insisting upon the absolute submission of the army to the authority of the parliament.

ANOTHER difficulty arose touching the commissioners to be appointed by the fleet, to treat with an equal number of the army, about the restitution of the parliament; and the vice-admiral having proposed Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, Mr. Scot, and himself, for that purpose, Mr. Scot excepted against Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway, as persons that had too far espoused the interest of the army. But the prudence and moderation of vice-admiral Lawson removed these obstructions, and prevailed with Mr. Scot to comply. The officers of the army gave thanks to Sir Henry Vane and the rest of the commissioners for their labour and good service, which made me conceive some hopes of a speedy accommodation, since there now seemed little more remaining to be done by the army, but to nominate their four commissioners, for which they took time till the afternoon. But so ripe were these men for destruction, and so abandoned of every reasonable thought, that they knew not how to make use of this opportunity; and instead of naming persons to treat about the restitution of the parliament, they used all the arts imaginable, to prevail with the council of officers to vote a new parliament to be called, wherein they succeeded so much, that one of the principal of them told me in the afternoon, that he had altered his opinion, and was fully convinced, that the restitution of the parliament was the very worst remedy that could be applied to the distempers of the nation. After they had taken this resolution, I resolved upon my journey for Ireland with all expedition; and having made the necessary preparations for my departure, I went into the chamber where the council of officers accustomed to meet, and there freely told them, That the measures they had resolved to take, if pursued, would certainly bring ruin on themselves, and possibly on the people of England. Hereupon colonel Desborough took me aside, and proposed for an expedient, to make choice of sixty persons of the best and ablest of the old parliament, to be the select senate that should have a negative upon the representative. To which I answered, That I hoped the members of the parliament aimed only at the promotion of the publick good, and not at the advancement of themselves to places of power; but if that could be supposed to be the disease of any of them, yet the late experience they had of the uselessness and vanity of the other house, who made themselves only the objects of scorn and pity, would be sufficient to caution them against treading in their steps, and entering into a contest and competition with those that represented the whole nation, without any other support but that of the army, of whose unfaithfulness they had already made such evident discoveries. The same day in the evening lieutenant-colonel Walker, whom I had desired to go to Wallingford-house, and to bring an account of their last result before my departure, came to me with news, that they had again changed their measures, and finally resolved the restitution of the parliament, pretending for the reason of this great alteration, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood had been extremely

disturbed in his mind the night before, in contemplation of the mischiefs that were likely to ensue, if they should proceed upon their former resolution. But most men believed, that the true reasons of this sudden change were taken from the submission of their forces that had been sent to besiege Portsmouth, to the generals of the parliament, who had possessed themselves of that place; whereof they having received an account, began to despair of subsisting any longer in opposition to the parliament. The manner of their deserting the service of the army was thus: they generally thought the differences between the parties not sufficiently important to warrant any actions of open hostility, especially the horse, who in the absence of the colonel were commanded by major Bremen, major to colonel Rich's regiment. He having founded the inclinations of the foldiers, and informed divers of them of their duty, gave advice of his proceedings to the colonel, who perceiving the officers of the fleet, and many of those of the army, to desire the return of the parliament, went down privately from London to his regiment. Being arrived before Portsmouth, and finding both horse and foot prepared for his design, he gave notice of his intentions to Sir Arthur Haslerig and the rest of the commanders in the place, who having caused the gate to be opened, colonel Rich with the forces, that had hitherto lain before the town as enemies, marched in and joined themselves to the parliament's generals. The next morning after the news of this event was brought to London, the army-party summoned a council of officers, consisting not only of the standing forces, but also of the city-militia, and proposed to them an instrument to sign, whereby they should engage to stand by each other, notwithstanding the return of the parliament. The officers seemed unwilling to subscribe the paper, and therefore it was not peremptorily required; but being permitted to give their approbation by votes, they passed it without many negatives. Whilst this matter was under debate, letters were brought to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, which after he had read, he called me aside, and acquainting me with the contents of them, he delivered them to me, and desired I would keep them private. The substance of them was, that a party of the army in Ireland had possessed themselves of the castle of Dublin, seized on colonel Jones who commanded in my absence, taken the commissioners into custody, and published a declaration for the parliament, of which a copy was inclosed in the letters. Therein they declared the reasons of their proceedings to be grounded on their desires to relieve the nation from the government of the sword, which they saw was endeavoured to be established not only in England, but also in Ireland, even by those who had lately signed an address to the parliament, and sent it over by their commander in chief, as they were yet pleased to call me. They acknowledged the guilt of those who had offered violence to the civil authority, and their own unworthiness, so far as they might have contributed to keep them from the exercise of their just power, promising to yield obedience to their commands for the future, and declaring their resolution to join with the generals at Portsmouth, colonel Monk, and vice-admiral Lawson, in order to procure the restitution of the parliament. Having read this declaration, and finding it to agree with my sense of the publick affairs,

affairs, and signed by my brother-in-law colonel Kempson, with many others of known integrity, I could not refuse to give it my approbation: but when I had considered that it was also subscribed by colonel Theophilus Jones, who, upon all occasions, had shewed himself a principal instrument of mischief amongst us, and by colonel Bridges and others, who had been very active to support the usurpation of the Cromwells, I became doubtful what judgment to make of it. However, having seen things brought to an issue in England, I concluded it to be my duty to hasten to my charge in Ireland, that if their intentions were just and honest, I might encourage and assist them; and if I should find them otherwise inclined, that I might endeavour to reduce them to their duty. Therefore having taken leave of my friends and relations, I departed from London, and being on my way to Chester, in order to embark for Ireland, I received letters by a messenger sent on purpose from my brother Kempson, by which I understood that the surprisal of Dublin had been principally contrived and carried on by colonel Bridges, lieutenant-colonel Warren, major Warden, major Warren, captain Joyner, and colonel Theophilus Jones: that the pretence of their meeting together at Dublin was to petition for a general council of officers, that the sense of the army there touching the publick affairs might be fairly collected and represented. Those who had the immediate management of things in Ireland having refused to grant their request, the officers above-mentioned resolved to put their design in execution; and having gained the greatest part of a foot company that was quartered in the armory near the iron-gate of the castle, they ordered three of the private soldiers who were best known to the sentinel that was upon the guard, to desire him to open the gate, and to let them in to do some business which they pretended to have in the castle. But so soon as the sentinel had opened the gate, the three soldiers secured him, and immediately after the rest of their confederates, with major Warden at the head of them, rushed in and surprized the guard. Being thus possessed of the castle, they seized upon colonel John Jones, and sent major Warren to take into his custody Mr. Corbet and colonel Thomlinson, the other two commissioners, which he did as they were coming from the church. My brother Kempson was at this time in my lodgings in the castle, and heard nothing of this action, till some of the principal persons concerned came to him, and acquainted him with what had passed, desiring him to join with them, which he thought fit to promise. Then they sent to Sir Hardress Waller, giving him an account of their success, and desired his assistance, though he had not been made acquainted with their design. My brother also informed me, that though he had contributed towards drawing up the declaration of this party to the best advantage he could for the publick interest, yet he was so unsatisfied with the spirit and principles of these men, that he was very hardly persuaded to sign it. The horse that were in the town had for the most part joined with this party; but a company of foot of colonel Lawrence's regiment being got together upon this alarm, and solicited to declare with them for the parliament, made answer, That they knew not what parliament they meant; but that they were resolved to be faithful to the parliament, and to me

their commander in chief. In these words most of the forces in Ireland afterwards declared; and Sir Hardress Waller desired my brother Kempson to let me know, that he had carried his life in his hand, and hazarded all in this affair for my sake. And that there might be no want of protestations, major Warden himself told my brother, that though I thought him a cavalier, yet I should find him as faithful to the commonwealth as any man. Yet for all this my brother acquainted me, that he much doubted the sincerity of their intentions, and the rather, because Sir Charles Coote had seized Galway, and turned out colonel Sadler the governor of that place; that he had imprisoned major Ormisby, an officer of courage and honesty, and had drawn together a considerable body both of horse and foot, consisting chiefly of the English Irish. Therefore he concluded that I would lose no time, but hasten to them with all possible expedition. Having received this account of the affairs of Ireland, and being persuaded that Sir Arthur Haugerig was like to have a great influence upon the publick counsels, I sent him a copy of my letter, and earnestly desired him to take care not to be seduced by fair promises and specious pretences, to strengthen the hands of those in whom he never had found, nor was like to find any just grounds of confidence. Before my departure from Chester I made a visit, and took leave of colonel Croxton governor of that place, who, as he had always done, gave me all possible demonstration of his affection to the commonwealth. From thence I went to Beaumaris, where I found a ship of war carrying about thirty guns, commanded by captain Aldworth. And though I had no order from any superior powers, yet the captain promised, if he could get out of the harbour, to set sail for Ireland the next morning. Which having done according to his promise, we cast anchor the day after in the bay of Bullock, over against my house at Moncktown. But not thinking it prudent to go ashore till I had farther informed myself of the state of affairs, I writ a letter to Sir Hardress Waller, and the rest of the officers, to acquaint them, that the parliament being again restored to their authority, according to their desires expressed in their address and late declaration, wherein I concurred in judgment with them, I was come over to join with them, and to afford them my assistance to accomplish those things for which they had declared. This letter I sent to them by our deputy-advocate; and when the boat went off, captain Aldworth caused his guns to be fired, which gave notice to those at Dublin of my arrival. At the return of the boat my brother Kempson, accompanied by divers officers, came on board and informed me, that the affairs of Ireland were in a much worse condition than at the time he had written to me in England, by reason of the prevalency of Sir Charles Coote, who with one or two more influenced the whole council of officers as they pleased; and that all those who had been displaced for debauchery or disaffection, had joined with him: by which means divers officers of known affection to the publick had been obliged to quit their posts, and yield their garrisons to his creatures: that colonel Brayfield governor of Athlone having refused to surrender that place to Sir Charles Coote, he had drawn his forces before it, and by tampering with some of the garrison, and falsely affirming that the governor would deli-

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ver them up to him, he had prevailed with them to set open the gates of the castle, and to betray their governor into his hands: that upon this encouragement he had marched to Dublin with a considerable body of horse, amongst whom he had distributed a great sum of money to secure them to his interest: that the like success had attended divers others of his associates in several parts of that country, particularly that colonel Edmund Temple had possessed himself of Carlo, whereof colonel Pretty was governor: that captain Lisle had dispossessed lieutenant-colonel Desborough of Drogheda; and that major Wilson had seized Limerick, whereof colonel Nelson had been made governor by me: that major Stanley, whom I had permitted upon his request to stay in the citadel of Clonmel, till his wife, who was ready to lie down, should be brought to bed, had made use of the opportunity to possess himself of that place: that colonel Cooper, whom I had entrusted to command some forces in the north, had fallen sick upon the late change, and was since dead; and that his lieutenant-colonel had been seized by a party of his own soldiers, and brought prisoner to Dublin, where a sum of money was given to them for that service: and that lieutenant-colonel Fowke, with the assistance of the cavalier party, had seized upon Youghal. My brother also informed me, that Sir Charles Coote, and those who had seized the power into their hands, had prevailed with the council of officers to pass a vote not to receive me as commander in chief till the pleasure of the parliament should be signified to them, pretending me to be an enemy to the parliament, and in the interest of the army. In the mean time colonel Phair governor of Cork, colonel Saunders governor of Kinsale, colonel Richards governor of Wexford, and lieutenant-colonel Arnop governor of Inniskillin, had declared for the parliament, but refused to obey the orders of those at Dublin. In this confusion were the affairs of Ireland, two parties contending, and accounting each other enemies, and yet both declaring for the parliament. Having received this information, and being fully convinced of the ill intentions of this party, however they sought to disguise their actions under the specious pretext of affection to the parliament, since I could not do what I desired for the publick service, yet I resolved to act as I ought in the discharge of that trust which the parliament had reposed in me. And to that end I writ letters, and directed them to the commanders of garrisons, and to the officers of regiments, of whose fidelity I had the best assurance, acquainting them with the return of the parliament to the exercise of their authority, assuring them of my constant affections to the parliament, and my resolution to adhere to them, requiring the commanders and officers of the respective garrisons and regiments, as they valued the cause of God and their country, to continue faithful to the parliament, and to withdraw from those, who, under pretence of declaring for the parliament, had usurped the power, which they designed to use for their destruction, and for the re-establishment of arbitrary power amongst us. Therein I also ordered them to draw into considerable bodies, if possible, and to defend themselves against those who should adventure to attack them; and if they should be overpowered, to draw towards Munster, where I would endeavour, with what force I could get together, to give

give them my assistance, promising to justify them in their refusal to obey any of those who derived not their authority from the parliament or me. These letters I put into the hands of one Mildmay, who had accompanied my brother Kempson to me, with orders to deliver them as they were directed, which he promised faithfully to perform. The next morning one of my servants, whom I had sent to buy some provisions for us, returned on board, and informed me, that as soon as those at Dublin had received notice of my arrival, they sent a party of horse to my house, with orders to seize me; who not finding me there, had marched towards the sea-side, where they lay privately, in hopes to surprize me at my landing. Notwithstanding which our boat, being well manned and armed, came back safe to the ship with some provisions. The next day we saw a vessel coming from England, which proving to be the packet-boat, I opened the mail, and found therein more plainly what I suspected before, especially in one of the letters to colonel Theophilus Jones, wherein some mention being made of the affairs of Charles Stuart, it was thus corrected, "But no more of that till the next summer." This letter with some others I kept, and permitted the master of the packet-boat to carry the rest to the town. About noon captain Lucas came to me on board with an answer to the letter I had sent the day before to the officers at Dublin, wherein they expressed great joy for the restitution of the parliament, and acquainted me with the resolution of their council of officers concerning me, on suspicion that I had taken part with the army against the parliament. They also informed me, that they had dispatched a message to the parliament's generals, for orders from them, or the parliament, for their future conduct, desiring in the mean time that I would, for avoiding inconveniencies, retire into England, protesting themselves ready to obey me as their commander in chief so soon as the pleasure of the parliament, or their general's, should be signified to that purpose. This messenger gave me also the copy of a letter from colonel Monk to colonel John Jones, which, he said, had been found amongst the colonel's papers at the time when he was seized, by which Monk endeavoured to persuade him of his affection to the cause of the commonwealth, with a solemn profession of his resolution to be true and faithful to the parliament, and to oppose to the death the setting up a king, single person, or house of lords. Captain Lucas being ready to return to Dublin, I gave him my reply to the answer he brought me from the officers, appealing to their own consciences for my adherence and affection to the parliament, telling them, that the duty of my charge would not permit me to return to England in such a conjuncture: that I had received my commission from the parliament, and did not find that it enjoined me to obey the commands of those who for the most part had no commissions from them: that I was resolved to prosecute, as far as I was able, the ends of my commission for the service of the parliament, by whom I was entrusted; requiring them to forbear any opposition against me, as they would answer for the blood that might be shed in the dispute. I acquainted captain Lucas with the substance of my letter; who thereupon proposed, that seeing I was confident of my good intentions, and that both myself and those at Dublin

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aimed at the same thing, I would go to them, and by satisfying their scruples, adjust the differences between us. But I told him, That I was too well informed of their principles and designs to put myself into their hands. "Then," said he, "you do not think us to be for the parliament?" "No indeed," said I, "and it is most manifest to me, that the design of those who now govern the council of officers, though at present it be covered with pretences for the parliament, is to destroy both them and their friends, and to bring in the son of the late king."

PERCEIVING the passage to Dublin to be barred against me, and being disappointed of some farther provisions that I had sent for; the enemy, for such they had declared themselves to me, not permitting them to be brought on board, I resolved to try if I could find reception from any other garrison on the coast, hoping that the parliament would in a short time take off the pretended objection against me, that I was an enemy to them. Or, if they should so far abandon the care of their own safety, to leave the power in the hands of these usurpers, I should yet have the satisfaction of having done all that I could to discharge the trust they had placed in me. But before I departed from the bay of Dublin, I dispatched a relation of my wife to England by the packet-boat, with letters for the parliament, wherein I gave them the best account I could of the state of affairs in Ireland, and desired their instructions how to govern myself in so nice a conjuncture; assuring them, that as I had never been solicitous to procure the employment wherein their favour had placed me, so I could be well contented to withdraw from that publick station if they should think fit to recall me from it. To these letters I added others for Sir Arthur Hauger and Mr. Scot, with copies of some of the letters which I had intercepted coming from England for those at Dublin. Having dispatched the packet-boat, we set sail for Duncannon, where I had placed one captain Skynner to command, in whom I had great confidence, and the next morning about eight or nine of the clock we were in view of the shore near Wexford. Being come within a league of Duncannon, and not knowing in whose hands that place might be in this strange revolution of affairs, I sent a messenger to captain Alland, whom I had made governor of the fort at Passage, to be informed by him of their condition. The next morning our messenger returned with the captain and two or three more, who acquainted me, that though no means had been left unattempted to procure the fort of Duncannon to be delivered to those at Dublin, that captain Skynner had constantly refused to obey any orders not proceeding from the parliament or me. He also informed me, that colonel Richards governor of Wexford, colonel Phair governor of Cork, and colonel Saunders governor of Kinsale, had acted in the like manner, and that he had hopes that those of Waterford would also declare for me, having promised so to do when I should arrive. But that the person I had intrusted with the command of Kilkenny had been frightened out of his government; and that lieutenant-colonel Hurd, who had been removed for his vicious life and disaffection to the publick, was got into the place. Being informed of these particulars, I landed the same day in the evening at Duncannon, where I was received with great demonstrations of joy by captain Skynner the governor, and the garrison, who

who at my arrival fired their guns round the fort, and were answered by those from our ship of war that lay in the harbour, by which means those of Waterford had notice of my landing. Doubting what the issue of things might be, I took a view of the place; and having perceived that the garrison was not sufficiently provided either with men or provisions, I took the best care I could for their supply. To this end one of the officers having engaged to bring in the greatest part of a foot company in the regiment of colonel Stephens, I sent him out with orders to that purpose. I dispatched a messenger also to my tenants at Bally-Magger, which lay not far from us, to desire them to furnish me with corn, beef, and other necessaries. I revictualled our man of war, whose provisions were almost spent, and borrowed divers sums of money of my friends in the parts adjacent, which I knew to be of singular use in case of extremity. Having done this, I sent letters to colonel Leigh governor of Waterford, and to the rest of the officers there, acquainting them with the restitution of the parliament, and with my arrival at Duncannon, in order to promote their service, wherein I required them to afford me their assistance. I wrote letters also to colonel Puckle governor of Ross, to the same effect, and dispatched others to colonel Richards, colonel Phair, and colonel Saunders, to encourage them to continue to act as they had hitherto done. From Waterford I had a civil return to my message brought by some of their officers, who came to make me a visit; but I could not get a positive answer from them to the contents of my letter. And I still insisting that they would declare themselves, they sent one captain Bolton and three other persons to me, desiring that I would satisfy them touching the objection that had been given out against me, that I was an enemy to the parliament; which having done, as I might well, they departed in appearance well satisfied. In the mean time colonel Temple with some horse was ordered to block up the fort of Duncannon; and having possessed himself of the ways leading to it, one of his parties stopped some country people that were bringing some black cattle for the use of the garrison; which having perceived, I ordered a party of foot, being altogether destitute of horse, to go by a short way, and to post themselves in a pass through which they were to return: and though they came too late to recover the cattle, yet they prevailed with divers of the party to come to me into the fort, where they assured me that they had been brought before us merely in obedience to their superior officers, and were much troubled at the differences amongst us; they acknowledged that they had long served under me, and were more willing to continue to do so still, than to serve under any other person; and that understanding that both the contending parties waited for the signification of the parliament's pleasure concerning the publick affairs, they promised to withdraw from the fort, and to come no more against us. By which it may farther appear how unwilling the forces on both sides were to come to any open acts of hostility, it being not easy for men in an ordinary station, unacquainted with publick counsels, and of ordinary capacities, so soon to discern the way to their duty through the specious pretences of each party. But the cabal at Dublin resolving to carry on their wicked design by force, if they could not do it by fraud, displaced by their own usurped authority all the field officers of the army,
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except major Edward Warren, with most of the other officers that the parliament had commissioned, filling their places with the most vicious and disaffected persons they could find. Which having done, they caused a report to be published, that Sir Charles Coote with a considerable force would come to besiege me in Duncannon, whereby they obtained this advantage, that our enemies in Waterford were encouraged to appear openly, and our friends, uncertain of the event, would not venture to declare themselves. Besides, colonel Leigh their governor began now openly to side with those at Dublin, either from his malice to me for reproving him formerly for his zeal in supporting the usurpation of Cromwell, or from a selfish principle that was natural to him, of joining always with the rising party; though being an anabaptist, he might have considered, that he was not likely to find much favour with the grandees at Dublin.

THE enemy, as had been before reported, drew down before Duncannon; and captain Scot, son to Mr. Scot a member of the parliament, whom I have had occasion frequently to mention, sent a letter to inform me, that being appointed by the officers at Dublin to reduce the place to the obedience of the parliament, he was come thither to that purpose. Having read this letter, I wrote an answer to it, and communicated them both to the officers and soldiers of the garrison. In my answer, I told him, That we were really for that, which they only pretended as a colour to worse designs; that I acted by the authority of the parliament, and should endeavour faithfully to discharge my duty; requiring them forthwith to depart, and return to the obedience of those to whom they owed it, as they would answer the contrary to God and man. I desired the captain to communicate my answer to those that were with him, as I assured him I had done his letter to the officers and soldiers of my garrison. Whilst these things were doing, Sir Charles Coote, colonel Theophilus Jones, and the rest of the cabal at Dublin, sent one captain Campbell to colonel Monk, to acquaint him with the progress they had made; upon which he caused the cannon at Berwick to be fired in testimony of his joy, and sent back the messenger to them with letters of thanks for their good service, desiring them not to restore the commissioners of the parliament, whom they had seized, to the exercise of their authority: but, as I afterwards understood by some of Coote's party, he mentioned nothing concerning me in his letters, not knowing, as I presume, but that I might be in a condition to retard, if not totally obstruct his grand design, as probably I had done, with the blessing of God, if the parliament had not abandoned me, and their own interest at the same time, by the influence of Monk's party in the house. The junto at Dublin being very desirous to remove me from the post where I was, called a council of officers; and having drawn up a letter to justify their proceedings against me, they procured it to be signed and sent to me from the council, endeavouring therein to defame me with all possible malice, charging me with neglecting the duty of my employment in Ireland, when upon the late interruption of the parliament I had rather chosen to continue my journey to London than to return to the discharge of my office; accusing me for divers

passages in my letters which they had intercepted; in one of which, having called colonel John Jones dear friend, they would have it interpreted, that I thereby approved his correspondence with the Wallingford-house party: and in another, having expressed my desire to moderate things between the parliament and the army, they improved it to a very great crime, alleging that men ought to obey, and not to capitulate with the parliament; adding, that when I saw I could do no more in opposition to the parliament, I had refused to wait their sitting, and departed for Ireland a day or two before their restitution, where I had endeavoured to serve the army by my interest in the disaffected party; that finding Dublin to be secured for the parliament by those who obeyed their orders, and would obey me as their commander in chief, if the parliament thought fit to continue that power to me, I had not only refused to return to England till their pleasure in that affair might be known, but also had endeavoured by all hostile means to get the power into my hands, at the same time neglecting my duty in parliament, which they said I might have been doing, had not my miscarriages rendered me incapable of that honour. Having perused this letter, I thought myself obliged to answer it, as well to clear myself from these calumnies, as to prevent the effect it might otherwise have amongst unwary men, which was especially to be regarded in this conjuncture, because they had taken care to print and disperse their libel against me. I told them in my answer, That they well knew that in my letters to colonel Jones, which they had intercepted, I had expressed my dislike of his correspondence with the army; though having received civilities from him, and because he had the sword in his hand, I thought it not imprudent to keep fair with him, which was probably the reason why they themselves were not more plainly dealt with by the parliament: That notwithstanding their pretences of obedience to the parliament, I wished I might not see the day when they should positively refuse to obey their commands, to the destruction of their authority, and the advancement of a contrary interest; though, to serve the present turn, they now blamed me for endeavouring, in the midst of the confusion that the ambition of the army had brought upon us, to moderate things so, that their authority might have been restored, and the publick cause preserved from ruin: That the reasons of my not returning to my command, upon advice of the late interruption, were; first, because I knew it to be the interest of the parliament and the army to unite, both being in a certain way to ruin, if they did not; and that therefore I was encouraged to attempt it: and in the next place, because I had seen the letter which was sent from the officers at London to those in Ireland, wherein they declared, That they had only obstructed their sitting for a while: thirdly, I hoped at my departure I had left the affairs of Ireland in good hands; and at the worst, I was persuaded it must of necessity follow the fate of England. Lastly, I doubted not that by fixing the Irish brigade, which was in England, to the interest of the parliament, I should contribute more to their service, than by the best regulation that could be made of the forces in Ireland: That the cause of my last return to Ireland was taken from the knowledge I had of
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the persons that had assumed the power into their hands, and the duty that lay upon me to use the best of my endeavours to put a stop to those malignant designs, which I had reason to believe their principles would lead them to carry on: That they must pardon me, if I followed not their advice of returning to England, when I was in the bay of Dublin, having it not in my instructions to obey them; and being as fully satisfied of their intentions to make use of their power, under pretence of serving the parliament, to undermine and destroy their friends, as I was that my own endeavours were directed wholly to their service, and that it was my duty, as far as I could, to prosecute the ends of that commission with which they had intrusted me. Before I had sent away this letter, I received the astonishing news, that the parliament had sent to the officers at Dublin an acknowledgment of their service in declaring for them; and about a week after, the said officers sent a letter to be delivered to me, signed by William Lenthall speaker of the parliament, to desire me by their order to attend the parliament with an account of the affairs of Ireland, that upon consideration thereof, such a course might be taken, as might secure the publick interest there. Letters to the same effect were written, as I was informed, to colonel John Jones, colonel Thomlinson, and Mr. Miles Corbet, commissioners for the parliament in Ireland. By these letters I perceived, that the parliament was reduced to a dishonourable compliance with those who had got the ascendant over them; and therefore having received their commands to attend them, I resolved to do it as soon as I could, hoping, by the account I should give them, to awaken their care, and if they were not wholly infatuated, persuade them to make a timely provision against the dangers that so visibly threatened them with sudden destruction. The enemy thought I would have surrendered the fort of Duncannon into their hands, and to that end used many arguments to induce me to it; but I refused to hearken to that proposition, and acquainted them that the letters I had received rather implied the contrary; and that if the parliament were as sensible as they ought to be of their interest, I doubted not that Duncannon might prove a good landing-place for an army from England, to reduce those in Ireland to their obedience. In the mean time I had caused two or three vessels to cast anchor under the command of the castle, resolving to make use of one of them for my transportation to England; and finding a Dutch bottom commanded by a Frenchman to be most convenient for my purpose, I agreed with the master of her for my voyage. Before I departed, captain Scot, major Barrington, and some others of those that had blocked us up, desired to speak with me, which I agreed to, and amongst other discourse that deserves not to be mentioned, many of them, and in particular captain Scot, though they had declared for the parliament, endeavoured to justify the attempt of Sir George Booth, reviling Sir Arthur Haslerig, and divers others who were members of the parliament: and being asked, Whether they would fight against Charles Stuart, if he should appear at the head of an army, they refused to explain themselves in that particular: and yet these gentlemen would be thought to be the only champions for the parliament. Captain Scot accom-

panied me to the water-side, where taking leave of captain Skinner the governor, and the rest of the officers and soldiers of the garrison, I commanded the governor, in his presence, not to surrender the fort to any person that should not be authorized to receive it by the parliament or me, wherein I doubted not he would have the assistance of the whole garrison, which they unanimously promised. As soon as I was embarked, captain Skinner caused all their cannon to be fired, to testify their respects to me; and the wind being very fair, we immediately set sail for England. The next morning we found ourselves in view of the Isle of Lundy, and I would willingly have landed at Minhead, but the seas went so high, that we were obliged to put in at Milford Comb; where having provided horses for myself and company, we went to Barnstaple, and lay there that night. The day following we passed over Axmore, which was covered with snow, and with much difficulty arrived that night at Laystock, where I was informed that Monk was come to London, and had brought the secluded members into the house, which report had preceded the action; for it was not yet done. But we were assured from better intelligence, that the parliament, upon consideration of Sir Henry Vane's compliance with the army during the late interruption, had discharged him from being a member, and commanded him to retire from London; and that having reprov'd major Saloway for what he had done of the same nature, they had committed him to the Tower during the pleasure of the house. We were also informed, that they had granted time to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Sydenham, the lord commissioner Whitlock, Mr. Cornelius Holland, and Mr. Strickland, to clear themselves touching their deportment in that affair. I was not a little disturbed at this news, conceiving that the removal of such eminent pillars of the house, as some of these were, would put the whole fabrick into apparent danger of ruin; but being always desirous to think well of their proceedings, I persuaded myself that these measures were the result of the extraordinary zeal of some men, to vindicate the least appearance of any breach that might be supposed to have been made upon the privileges of the parliament. As I was seriously reflecting on these particulars, one of my servants brought me the paper of publick intelligence, wherein I not only perceived the former relation to be confirmed, but also found that the parliament had received a charge of high treason against me, Mr. Miles Corbet, colonel John Jones, and colonel Thomlinson, presented by colonel Bridges, major Edward Warren, and captain Abel Warren, and subscribed by Sir Charles Coote; of which, though I had heard some flying report whilst I was in Ireland, yet I could not suppose them so abandoned of all shame, as to pursue such a design; but they had learned, that to calumniate abundantly was the way to get something to stick. And here I confess, if I had entered upon the publick service on the account of my own private advantage, I should have been totally discouraged, and perhaps have made the best provision I could for my own safety; but being conscious to myself, that I had acted upon better principles, I concluded that the parliament, who knew my innocence, would not fail to do me justice against my malicious enemies. Thereupon I
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used all possible diligence in my journey, taking post-horses to that end; inso-much that a person who knew me, meeting me on the road, said, that those who were under an accusation of high treason, were not accustomed to make such haste to present themselves. Being arrived at London, I went not that day to the parliament, being informed that the house was rising; and because I was desirous to learn as much as I could concerning the state of publick affairs, to which I had been so long a stranger. The most remarkable transactions that had passed in my absence were these following: That lieutenant-general Fleetwood, finding himself deserted by most part of the army, had sent the keys of the parliament-house to the speaker, with notice that the guards were withdrawn, and that the members of parliament might attend the discharge of their duty: that lieutenant-colonel Miller, who was in possession of the Tower, had sent also to the speaker, to acquaint him that he and his garrison were ready to receive his orders: that the forces about the town had been mustered in Lincoln's-inn-fields by colonel Alured and colonel Okey, where, after they had declared for the parliament, they marched by the speaker's house in Chancery-lane, and saluted him as their general as he stood at his door: that the speaker had sent colonel Bret and colonel Redmain, who had been discharged for their zeal to the usurpation of Cromwell, to command the Irish brigade; though it was well known, that brigade was officered with such as were so zealous for the parliament, that they had refused to engage against colonel Monk, because he had declared for them, and had marched off entirely from the army of colonel Lambert: that Sir Arthur Haslerig and the rest of the officers from Portsmouth coming into London by the bridge, had passed through the city, where they had been received with so much seeming joy and loud acclamations, that Sir Arthur was observed in particular to be so elevated, that for some time after he could scarce discern his friends from his enemies; whereof my wife had some experience: for she going to give him some account of me and of affairs in Ireland, found him much altered in his carriage to her, saying, That God and man having owned them, they must employ those that would own them. To which she replied, That he seemed to mistake what she had said, and assured him that she was well informed, that as I had never solicited for publick employment in better times, so I was very remote from any such thoughts in this condition of things. This height of Sir Arthur Haslerig lasted but a few days; for though the clergy and lawyers, with other disaffected persons, had hitherto kept fair with him, and in appearance revered him above all others, that by his assistance they might be able to prevail against the army, or Wallingford-house party; yet so soon as they were free from their fears, and understood their own strength, they refused to be any longer controlled by him, turning out of the house and out of the army whomsoever they pleased: which false measures, taken by him, he began to perceive, when there was no remedy left. Fifteen hundred old officers were removed from their commands in the army by the committee appointed for that purpose, and as many brought in to supply their places, who were for the most part either unknown to the soldiers, disaffected

to the cause, or ignorant of military affairs. The rules by which the committee for placing and displacing went by, were, as every man had been known to favour or oppose the army-party, without any consideration of the reasons that led them to one or the other; which yet had been convenient, because many had carried it fair to the army, only that they might be the better enabled to make them sensible of their duty, and more easily prevail with them to return to the obedience of the parliament: and many had railed at and opposed the army with no other design, than thereby to necessitate both the parliament and the army by their disunion, and the confusions that would naturally ensue thereupon, to return to their former servitude.

IN the mean time, Monk having left four regiments in Scotland to secure that country, and divided his forces into two brigades, one of which he commanded himself, and colonel Morgan the other, began his march for England on the first day of January, and on the second took his quarters at Willar, where he received letters from the parliament. On the fifth he came to Morpeth, and found there some persons sent to him by the common council of London, with orders to desire him to use his interest to call a free parliament. The next day he entered Newcastle, and thence dispatched one Gumble, whom he had entertained as his chaplain, with letters to the parliament and council of state, wherein protestations of duty and fidelity were not wanting. Divers lawyers of the parliament, with some others, gave a meeting to Monk's messenger at the speaker's house; and several citizens did the like at the house of one Mr. Robinson: at both which meetings Gumble was assured, that they and their parties would be favourable to Monk's design. Having in a few days dispatched the business he came about, he returned to his master, with an account of the success of his negociation. He found him at Mansfield in Nottinghamshire; and having acquainted him with the divisions at London, and with the inclinations of the city, Monk marched the next day to Nottingham, where he staid ten days. In his march he removed many officers from their commands, placing in their rooms persons of ruined fortunes or profligate lives, making no distinction between those that had continued in their obedience to the parliament, and those who had declared against them. In particular, he discharged from their employments, divers officers of our Irish brigade, who had been the most zealous for asserting the civil authority, and filled their places with such as had been dismissed for their vicious lives or corrupt principles. Wherein his deportment was so visible, that colonel Martin, in the parliament-house, resembled him to one, that being sent for to make a suit of clothes, brought with him a budget full of carpenter's tools; and being told, that such things were not at all fit for the work he was desired to do, answered, "It matters not, I will do your work well enough I warrant you." Yet for all this the pretences for a commonwealth went never more high than at this time: for besides an injunction laid upon all commissioned officers to engage to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, the parliament appointed an oath, containing the abjuration of the family of the Stuarts, to be taken by the members of the council of state before they might act there-
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in. But none were more forward to publish their resolutions of adhering to a commonwealth-government than Monk himself, who in a letter to some of his own countrymen of the western parts, that had addressed him for the restitution of the secluded members, told them, that he could not do it, because it was not only contrary to his own frequent declarations, but directly opposite to the interest of a commonwealth, as well as to that of the army; a thing not to be done by him, or borne by them, being a total reversing of all that had been done for the last twelve years in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and tending to charge the nation with all the blood that had been shed during that time. He said, it would unsettle the possession of deans, chapters, delinquents, crown and rebel lands; and in fine, if we should suffer monarchy to return amongst us, after so long a fruition of a commonwealth, we should be driven to a worse condition than ever, and put past all hopes of appearing to defend our liberty any more. He advised them, therefore, to acquiesce in the authority of the present parliament, who, he assured them, were most ready to hearken to all reasonable propositions touching the good and happy settlement of the nation. And that this answer might be taken notice of by all men, he caused it to be printed and published.

THE parliament being willing to encourage him in the good resolutions he professed to have taken, sent Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Luke Robinson, members of the house, to be commissioners from them to him. Mr. Scot had kept a long correspondence with him, and after the last interruption had published some of his letters, wherein Monk declared his resolution to live and die with the parliament, without a king, single person, or house of lords. These two persons were in appearance much courted by Monk, who pretended to be wholly directed by their advice. And when the commissioners for the city of London, or the gentry of those parts where he passed, applied themselves to him for the restitution of the secluded members, he referred them to the judgment of the parliament, to whom, he said, he was resolved entirely to submit. He also solicited Sir Arthur Haslerig and some others of the house, that the sectarian party might be removed out of the army, sending a list of the names of all those who had been continued in their employments by the army during the late interruption; and pretending that a commonwealth could not possibly be established whilst such men were in power. What he did relating to the affairs of Ireland was carried more covertly, and coloured with the name of Sir Charles Coote. And because he knew I had some reputation with Sir Arthur Haslerig and the commonwealth-party of the house, he made use of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Mr. Weaver, Mr. Justice St. Johns, Mr. Robert Reynolds, and some others, to obtain what he desired in that matter. These gentlemen were informed that the council of state, notwithstanding all the arts that had been used to calumniate me, had agreed upon a report to be made to the parliament, that Sir Hardress Waller, lieutenant-colonel Walker, and major Godfrey, might be intrusted in conjunction with me, with the management of affairs in Ireland. They knew also, that the two last would be ready to do any honest thing that I should advise; and therefore fearing lest

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the parliament might agree with the council of state upon the report, they procured the debate to be adjourned for three days, within which time they so ordered the matter, that colonel Bridges and the two Warrens presented to the parliament the charge of high treason against the commissioners and me, as I mentioned before. Whereof Monk's party in the house made such advantage, as not only to refuse their concurrence with the council of state in their report concerning me, but also by the help of the lawyers rhetorick, who were my professed adversaries, on account of my endeavours to reform the practice of the law, passed a vote to require me to deliver the fort of Duncannon into the hands of the prosecutors; some of them moving, that in case of refusal, I should be declared a traitor, and sent for in custody. Which perhaps might have passed also, if Mr. Henry Nevil, who singly had the courage to defend me in that conjuncture, had not spoken in my behalf, desiring them not to entertain jealousy of a faithful servant upon informations unproved, nor to do any thing to the prejudice of my reputation, till I should be heard; when, he doubted not, I would make appear, that I had always endeavoured to promote their service. But I was not the only person borne down by this torrent. Sir Arthur Haslerig himself having parted with Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway, his most able and best friends, began to lose ground, and all that he said in the house or elsewhere to go for nothing. And though they could find out no colour to remove him as they had done the other two; yet having already rendered him insignificant in the parliament, they resolved he should have as little power in the army. To that end it was contrived, that Monk should write to the parliament, that for their greater security, the forces that were in and about London, amounting to about seven or eight thousand horse and foot, might be removed to a farther distance, to make room for those that he had with him, presuming to name to the parliament some particular regiments which he principally insisted to have removed, amongst which Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of horse was one. And so tame was the parliament grown, that though it was most visible he designed their ruin, yet on his bare word and empty protestations, they not only trusted him, but obeyed him as their superior, and ordered all that he desired to be put in execution. Notwithstanding this unhappy posture of affairs, thinking it my duty to clear myself of the aspersions cast upon me, and to improve the small interest I had left for the service of the publick cause, I resolved to take my place in parliament: and in order thereunto, being accompanied by Mr. Henry Nevil, I attended Sir Arthur Haslerig at Whitehall, where I gave him a short account of my actions since I had last seen him, of my endeavours in Ireland to serve the publick, of the state of affairs there, of the principles and practices of those that had assumed the power in that country, and of the readiness of the soldiers and most of the officers in that army to have served the parliament faithfully and usefully, if they had been true to themselves and their own interest. I also acquainted him with the sense I had of the late severe, if I might not say unjust, proceedings against me, which seemed to me to be such a requital of my faithful services, that if I expected my reward from men, I should rather
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chuse to serve the great Turk. But that I might not be wanting to myself, and in order to justify my own innocence, if I could do no farther good, I had resolved to go to the parliament-house the next morning, desiring his advice and that of Mr. Nevil for my government when I should come thither. Sir Arthur was unwilling to enter into any discourse concerning what had lately passed, saying, It was too late to recall things now: and then told us how his enemies thought to ensnare him, by Monk's motion to the parliament for removing his regiment from London, thinking thereby to create a difference between him and Monk, wherein he had disappointed them by desiring their removal himself, contrary to their expectation, entering into a prolix commendation of Monk, and assuring us that he was a person on whose fidelity they might safely rely. And if I may be permitted to deliver my sense touching this discourse of Sir Arthur Haslerig, I conjecture it proceeded, partly from an apprehension that things were already gone so far, that he doubted whether he could put any stop to them; and partly from some sparks of hope, that Monk could not be such a devil to betray a trust so freely reposed in him. For he kept a constant correspondence with Sir Arthur, and in all his letters repeated the engagements of his fidelity to the parliament, with expressions of the greatest zeal for a commonwealth-government. In the conclusion it was agreed between us, that when I came into the house I should sit as privately as I could, and observe the temper of the members, before I should put them upon the consideration of my affair. Accordingly I went to the house, and though they had used me in the manner I have related, yet they treated me very civilly, some of them telling me, in a jesting way, That it was not usual for men accused of high treason to be so well received in that place. Having taken out a copy of the charge exhibited against the commissioners and me, I found the commissioners to be charged with altering their title, during the late interruption, from "commissioners of parliament" to "commissioners of the commonwealth;" and that they had sent a ship of war to prevent any relief to, or correspondence with the garrison of Air in Scotland, who had declared for the parliament. Besides which, colonel Jones was accused for taking part with the army against the Parliament, not only in the particulars aforesaid, but also in his answer to the letter written by Monk to me, on supposition that I was then in Ireland, to invite me to a conjunction with him for the restitution of the parliament: and likewise for promoting a subscription to the government of the army amongst the officers in Ireland. As for me, I was charged with assisting the army in England, and doing acts of hostility by sea and land against those in Ireland who had declared for the parliament. Whereupon I moved the house that they would be pleased, according to their order, to hear me touching their affairs in Ireland, and to permit me to justify myself, which I did the rather that I might have an opportunity to procure that mischievous order for the surrender of Duncannon to be recalled, hoping that it had not yet been put in execution. But all that I could obtain was, to have a day appointed when I should be heard. Mr. Miles Corbet, who arrived in England some days before me, was so terrified with the proceedings of the

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parliament against Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway, together with the name of a charge of high treason against himself, that he had never appeared publickly since his arrival, till upon some discourse with me he took courage, and went with me to the house.

IN the mean time, Monk was come to Barnet, and being expected at London the next day, orders were issued out for the old regiments of the army to march from the town; which so disgusted them, that many refused to march till their arrears were paid. This mutiny began at Somerset-house, where one whole regiment was quartered, who were joined by divers parties of the rest. The cavaliers and presbyterians of the city hoping to improve this opportunity, invited them to join with the city, as they termed their party there, promising them their whole arrears, constant pay, and a present gratuity, giving them some money in hand as an earnest of the rest. The soldiers took their money, but withal threatened them, that unless they departed immediately, they would fire upon them, declaring their resolution to continue faithful to the parliament. Hereupon the council of state, that they also might cut the grass from under their own feet, sent orders to Monk to hasten his march, and with all diligence to come to their relief. These malecontents were very numerous, amounting to more than two thousand foot; and about the same number of horse were ready to join with them. But no considerable person appearing at the head of them, their new officers, who laboured the whole night to satisfy them, prevailed with them to march the next morning, upon promise that their arrears should be paid at their next quarters. The following day Monk marched to London in the head of his party, which for the most part were quartered about Whitehall, where lodgings had been provided for him: and immediately some members of parliament were sent to congratulate his arrival. The same evening I met vice-admiral Lawson at Sir Henry Mildmay's lodgings at Whitehall, and knowing him to be familiarly acquainted with Monk, I desired that we might make him a visit together, which he readily consented to. We found him alone in the prince's lodgings; where having congratulated the success of his attempt to restore the parliament to the exercise of their authority, I took the freedom to tell him, That having an opportunity put into his hands to free these nations from the danger of being oppressed, as they had lately been, by the power of the sword, I hoped he would improve it to the publick advantage, by giving his assistance to the parliament in settling the government upon so just a foundation, that it might be supported for the future by the love and affections of the people. He answered, That as God had owned him in his work, so he desired that he alone might have the glory: That it was true, factions had been carried on; but that he was fully resolved to promote the interest of a commonwealth. Which resolution when I had commended, and encouraged him as well as I could to continue, he said, "We must live and die for and with a commonwealth." Then I told him, that I had met lately with one Mr. Courtney, who said he was his relation, and having drunk too much at the inn where I lay in my way to London, boasted that his cousin Monk would do great things for the king;

king; but that upon my objecting his publick declarations and protestations to the contrary, he began to doubt, and said, That his cousin being a man of honour, he feared he would be as good as his word. "Yea," said Monk, "if there were nothing in it but that, I must make good my word, and will too." "I presume," said I, "that the answer you have lately published to your countrymen's letter, hath given them all satisfaction concerning you." He replied, That he hoped it had. These and many other protestations of zeal to the common cause, with many professions of friendship to ourselves, we received from him at that time; wherewith vice-admiral Lawson was so satisfied, that he said to me after we had parted from him, That since the Levite and the Priest had passed by and would not help us, he hoped we had found a Samaritan that would do it.

THE parliament having notice of Monk's arrival, sent a message to him by Mr. Scot and Mr. Robinson, to desire his attendance at their house the next day: whither being come, a chair was ordered for him, but he refused to sit, contenting himself to stand behind it uncovered, laying his hand upon the chair. The speaker, as he had been ordered, gave him the thanks of the house for the service he had done, extolling him above all the worthies of former and later ages. To whose rhetorick he answered, That as to what was done, he desired God might have the glory, in that he had wrought deliverance by so weak an instrument. After which he informed the house, that in his march many applications had been made to him by all sorts of persons for a free parliament; and that he had acquainted them, that the end of his march being to free the parliament from the power of those who had imposed on them, he doubted not they would take all possible care of the publick good. Then he put them in mind of their resolution to fill up the house, which he said, would tend much to the satisfaction of the nation. He desired that fanatical persons, as he called them, might be removed from places of trust, and undertook to answer for the fidelity of those who had assumed the power in Ireland, concluding with professions of the utmost zeal and faithfulness to their service. Thus he gave the parliament good words, for which they heaped their favours upon him; they voted one thousand pounds per annum to be settled on him. And that nothing might be wanting to complete this scene, Monk's wife took especial care to treat the wives of the members that came to visit her, running herself to fetch the sweetmeats, and filling out wine for them; not forgetting to talk mightily of self-denial, and how much it was upon her husband's heart that the government might be settled in the way of a commonwealth. In the mean time the secluded members had their meetings with those of the same faction in the city; and some of those that sat in parliament were earnest promoters of their return to the house, of whom was colonel Laffels, and colonel Richard Ingoldsby, who had been two of the king's judges: but the person I most wondered at was colonel Hutchinson, who having exceeded most of the members of the high-court of justice in zeal for putting the king to death, at this time acted a very different part, pressing the house with an unbecoming importunity to proceed against Sir Henry Vane for not removing into the country, according

to their order, when it was well known that he was so much indisposed, that he could not do it without the apparent hazard of his life. Many alarms were given to the parliament by their faithful friends in printed discourses, and other ways, whereby they were put in mind that the enemy's quarrel was not so much against persons as things; and, as one termed it, not against Ludlow and Rich, but against the cause itself. They were advised to accept the assistance of their old servants, and to encourage them in their fidelity, as the only means to preserve themselves and the commonwealth from certain ruin: but they were deaf to all salutary counsel, and resolved to finish the work with the new instruments which they had chosen. To that end they proceeded on the bill for filling up the house, which by wise men was thought a most dangerous expedient in that conjuncture, unless Monk should prove more honest than they could believe him to be. The city of London also took upon them in their common council to receive petitions from the adjacent counties touching the payment of taxes, and other publick affairs, presuming not only to call in the petitioners, and to give them thanks for their good affections, but also passed a vote that they would pay no taxes but such as should be imposed by a free parliament.

THE council of state having received a particular account of the proceedings in the city, sent for Monk to consult with him concerning the best means to put a stop to these disorders: and some of them moving that the common council should be forbidden to sit, some few of the most active seized, the gates of the city taken down, the portcullaces wedged, and the posts with their chains pulled up; Monk said, That if they did no more, that would serve for nothing, because the damage might be soon repaired. He added, That the disaffection of the city was so great, that they would never be quiet, till some of them were hanged; and that it was absolutely necessary for the present to break in pieces their gates and portcullaces, to burn their posts, and to carry away their chains to the Tower; offering himself, if they would command these things to be done, to see their orders put in execution. Hereupon the council ordered him to march into the city with his forces early the next morning, before the occasion of his coming amongst them should be known. Various reports were published touching the design of his march into the city, and many suspected that he had already declared for the king. But when the house was met, the council of state made their report to us, and informed us of the unwarrantable proceedings of the common council, and of their own resolutions and orders concerning them; in the execution of which they assured us, Monk had by that time made a considerable progress, having already pulled up the posts with their chains, taken down the portcullaces and the gates of the city, which he had begun to cut in pieces, and seized some of the most active of the common council. The parliament having heard the report of the council of state, approved what they had done, and ordered fifty pounds to be given to Monk to defray the expence of his dinner that day, he having refused to dine at the charge of the city, though earnestly importuned to it by divers citizens. All things going so well that morning both in the army, and in the parlia-

ment, Sir Arthur Haslerig was again so elevated, that coming into the house in the afternoon, he broke out in the presence of divers members into these expressions, "All is our own, he will be honest." But it was not long before his wine was turned into water: for as soon as the house was sat, a letter was presented to the speaker from Monk, the contents whereof made them easily perceive that his zeal to their service began to cool. Therein he acquainted them with what he had done in prosecution of the orders he had received, and that he wanted tools and instruments to finish the work, having already spoiled all those that he had brought with him to cut the gates and other defences of the city in pieces; that the mayor and citizens had promised obedience to the parliament for the time to come, and therefore he desired they would respite the execution of what remained of his instructions; hoping that what had been done would be a sufficient admonition to the city for their future good behaviour. The parliament understanding the tendency of this letter, were highly offended with Monk for presuming to neglect and dispute their commands; and being resolved to do as much as they could in this matter to preserve their authority, they dispatched a message to him, requiring the exact performance of the orders he had received. Upon the receipt of these second orders, Monk seemed much disturbed, but yielded little or no obedience to them, and lay that night in the city. The day following he returned with his forces to Whitehall, and about two days after sent a letter to the house, directed to the speaker, and subscribed by himself and some of his officers; wherein they complained that the parliament had put them upon the late disobliging work in the city to render them odious to the citizens: that they continued to favour the fanatick party, by not prosecuting those that had acted with the army in the late committee of safety, and by permitting Sir Henry Vane and colonel Lambert to stay in town, contrary to their own order for their removal; that they admitted men to sit with them in the house, who lay under accusations of high treason (meaning Mr. Miles Corbet and me, though not naming us;) that on the contrary they shewed a backwardness to repose any confidence in those who were their truest friends, upbraiding them with refusing to approve some officers that had been presented to them, and delaying to grant commissions to others whom they had approved. They also reflected upon the parliament for not making provision for the army, nor minding the publick work, putting them in mind of the vote for the dissolution in May following; and adding some threatening expressions, in case they should not issue out writs for filling up the parliament, according to their promise. After the reading of this letter from Monk, I perceived most of the members who had any affection to their country to be much dejected. But the parliament having divested themselves of their own strength, and abandoned all into the hands of Monk, though no man had ever before presumed to address himself to them in so insolent a manner, yet they took his letter into consideration, and resolved to give him as much satisfaction as they could with any colour of justice. To that end they quickened their committee to bring in their report touching those that had acted in the late committee of safety: they ordered Sir Henry Vane to depart
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the town by a certain day, and that colonel Lambert should render himself within a limited time. They also resolved to issue out writs of summons for recruiting the house; but being fully persuaded that the charge of high treason against me was groundless and frivolous, they omitted to make any order concerning it. However, being desirous to procure some relief for those whom I had left at Duncannon, and to endeavour that the forces in Ireland might be put into good hands, I hoped that if I should move to be heard, I might at the same time have an opportunity to press the two last things, which I esteemed very necessary in that conjuncture: I desired therefore, that since I conceived myself aimed at in one part of Monk's letter, the parliament would be pleased to hear me in vindication of my innocence; but I could not obtain a present hearing, my case being put off till a farther time, and then delayed from day to day, till the dissipation of those who should have been my judges.

SIR Henry Vane, according to the late order, was preparing to leave the town; of which having notice, I went to make him a visit at his house, where he told me that unless he were much mistaken, Monk had yet several masques to pull off, assuring me for what concerned himself, that he had all possible satisfaction of mind as to those actions God had enabled him to do for the commonwealth, and hoped the same God would fortify him in his sufferings, how sharp soever, to bear a faithful and constant testimony thereto. Monk having alarmed the parliament by the foresaid letter, and either not daring to trust himself at Whitehall, or thinking London a fitter place to pursue his design in, he retired with his forces into the city, where he mustered his men, and was splendidly entertained at dinner by the mayor and others. Hereupon the parliament, who endeavoured by all means to give him satisfaction, sent Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Luke Robinson, who had been their commissioners to him, as I mentioned before, to assure him of their good intentions towards him; but he having now fortified himself by the conjunction of the city, began to treat them in a manner much different from his former carriage, not admitting them without difficulty to his presence; and when he condescended to speak to them, his discourse tended always to the same purpose with his letter, aspersing the proceedings of the parliament, and amongst other things reproaching them with their favour to me, as Mr. Scot afterwards informed me: insomuch that he who had so lately undertaken to the parliament for Monk's integrity and fidelity to their service, began to lose all hopes of him. Yet for all his insolent carriage to the parliament and their commissioners, his party in the house had the confidence to move that he might be made general of their forces, the time limited by act of parliament for commissioning him with others to command the army in England and Scotland being almost expired. Many arguments were used to that end, though those which were most pressed were taken from the consideration of the present posture of their affairs. But the parliament still retaining some sparks of that courage with which they had been formerly animated, and having found by sad experience what miseries they had brought upon the nation and themselves by trusting Cromwell and others too far, chose rather to perish by the hands of an enemy,

enemy, if Monk should resolve to be so, than by the delusions of a pretended friend: and therefore, having rejected the proposition to make him general, they passed a vote that their armies in England and Scotland should be governed by commissioners, the number of them to be five, and any three of them to make a quorum. But that they might avoid as much as possible to give him the least just cause of discontent, they first agreed that he should be one of the said commissioners. Then they proceeded to the nomination of the rest, and chose Sir Arthur Haslerig, though he earnestly pressed them to excuse him, colonel Morley, and colonel Walton. These four being elected, it was visible that the balance of the commission would be in the fifth man that should be chosen, Monk having in a manner declared himself our enemy, and colonel Morley being sufficiently known to be of a temporizing spirit. Hereupon Monk's party in the house moved that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper might be the fifth commissioner, and on the other side the commonwealth party had resolved to use their endeavours for major-general Overton: but upon consideration of the differences that had been between him and Monk, whereby they feared he would not pass, they laid aside that resolution, and agreed to put up colonel Alured. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper being first named, was first put to the question, and by the majority of votes excluded. Colonel Alured being next proposed, the question was carried for him to the great satisfaction of the commonwealth party. Whereupon sitting by colonel Martin in the house, and being persuaded of the integrity of the major part of these commissioners, I desired him to move, that the command of the forces in Ireland might be inserted in this commission, which, upon his motion, was ordered accordingly; and the act being but short, was read thrice, and passed before the rising of the house: and this I did because I found no other probable way open to force the power in Ireland out of the hands of those that had usurped it. Though these proceedings did not a little disturb Monk, yet he endeavoured to disguise his dissatisfaction, and began again to court the members of parliament more than before, whilst, with the advice and assistance of his party in the city, he was forming a militia there, and nominating officers to command them, who were chosen for that purpose, rather on account of their disaffection to the parliament, than any other good quality to be found about them. Having received advice of these transactions, I acquainted Sir Arthur Haslerig with my information, and desired him to think of some speedy remedy, proposing, that he would cause our scattered forces to rendezvous forthwith; but Sir Arthur was so deluded by the hypocrisy of Monk, that he assured me he had given him all the satisfaction both by words and letters that a man could give, touching his integrity to the parliament, shewing me and divers other members of parliament, two letters, which he had lately received from him, wherein were many expressions of his zeal for the establishment of a commonwealth, with earnest desires that there might be no difference between them touching the way, seeing they were both intirely agreed in the same end.

MONK had taken up his quarters in the city at the house of one colonel Wall, where I resolved to make him a visit, in order, either to take him off from

from that prejudice, which by a clause in his letter to the parliament he seemed to have against me, or to make a more perfect discovery of his intentions; supposing that, being a member of parliament, he durst not attempt to seize my person, or if he did, that such an open violation of the privileges of parliament would awaken them to provide for their own safety. I found the house where he lodged as full of soldiers as it could well be, and passed through several guards before I came to the chamber, where he received his visits. He was at the time of my coming in a private gallery, conferring with Mr. Edmund Calamy and others of the clergy. When he had taken leave of them, I was admitted, and at first perceived him to be very shy of me: but after I had acquainted him, that the cause of my visit was in order to undeceive him, and to remove, if possible, the prejudices he seemed to have against me, he suddenly changed his countenance, and treated me with great familiarity. Whereupon I told him, That having always endeavoured to assert the authority of the civil magistrate in opposition to the tyranny of the sword, I was unwilling to have any difference with him, who had declared for the same things: I assured him, That I had publicly disapproved the answer of colonel Jones to that letter which he had sent to Ireland, directed to me, on supposition that I had then been in that country. I acquainted him with what I had done to preserve the Irish brigade from joining with the army-party, and how I had prevailed with them to engage to me under their hands not to fight against him, upon notice that he had espoused the cause of the parliament. I acknowledged, that I had displaced one of his relations in Ireland, not out of the least disrespect to him; but according to a rule which I conceived to be most just, that those might be restored to their offices in the army, who had been removed for their affection to the commonwealth, which was the case; his kinsman having been made cornet of major Dean's troop, and cornet Whalley displaced for the reason before-mentioned. Hereupon Monk said, That what I had done was most just, and that he never took any thing ill from me, either upon that or any other particular account. I then desired to know what reason he might have for entertaining any hard thoughts of me: to which he replied, That he had nothing to object against me but my favour to the fanatick party in Ireland. I told him that the party he meant had not acted as if they had been of the same opinion; for having signed an address to the parliament, whereby they engaged to be true and faithful to the civil authority, and delivered it into my hands to be presented on their part; the same men, notwithstanding their publick engagement and particular promises to me, had immediately after my departure signed an agreement with the army, thereby rejecting the civil power, and consequently me, whom the parliament had intrusted to command their forces in Ireland: that as I had never thought the profession of religion to be alone sufficient to qualify men for employments, if they wanted affection to the commonwealth; so I could not imagine which way religion should incapacitate persons for the publick service, who were not deficient in their fidelity and zeal for the common good. "Yea," said he, "we must live and die together for a commonwealth." I hearing him say so, told him, That I was informed he was
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much pressed to restore the secluded members, who being highly enraged, would not fail to bring all things into confusion, and possibly endeavour to bring in the king. "It may be," said he, "that they will attempt it, but they say they will not; and I assure you, though I bear as much respect to parliaments as any man, yet if I should observe a parliament to be about such a thing, I would interrupt them therein." Having spent about half an hour with Monk, I took leave; and as I went from him, I perceived one of his footmen to stand at the door of the room where we had discoursed, who I suppose was placed there by his master's order, to prevent me from dealing with him, as his conscience told him he deserved. He accompanied me to the foot of the stairs, and there parted with me, not without great shew of respect and civility; notwithstanding which, it was manifest to me through all his disguises, by the persons he favoured and advanced, by the company he kept, and by the course he steered, that he was not bound to that harbour he pretended; and could I have prevailed with the majority of the parliament to be of the same opinion, he should not have carried on his design so smoothly; but into such a desperate frenzy were we fallen, that many of the house, either through fear, or for what other reason I cannot tell, discovered themselves daily to be favourers of him; who had by this time so far advanced his affairs, that he resolved to pull off another mask: and to that end desired some sitting members of the house to give a meeting to some of the secluded members, in order, as he pretended, to give them satisfaction touching the justice of their exclusion, wherein he owned himself to be thoroughly satisfied, affirming to Sir Arthur Haslerig and others, that he did this only to answer the vexatious importunity of the secluded members. By this means he prevailed with Sir Arthur and some others to meet them at the time and place appointed, where the secluded members, and especially Mr. Annesley, reflected so indecently upon the proceedings of the parliament since their exclusion, that Sir Arthur hastily rose up, and designed to leave the company: but Monk, in a droling way, desired him to be patient till he should moderate Annesley, which, he said, he knew well enough how to do. Upon this Sir Arthur Haslerig sat down again, but the other proceeding in the same manner, he lost all patience, and rising up, he departed from the conference: Mr. Scot, Mr. Robinson, colonel Morley, and Mr. Rawleigh, staid there till the discourse was ended, and so did the chief justice St. Johns, who not discovering himself to be of either party, sat observing on which side the balance would fall, as if he had been still to choose. If the parliament had not been wilfully blind, these things would have proved sufficient to open their eyes. But to leave them without the least colour of excuse, it happened at this time that advice was brought to them from Ireland, that those who had usurped the power there, for whose fidelity Monk had engaged, and who moved not a step without his orders and directions, had published a declaration against them: the contents of it were more insolent than those of the letter which Monk had sent to the parliament before he retired into the city; for after they had reproached them with the favours they extended to men accused of high treason, and the discouragements they

laid upon those who had been sent to England to prosecute them, they openly told the parliament they could no longer own them for an authority, and therefore desired that a free parliament might be called to put an end to the confusions which their miscarriages had brought upon the nation. It was matter of amazement that such a declaration should be published by men that pretended to act by the authority of the parliament; but it was not procured without opposition: for when Sir Charles Coote and Sir Theophilus Jones, who were the principal confidents of Monk on that side, had prepared their paper and a party to back it, Sir Hardress Waller, who had been one of the late king's judges, fearing the consequence of such practices, moved that the council of war might be adjourned into the castle: but not being able to carry that point, he communicated his design to as many as he thought fit, and making an excuse to go out of the room, he hastened away, and retired into the castle. Major Stanley, lieutenant-colonel Warren, and some others, went immediately and joined themselves to him; and amongst them it was resolved to send out a party to seize Sir Charles Coote and his adherents. But he having notice of their intentions, had a party of his creatures ready; and being accompanied by colonel Theophilus Jones, mounted on horseback at the head of them, riding up and down the streets of Dublin, and declaring for a free parliament, which language was by that time sufficiently understood to be for the king. They were followed by a great rabble of the people, and thereby so encouraged, that they formed a design against the castle; and having posted their guards upon all the avenues, they sent a summons to Sir Hardress Waller to deliver the place into their hands. The governor, in his answer to the summons, endeavoured to convince them of the injustice of their attempt, reminding them of the declarations they had lately made to be true and faithful to the present parliament; desiring them to consider how much it was their interest to adhere to them, since it was under their authority that they had acted for so many years past against the late king and his family, and that their titles to the possession of the lands forfeited by the rebels were founded upon the same power. Having dispatched this answer to Sir Charles Coote, he clothed all the soldiers out of the stores, and distributed a sum of ready money amongst them to secure their fidelity, with promises of a farther gratuity, if they would stand by him: but Sir Charles Coote found a way to treat with some of the garrison, and after two or three days, by large offers and advantageous terms, prevailed with them to deliver their governor and the castle into his hands. By the expulsion of Sir Hardress Waller out of the army, two regiments fell into the hands of those that had seized the government in Ireland, for which Sir Charles Coote had some difficulty to find colonels, having already disposed of two to himself, one to his brother Richard Coote, another to his brother Chudleigh Coote, a fifth to his brother Thomas Coote, and a sixth to his cousin St. George. Which unequal distribution was so resented by some of his own party, that major Barrington moved at one of their councils of war, that a more equal hand might be kept in the disposal of employments. Whereupon Sir Charles Coote, after he had severely reprimanded the major, discharged

charged him from his command in the army. In the mean time Monk had desired the mayor of London to assemble the common council (though the parliament had dissolved them) and in defiance to their authority attended on them at Guildhall, excusing himself for what, he said, he had been constrained to do in the city by order of the council of state, and assuring them, that he was much troubled for that rigorous work. He declared himself ready to expose his person to all dangers for their service, and that he had not forgot the kind letter they had sent him whilst he was yet in the north: that he was then of the same opinion with them, but was obliged at that time to conceal it, till he might have an opportunity to discover his sentiments with better advantage. He also acquainted them, that he had sent a letter to the parliament, that they would fill up the house, and put an end to their sitting by the sixth of May. By this means he gave such encouragement to the cavalierish party, that the rabble of them, as he passed by from Guildhall, cried out for a free parliament; and perceiving him not displeased with their insolence, they made bonfires in London and Westminster for roasting the rump, as they presumed to call that parliament, who, in the five years time that they governed without interruption, had raised the glory of the nation from the dust wherein it had been buried by the negligence and corruption of the preceding governments, and had rendered the English name formidable to all Europe. This riotous disorder, how pleasing soever it was to Monk, yet it could not be properly charged upon him, because he had given no publick order for what had been done, and therefore he continued to declare as loud as ever how faithful he would be to the commonwealth. And though Sir Arthur Haslerig was informed of the foregoing particulars, and many other things that seemed fully to discover Monk's design; and though I earnestly importuned him to improve the little time that remained to prevent the threatened ruin, by a speedy reunion with our old friends, by adjourning the parliament to the Tower, and by drawing our dispersed forces together; yet he would not be persuaded to any thing of that nature, persisting still in his opinion, that all would be well, and that Monk would be honest. And that he might have no pretext to be otherwise, Sir Arthur doubting, by reason of the correspondence that continued between Monk and the secluded members, that, in case the writs for filling up the parliament should not be issued out by the time prefixed, he would take advantage of that failure to bring them into the house, laboured diligently with the parliament that it might be done to his satisfaction; and accordingly the bill was passed within the time limited. But the secluded members being grown confident of attaining their ends by another way, departed themselves at a much higher rate than they were accustomed to do; major Harlow, who was one of them, taking the liberty to say openly in Westminster-hall, that they would have their footmen chosen to supply their places. Sir Gilbert Gerrard also brought an action against colonel Alured, for denying him admision to the house after the last restitution of the parliament; but the colonel having acted by order of the parliament, they ordered the process to be stopped. Yet so low were the affairs of the parliament, and their authority so little regarded

even in Westminster-hall, that Sir Robert Pye, who had been committed to the Tower by their order, suing for his Habeas Corpus at the upper bench, and judge Newdigate demanding of the counsel for the commonwealth, what they had to say why it should not be granted, the counsel answered, That they had nothing to say against it. Whereupon the judge, though no enemy to monarchy, yet ashamed to see them so unfaithful to their trust, replied, That if they had nothing to say, he had; for that Sir Robert Pye being committed by an order of the parliament, an inferior court could not discharge him.

THE house having agreed to all things necessary for issuing out writs to elect members for filling up the parliament, ordered a warrant to be signed by the speaker, whereby the commissioners of the seal should be authorized to send out writs according to custom: but he refused to do it, pretending, that if he should sign any warrant to that purpose, he might be sued at law by every individual person, in whose room any other should be elected, and therefore desired that the house would pass an act to enable their clerk to sign the warrant; or, that the commissioners of the seal might issue out their writs of summons upon a general act to be passed to that end. It was answered, That the duty of his place obliged him to perform the commands of the house; that having received their order in that affair, he was thereby fully indemnified, and that he signed not the warrant in his personal, but in his politic capacity. But he would receive no satisfaction, persisting positively in his refusal, and submitting himself to their pleasure, if they should think fit to send him to the Tower, or to chuse another person to be speaker in his place. Whereupon the house condescended to pass an act to empower the clerk to sign the warrant to the commissioners of the seal: though for my own part, I was for taking the speaker at his word, and placing another person in the chair; and instead of sending Mr. Lenthal to the Tower, to have adjourned ourselves thither; but I could prevail with few to be of my opinion. This business being thus passed, and my doubts increasing touching the event of these things, I earnestly desired the house, that I might either be presently heard concerning the affairs of Ireland, and my own conduct there, or that a short day might be appointed when they would hear me without any farther delay, alleging, for the reason of my importunity, That though my enemies in that country had, by their late actions, manifested to all the world that their enmity to the parliament was much greater than to me; yet being uncertain what sort of men might soon have the principal influence in that house, I could not believe they would think it convenient that a charge of high treason, how frivolous soever, should be transmitted to them against one of their old and faithful servants. Mr. Thomas Scot thinking my discourse to reflect upon his son, who had commanded the forces before Duncannon, addressed himself to the speaker, and said: That though he would not undertake to answer for all who had opposed me in Ireland, yet he might affirm that one of them was their faithful servant. To which I replied, though contrary to the order of the house, all things there also beginning to fall into confusion, That I could not positively say who that one was that the gentleman who spoke last meant, but

but should suppose he intended his son, whom I assured them they could not think to be such a person as he had represented him, unless they esteemed the insurrection of Sir George Booth to have been for their service, he having attempted to justify the lawfulness of it in my presence. Upon this dispute, the speaker presuming he should be well seconded, ventured to discover his malice also against me, reminding the house of an order they had made for the surrender of Duncannon, to which, he said, he knew not that any obedience had been yielded; and therefore thought it necessary the house should be assured of that before any order were made upon my motion. In this disorder and confusion the house rose about six in the evening. The council of state sat late that night, and received advice, that the secluded members designed to force themselves into the house the next morning: thereupon they sent a message to Monk to acquaint him with the information they had, and required him to prevent it if it should be attempted. He returned for answer, to the council, That he was well assured no such thing was designed; but for their satisfaction, and to hinder it if endeavoured, he would not fail to double the guards that were to attend the parliament. But for all this, the secluded members, attended by divers of Monk's officers, went early the next morning to Westminster, and were admitted into the house by the guard he had placed there, who were more ready to defend than oppose them; and Monk having thus violated his promises, and abused the trust reposed in him by the publick, took up his quarters again at Whitehall the same morning. Being informed of these transactions, I resolved, for my own part, to give no countenance to the secluded members by sitting with them who had no right to any place in parliament, having been expelled the house by more than a quorum of lawful members. But that notice might be taken that I had not withdrawn myself from the service of the publick, nor was at the head of any forces, as was given out, I thought convenient to pass sometimes through Westminster-hall; where Mr. George Montague, who knew I declined to come to the house, meeting me, and asking me the reason of it, I answered, That having done as much as I could to serve the commonwealth, and seeing an impossibility of contending against the present torrent, I had resolved to absent myself from the place where the parliament used to meet, that I might publicly disown the authority of those who had violently possessed themselves of the house, and not seem to consent to the confusions they were bringing upon us. He replied, That in his opinion, the conditions upon which the secluded members had entered the house, were more dishonourable than those upon which others were gone out, and that he was not willing to sit among them, they having engaged to make Monk general of all the forces by sea and land, to settle a constant maintenance for the army, to appoint a new parliament to be chosen; and when these things were dispatched, to put a period to themselves within a day or two at the most. Yet some of the lawful members of parliament, either through fear or curiosity, or some other motive not known to me, went into the house and sat amongst them. Another part of them, being about seventeen in number, whereof divers of them were of the council of state, went

to Monk to be informed from his own mouth of the reasons of these proceedings. He received them with no less civility than formerly; and having understood from them the occasion of their coming, he made as solemn protestations of his zeal to a commonwealth-government as he had ever done, desiring them to believe, That the permission he had given to the secluded members to enter the house, was only to free himself from their importunity, and that he would take effectual care to prevent them from doing any hurt in that place. But these gentlemen having resolved to try him to the utmost, demanded farther, If he would join with them against Charles Stuart and his party: in answer to which he applied himself to Sir Arthur Haslerig, who was one of them, and said, "Sir Arthur, I have often declared to you my resolution so to do:" Then taking off his glove, and putting his hand within Sir Arthur's, he added; "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost, the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of peers." After this he began to expostulate with them touching their suspicions, saying; "What is it that I have done in bringing these members into the house? Are they not the same that brought the king to the block? though others cut off his head, and that justly."

THE secluded members having forced themselves into the house, took upon them the authority of a parliament, making votes and enacting laws as they pleased, which power they had hitherto constantly denied to be in a house of commons alone: but we must believe the case to have been much altered upon their return; and that a house of commons alone, without a king, or house of peers, might do any thing for betraying the publick cause, though it could not have any colour of authority to justify them in doing the least thing for the security of it. In pursuance of these principles, they passed an act to make Monk general of all the forces belonging to the parliament in England, Scotland and Ireland, both by sea and land, only they joined colonel Montague with him in the office of admiral; which, though Monk resented as a violation of the treaty he had made with the secluded members, yet he thought not convenient to insist upon the alteration of that particular. They continued the customs and excise, and laid other taxes on the people, borrowing great sums of the city of London on the credit of their acts. Monk took away colonel Walton's regiment of horse, and gave it to colonel — Howard; and having made choice of two hundred horse for his own guard, he appointed colonel Philip Howard to command them. He disposed of colonel Rich's regiment to colonel Ingoldsby; but before the order could be put in-execution, colonel Rich hoping he might prevail with his men, as he had done formerly, to declare for the lawful authority, he went down to the quarters where they lay. At his arrival most of them promised to remain faithful to him; but when colonel Ingoldsby came down, partly by his own interest among them, they having been under his command in the time of Cromwell, and partly by the torrent of the usurped authority, which then ran that way, he prevailed with the greatest part of them to desert their colonel; who finding himself abandoned by most of them, yielded the rest to him, and declared his resolution

tion to acquiesce. Captain Walcot, who had been an officer in my regiment, and by me preferred to be captain of a troop of horse when I sent our brigade into England, having gained an interest in the officers and soldiers by his good conduct, and supposing to find amongst them the same affection to the good old cause they had always manifested since their arrival in England, went towards Chester, where they were quartered; and being arrived within twelve miles of that place, he sent a letter to major Woodward, of whose fidelity to the parliament he thought himself sure, to acquaint him with his resolution of going to them. But so great a change had the late turn wrought in mens minds, that the major gave captain Walcot's letter to colonel Redman, who by Monk's order then commanded our Irish brigade, and who immediately dispatched a party of horse to seize the captain; which having done, in obedience to the order they had received, rather than from any inclination to such an employment, they gave him an opportunity to make his escape. Captain Walcot coming afterwards to London, went to Monk, and having delivered his opinion freely touching the publick affairs, and the usage he had lately met with, Monk fell into a violent passion against him; but soon recollecting himself, he treated him in a more civil manner, and gave him a passport to return into Ireland, where his family and estate lay, supposing thereby to render him less able to assist his enemies than if he should continue in England. The secluded members having forbidden the council to sit, chose one to supply their place, which was composed of Dr. Denzil Holles, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Mr. Crew, Mr. Swinfen, Sir William Lewis, Sir William Waller, colonel John Birch, colonel George Monk, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, colonel Norton, Mr. Knightly, colonel Herbert Morley, Sir Harbottle Grimestone, Mr. Arthur Annesley, Sir Richard Onslow, chief justice St. Johns, serjeant Brown, colonel Brown, &c. This new council was vested with large powers of imprisoning such as they suspected, and doing other things suitable to the designs then on foot. Sir Hardress Waller obtained of them, by means of his kinsman Sir William Waller, a permission to come over to England, and to be brought before them; where having subscribed an engagement to acquiesce, and to appear upon summons, he was discharged from custody. But Sir Charles Coote, who was well acquainted with the bottom of Monk's design, and conscious to himself how much he had exasperated the king's friends in Ireland by his constant opposition to them, having added to all the rest the execution of one Stuart, that was related to the royal family, thought he could never do things horrid enough to those of his own party, in order to reconcile himself to the other: therefore, that he might give them what assurances he could that he was wicked enough to be employed and trusted by them, he sent a party of horse and seized the chief justice Coke, to make some amends to his sacred majesty by that sacrifice. The grand design of destroying the commonwealth being so far advanced, Monk caused a declaration to be drawn in the name of the officers about London, and recommended to the rest of the officers in the three nations, declaring it to be their duty and resolution to submit to the authority that was over them, and to obey such orders as they should receive from them:
which

which when they were upbraided with, as a thing contrived to betray the publick cause, many of the officers shewed themselves so sensible of the consequences of it, that they earnestly pressed that a council of war might be called; making use of some reasons to persuade their general to it, but indeed to unite themselves to each other, and in a publick manner to express their resolutions to lay down their lives for the commonwealth. But Monk being informed of their design, dispersed them to their respective commands, to which they tamely submitted, notwithstanding the big words they had spoken without doors. Hereupon the secluded members suspecting Sir Arthur Hallerig to have had a principal hand in raising this spirit in the officers of the army, sent to him to take his place in the house where the parliament ought to sit, which to that time he had not done. Sir Arthur finding it impossible to resist the stream, being accompanied with divers members, went in to them; where, as I have been informed by some that were then present, he did not behave himself with that courage and resolution that usually attended him, but pleaded in his excuse the reverence he always had for the authority of parliaments, and endeavoured to justify himself touching any violations that had been made against it, assuring them of his intention to acquiesce under the present power. Major-general Lambert also, who had hitherto concealed himself in hopes of finding an opportunity to appear at the head of some party, and thereby to prevent the design of Monk, finding that the army had for the most part submitted to the authority of the secluded members, surrendered himself to the new council of state, in hopes of better terms from them than he could have promised himself from the former, who he thought would have been more likely to resent the force he had put upon the parliament; but they, contrary to his expectations requiring him to give security for his quiet deportment, upon his refusal so to do, committed him to the Tower.

MOST of the commonwealth-party were very sensible of the dangerous condition of their affairs; and that they might not be altogether wanting to their own preservation, and to the service of the publick, some of the principal persons among them had divers meetings; at one of which I took the liberty to make the following propositions: That seven of the council of state, and three of the generals that had been appointed by the parliament, should sign such orders as were necessary for putting our design in execution. That the regiment of colonel Moss which lay in Kent, and not far from London, and another which lay in the borough of Southwark commanded by lieutenant-colonel Farnly, consisting in all of more than 2000 old soldiers, of whose integrity and affection we had good assurance, should be ordered to march to the Tower to join with colonel Morley's regiment which was already there, and would be ready to receive them, having sent to me to let me know, that the Tower should be at my command whensoever I pleased to desire it: that the commanders of these forces should take with them provisions for six months, giving tickets for the quantity so taken, payable by the parliament of England: that the militia of London, which had been listed during the government of the parliament, should be authorized to meet as there should be occasion, to
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assist the forces in the Tower: that four or five places of rendezvous should be appointed for the forces of the army that lay scattered up and down in several parts of the nation; and that officers should be agreed upon to appear at the head of them: that the soldiers, both horse and foot, should have the liberty either to follow their old officers, or to appoint new: that those officers who should prevail with the major part of their men to follow them should continue in their respective posts; and that those that appeared heartily to promote this design, though they could not persuade the greater part of their soldiers to follow them, should have provision made for them equal to their merits: that the country militia, both horse and foot, should be authorized to draw together, and be impowered to seize and disarm such persons in the respective countries as were known enemies to the commonwealth: that the fleet should be ordered to declare at the same time, and to send one or two thousand seamen to the assistance of those in the Tower, which I conceived they might do without danger to the nation, because the enemy we were to contend with, was intestine, and not from abroad. I acquainted them that vice-admiral Lawson who commanded the fleet had declared his resolution to continue faithful to the parliament, which could not well be doubted by any that would reflect upon his former conduct, he having taken the oath for abjuring the king's family, and being one of the council of state. To this was added, that all persons who should act by the parliament's authority in this service, should be justified in so doing; that the governors of garrisons should be required to refuse obedience to any power which was not derived from the lawful authority of the parliament, whose place the secluded members had now usurped; and that a declaration should be forthwith prepared to shew the grounds and reasons, together with the necessity of these proceedings. Some of those that were present promised to advise with their friends of the council of state, and hoped that a quorum of them, as well as of the generals, might be found to put the things in execution that should be agreed on. But we being ripe for the correction of heaven, nothing could prevent it, our enemies succeeding in all their attempts, and all our endeavours proving abortive. In the mean time, the companies of London made a great entertainment for Monk, where the bargain they had driven with him was ratified and confirmed by dissolute and unbecoming debauchery; for it was his custom not to depart from those publick meetings till he was as drunk as a beast. After dinner a person was introduced, who in verse addressed himself to Monk for the return of the king, which he heard without reproof, though at the same time he protested to colonel Okey, who went to take leave of him in order to repair to his command, and desired to be satisfied of his intentions touching Charles Stuart, "That he would oppose him to the utmost;" and gave him his hand, before all the officers then present, as a pledge of his sincerity.

THE secluded members being convinced that the sword was likely to prove the best title they should find to their authority, prepared an act to settle the militia in such hands as they might safely trust, and took into their consideration how to settle the sum of one thousand pounds a year upon Monk, which

had been voted to be given him by the parliament. The thing in dispute was, whether the said settlement should be secured to him out of the king's lands at Hampton Court, as he himself had desired of the parliament, that he might lay them more profoundly asleep, or whether a sum of ready money should be paid to him in lieu of it. Divers of the members of parliament were for making good their former order upon Hampton-Court, and several of the secluded members hating the traitor, though they accepted the treason, concurred with them, that so the grant might be rendered useless to him. But his party amongst them was so great, that though it was carried to be out of the lands at Hampton-Court, yet, in conclusion, they obtained a vote that twenty thousand pounds should be paid him out of the publick treasury instead of it.

THE Irish officers also, who had assumed the civil as well as the military power, presented him with a pair of spurs and a hilt for a sword, all of gold; together with a rich hatband and an embroidered belt, to manifest their acknowledgment and acceptance of his good service in betraying the publick cause. The lord of Lauderdale, with other Scots who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Worcester, and continued in custody from that time, were set at liberty; and the secluded members gave order also to discharge Sir George Booth from his imprisonment, if he would engage to make his appearance upon summons; which he thinking to be injurious to him, who had endeavoured to do no more than they themselves were attempting, refused the condition; but was soon after released without entering into any obligation.

THE new council of state being informed of some designs against the usurped power, issued out warrants for apprehending divers officers of the army; and having some jealousy of others that were members of parliament, they procured an order of their house to authorize them to seize any member who had not sat since the coming in of the secluded members, if there should be occasion. And though these men could thus trample upon the privileges of that body, whereof they pretended to be members; yet to shew how zealous they were for presbytery, they ordered copies of the covenant to be fairly drawn and hung up in every parish-church throughout England.

THE lords perceiving which way things were turning, solicited Monk that they might take their places according to ancient custom in the house appointed for their sitting, alleging that nothing done by the commons without their assent could justly be esteemed legal. But it was not yet time for Monk to discover himself so openly, before the army was better prepared, and the new militia settled: and therefore he not only gave positive denial to their demand, but placed a guard of soldiers upon their house, to prevent the lords from acting the same part that the secluded commons had done.

MAJOR-GENERAL Overton still continued in his government of Hull, and suspecting Monk to be an enemy to the commonwealth, had hitherto refused to yield obedience to his orders. Whereupon the secluded members being well informed of the importance of the place, from the time they had ordered it to be kept by Sir John Hotham against the late king, impowered Monk to use all means

means to remove the major-general from that command. Monk, in pursuance of their directions, prevailed with colonel Alured, who was one of the generals appointed by the parliament, to go down to Hull, and to endeavour to persuade major-general Overton to quit the place. Accordingly he went down, and having acquainted the major-general with the reason of his journey, was presently put into the possession of it. It was matter of wonder to me that colonel Alured, in whom the commonwealth-party had reposed so great trust, would suffer himself to be employed in such a message to one of the most faithful servants of the parliament. But I was somewhat more satisfied when major-general Overton came to London, where he assured me that colonel Alured had neither said nor done at Hull any thing unbecoming an honest man; but that upon the news of the intrusion of the secluded members, the cavalier party in the town had so increased, and his own soldiers split into such divisions, that he had no hopes left of keeping it.

At this time it was disputed whether the secluded members should agree upon a settlement, or whether it should be left for a parliament to do: some were for calling in the lords who sat in the year 1648, that they, together with the commons, might enter into treaty with the king for a future establishment, which should be grounded chiefly upon the concessions made by the last king in the Isle of Wight. But Monk being earnestly desirous to bring back the king without any conditions, in hopes thereby to procure a recompence equal to the greatness of his treachery, prevented the success of that proposition; which part he acted so openly, that divers of the secluded and other members of parliament resolved to imitate him: and though all of them had engaged the nation in a war against the king, had contributed the utmost of their endeavours to carry it on, and called in the Scottish nation to assist them in it; yet upon a debate whether those of the king's party should be admitted to elect members for the succeeding parliament, it was, to the astonishment of all men but themselves, carried for the affirmative. Having done this, they ordered writs to be issued out in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, excluding such from being chosen who had served the king, which was contrived to lead the people blindfold to their own ruin, and to put some colour upon the cheat they were about to impose on them. For they knew that having given leave for the cavaliers to chuse, and by every step they had taken, manifested their malice against the commonwealth, it would certainly come to pass, that either the sons of those of the king's party, or at least such as had privately favoured that interest, would, for the most part, be chosen in that conjuncture, when the commonwealth-party were under the greatest discouragements, and could not appear with safety under the usurped authority. They understood also that though it should happen, contrary to the exclusion before-mentioned, that those who had been actually in arms for the king should be chosen and returned to sit in the house, yet we were not likely to procure them to be ejected at such a time as this; having not been able, without the greatest difficulty, to cast out, even from Richard's convention, those that had been in arms against us.

THE secluded members not thinking themselves secure, till they had put the militia into the hands of such as were enemies to the commonwealth, passed an act to that purpose, and ordered it to be printed and published: whereat the officers about Monk were so offended, that though they had lost all affection to the publick cause, yet suspecting that the forming such a militia, and entrusting it in the hands of commissioners that were known to be favourers of the king's party, might prove injurious, if not destructive to the army, by bringing in the son of the late king without them, they applied themselves to Monk, and earnestly desired that, in consideration of his own and their danger, he would prevent the execution of the said act. Whereupon he sent a letter to the pretended parliament, to let them know, that being informed of the disaffection of the commissioners nominated in the act they had passed touching the militia, he desired them to forbear the execution of it, lest the persons they had intrusted therein might erect such a power, in opposition to the army, as might be sufficient to bring in Charles Stuart. The letter being read in the house, caused a great perplexity amongst them, many not knowing what judgment to make of it, and some of them fearing that Monk would deceive them at last. But others understood him well enough; and therefore, notwithstanding his letter, Mr. Prynne went to the printer and procured the act to be immediately made publick, knowing it to be the desire of Monk that it should be so. Yet that they might correspond with him in his deceit, they sent Sir William Waller and one more to give him satisfaction concerning the particulars of the act, which he pretended to scruple. They acquainted him, that though there were many persons nominated in the act, who might be willing to do as was suspected, yet that by it none were permitted to act as commissioners, but such as should own the justice of the parliament's cause against the king to the year 1648, by subscribing a paper to that purpose. They also informed him that the said commissioners were not to appoint any colonels or captains to act in the militia, before they should be approved by the council of state. Monk, being willing to receive satisfaction, having sent the forementioned letter only at the importunity of the officers, resolved to be contented with this answer; though all men saw how little conscience the cavalier party made of signing any paper, in order to promote the interest of their faction.

THE act for the militia being passed, the command of all the forces and garrisons settled on Monk, and the fleet in his power in conjunction with colonel Montague, the pretended parliament authorized their council of state to provide for the publick safety on all emergencies, and to dispose affairs as they should think fit till the meeting of the next parliament. Which being done, and the house ready to pass the act for their dissolution, Mr. Crew, who had been as forward as any man in beginning and carrying on the war against the last king, moved, That before they dissolved themselves, they would bear their witness against the horrid murder, as he called it, of the king. This unexpected motion prevailed with many then present to deny their concurrence to that act against the king, though not to reflect in the
same

same manner on those who had been concerned in it: and one of them concluding his discourse with protesting that he had neither hand nor heart in that affair, Mr. Thomas Scot, who had been so much deluded by the hypocrisy of Monk, as I have already related, in abhorrence of that base spirit, said, That though he knew not where to hide his head at that time, yet he durst not refuse to own, that not only his hand, but his heart also was in it: and after he had produced divers reasons to prove the justice of it, he concluded that he should desire no greater honour in this world, than that the following inscription should be engraved on his tomb; "Here lieth one who had a hand and a heart in the execution of Charles Stuart late king of England." Having said this, he and most of the members who had a right to sit in parliament, withdrew from the house; so that there was not the fourth part of a quorum of lawful members present in the house, when the secluded members, who had been voted out of the parliament by those that had an undisputed authority over their own members, undertook to dissolve the parliament, which was not to be done, unless by their own consent; and whether that consent was ever given, is submitted to the judgment of all impartial men. This face of authority being vanished after a full discovery of the malignity of their intentions, I supposed the cruelty of their council of state would not fail to increase with their fears; and therefore, though I continued to pass sometimes through Westminster Hall, that they might see I was not withdrawn; yet I did not so frequently and publickly as I had done, changing my lodging from the house of one friend to that of another; and when I lay at my own house, taking the best care I could to secure myself from being surprized.

IN the mean time a considerable party of those who had been engaged against the king, resolved to raise a sum of money to pay such troops as should be willing to draw together against Monk and his partizans, and that two of their number should be bound for the peaceable deportment of major-general Lambert in the penal sum of five thousand pounds, so much being demanded by the council of state; which bond, if it should come to be forfeited, and the persons bound constrained to pay the money, it was agreed that the same sum should be discharged out of the publick stock. Mr. Slingsby Bethel was employed by the most eminent persons concerned in this design, to communicate their resolutions to Sir Arthur Haslerig, whom he attended at his lodgings to that purpose, and found him in a most melancholy posture, sitting in a chair, and leaning his head upon both his hands. Mr. Bethel asked him the reason of his trouble; and received for answer, That having been with Monk that morning, and pressing him to give him some assurance of his care of the commonwealth, reminding him of his oaths and protestations of fidelity to the cause, Monk had treated him in an unusual manner, and demanded how he could expect any thing from him, whom he had endeavoured to make less than he was before he marched to London? Sir Arthur added to the rest of his discourse to Mr. Bethel, "We are undone, we are undone." Thus he
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that had abandoned his old friends to support the interest of Monk, and would not be persuaded of the malignity of his designs, whereby he had lost many opportunities of recovering all, was at last deserted by him, and almost driven to despair. Mr. Scot also informed me, That he had lost all hopes of getting such a number of our council of state together, as should be necessary to put in execution the design which I had proposed; and that, having notice that the new council of state had resolved to seize his person, he designed to retire into the country, as well to secure himself, as to endeavour to be elected into the ensuing convention, which, by the vote of the secluded members, was to be called a parliament. These things put me in further doubt of my own safety, and moved me to provide for myself as well as I could. To that end I seldom lay at my own house after Mr. Scot's departure from London; and finding myself deprived of all means to serve the publick, and expecting the utmost extremities that malice could invent against those that had faithfully served their country, I resolved also to withdraw myself from the observation of the usurpers, and to go into the country. In pursuance of this resolution I departed from London, accompanied by my wife, in a small chariot drawn by two horses, having sent two servants before well mounted to attend me on the road, with a led horse for myself, if there should be occasion. The second day of my journey, early in the morning, we perceived one to ride very hard after us, who coming up to us, proved to be a person that waited on my mother, and was sent by our relations with letters to inform me of what had happened since our departure: that about an hour and half after we left London, a messenger from the council of state came to the house where I lodged, with an order requiring me to appear before them; assuring my relations he had the like orders for summoning Mr. Miles Corbet, colonel John Jones and colonel Thomlinson, commissioners of parliament for the affairs of Ireland, to attend the said council: that the messenger being earnest to know whither I was gone, that he might give the more certain account to those that sent him; my sister Kempson, doubting they might send after me and seize me, had refused to answer that question; and that my mother Oldsworth, fearing my sister's refusal might increase the jealousy of the council of state, and put them upon taking some extreme measures against me, had prevailed with my father-in-law her husband, to wait on the council the next morning, and to inform them whither I was gone, and the cause of my removal from London. Having received this account, and soon concluding that the council either had already, or would send speedily after me, I mounted my led horse, that I might be the better prepared to make my escape, if I should happen to be pursued; and lest they should have waylaid me on the road, I divided my little company, directing my wife with the chariot and two servants to take the common road by Bagshot, whilst I with a groom crossed the heath, and declined all publick roads: so that my wife and I met not, till towards the evening I perceived her coming by a private way, which it was necessary to pass before she could reach the house of my cousin Robert Wallop at Farley, where we had agreed to remain that night. There we found Mr. Nicholas Love,

Love, who had been one of the late king's judges, and who arrived there just before us. Soon after our arrival, Mr. Wallop, who had been at a manor called "Husbands" belonging to him, came home, and received us with his usual generosity and cordial affection, expressing no less zeal to the commonwealth than when it was in its highest prosperity. And though I acquainted him with the state of my affairs, and with the proceedings of the council in relation to me, he earnestly desired me to continue at his house: but I thought it not decent so to do; and therefore after two nights stay I took leave of him, and went to Sutton, where I lay with as much privacy as I could, having discovered that the master of the inn had been one of the late king's guard, and passionately affected to the cavalier interest. The next day I went to the house of my cousin William Ludlow at Clarendon, where I was informed that Mr. Bainton, whom I had promised to serve in the ensuing election, had desisted from his design, and that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Mr. Earnly were likely to be chosen. However, to make good my promise, I sent a letter to him to let him know I was come into the country, and to offer him what service I could, if he persisted in his intentions to stand for the county of Wilts. Having dispatched this message, and doubting the council of state might send to seize, or at least to summon me, I went privately from Clarendon to Salisbury, and took up my lodgings at the house of one Mr. Traughton, a minister of that city; where after I had been two or three days, I received a letter from my father Oldsworth, by which I understood he had been with those of the council of state, and having informed them that the design of my journey into the country was in order to settle my affairs there, they seemed to be well satisfied. He acquainted me also, that Mr. Miles Corbet, colonel John Jones, and colonel Thomlinson, had attended the council in obedience to their summons, and were not permitted to depart, till they had signed an engagement to give no disturbance to the present power. The consideration of this proceeding towards them, made me set a higher value on my deliverance from their hands than I had hitherto done. For if I had not left the town when I did, the summons from the council had been served upon me; and if I had not appeared, it would have been taken as a contempt: but if I had appeared, they would undoubtedly have tendered me the like engagement to sign, which I could not have done any more than that which was required from me by Cromwell, and so might have been imprisoned, and in all probability, detained till the return of Charles Stuart.

THE time of the election drawing near, I sent a messenger to Mr. Bainton for his last resolution in that matter, who returned me this answer, That having had a meeting with the gentlemen of the country at the Devises, he had resolved not to put his friends to the trouble of appearing for him, judging it the best way rather to swim with the stream than to be borne down by it. Being thus discharged of my engagement to Mr. Bainton, I went to Maiden Bradley, and held a court at Yardenfield, that I might raise what money I could amongst my tenants, by filling up estates and changing lives: which having dispatched, I went to my manor of Knoyle for the same end; and
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being there, was much importuned by the inhabitants of the borough of Hinden, part of the said manor, to be one of their burgesſes in the aſſembly that was to meet at Weſtminſter. Though I durſt not deſire any to confer ſo great a truſt on me, yet I confeſs it was no ſmall contentment to me, that they would manifeſt their reſpects to my perſon, and their remembrance of my ſervices, whatſoever they had been, in ſuch a conjuncture, when the cavalier party, with what deſign may eaſily be conjectured, had printed the names of the late king's judges, of which number I had the honour to be one; and when that intereſt was already become ſo prevalent, that the heir of the lord Cottington, though a papiſt and an idiot, had found a party ſufficient to put him into poſſeſſion of Founthil-houſe, which had been given by the parliament to the lord preſident Bradſhaw, and to maintain him therein by open violence, againſt the kinsman and heir of the ſaid preſident.

HAVING finiſhed my private affairs as well as I could, I was willing to have it believed that I was gone to Salisbury, and therefore ſet forward on that way; but to defeat, if poſſible, the malice of my enemies, I went not far before I quitted that road; and having ſent my chariot, wherein my wife was, to Salisbury, I mounted on horſeback, and paſſing over the hills that lie towards Somerſetſhire, I went to the houſe of my brother Strangways at Eaſt-Charleton, where I ſtaid about four days as privately as I could, my horſes being watered within the walls of the houſe, and the ſervants commanded to be ſilent concerning me.

THE time of election for the borough of Hinden being come, the perſons in nomination were Mr. How of Berwick, Sir Thomas Thynne, and myſelf. All agreed to chuſe Mr. How, ſo that the diſpute lay between Sir Thomas and me. The number of the electors was about twenty-fix, of whom I had nineteen voices, and was thereupon declared by the bailiff to be elected with Mr. How to ſerve for that borough. The indentures were ſigned, and the writ returned to the ſheriff according to cuſtom. But the agents of Sir Thomas Tynne being unwilling to loſe all their trouble and expence, and gueſſing, upon probable grounds, that if they could bring the caſe before the next aſſembly, they ſhould certainly carry it againſt me, ſigned another indenture for Mr. How and Sir Thomas Tynne, making up in number what they wanted in quality, taking the ſubſcriptions of the rabble, who not only paid nothing either to the ſtate, church, or poor, but alſo received the publick alms of the pariſh: and to gain theſe they were obliged to deſcend to the moſt unworthy artifices, affirming that I was already fled, and that they ſhould certainly be deſtroyed by the king if they elected me.

BEFORE I went into Somerſetſhire I had ordered one of my tenants, of whoſe fidelity I had good aſſurance, to find out ſome private houſe where I might remain till I could better diſcern what courſe to take. Having made a diligent inquiry, he came to me with an account that he had found out divers places, whereof I might make choice of that which I ſhould beſt approve for my retirement, which accordingly I did, and was received with hearty affection; and during the time I ſtaid there, enjoyed great ſatisfaction in the converſation

versation of the good man of the house, who was a lover of his country, possessor of an estate of about one hundred pounds by year in free land; above contempt, and below envy. After I had been with him about eight days, I thought I might without much hazard give my wife a visit at Salisbury; and accordingly I went thither in the night, and lay there. The next day being Sunday, news was brought to that place that major-general Lambert had made his escape out of the Tower, and that it was supposed he would be able to draw a considerable part of the army into a body speedily. Hereupon, not doubting that the utmost diligence would be used to seize Lambert, and knowing that those of Salisbury were informed that I was in those parts, I returned to my former lodging, where I had not been above two or three days, when the man that had assisted major-general Lambert in his escape, came to me with a message from him, to acquaint me that divers officers of the army had been with him; that they had agreed upon two places of rendezvous, and had dispersed themselves to their respective countries in order to put their design in execution; that they had received assurances that the greatest part of the army would join with them, and therefore desired that I would give orders for the forces in the western parts to draw together, and that I would meet him at the head of them in the county of Oxford. But I thought it not prudent to engage my friends in so publick a manner, till I should see some probability of making a stand, whereof I conceived I might give some guess by Lambert's first rendezvous, which was appointed to be about Daventry. In the meantime I dispatched messengers to several officers that commanded the forces in the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Wilts, to be ready to march if there should be occasion. I received assurance from a considerable party about Taunton, that the castle should be secured for the publick service, and had divers promises of the same nature from other places. The horse that lay at Salisbury began to stagger, and I doubt not would have been honest if they had seen a force sufficient to have made it reasonable for them to appear. About eight days after my return from Salisbury, one major Whitby came to me from major-general Lambert, to acquaint me with his intentions, and to consult with me concerning the best way of drawing together the forces on our side. He assured me, that about one thousand horse were already with Lambert, and that he had good assurance that most part of the army would join with him. Having received this information, and being willing to hazard all with major-general Lambert, or any other persons, if I might be satisfied they aimed at the good of the commonwealth, I desired to know what Lambert had, or would declare for, it being, as I thought, the duty of every man to inform himself of the justice of the cause before he engageth himself in it. Major Whitby answered, That it was not now a time to declare what we would be for, but what we would be against, which was that torrent of tyranny and popery that was ready to break in upon us. To which I replied, That the best way to prevent those mischiefs, would be to agree upon something that might be contrary to them, not so much in the name as in the nature of it,

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whereby we might justly hope to engage all good men to favour and assist us in our enterprize; and that the utmost care ought to be taken to convince the nation of the sincerity and justice of our intentions, especially since all men knew they had been so lately cheated by advancing a personal instead of a publick interest, and therefore not likely to be so easily taken with the same bait again. So having communicated to me what he had in trust, and having received my answer, the major departed; and two or three days after an account was brought to me, that major-general Lambert's party was dispersed, and himself taken prisoner by colonel Ingoldsby. To which defeat an accident that happened did not a little contribute; for some of Ingoldsby's party in their march had met captain Hallerig, son to Sir Arthur, and knowing his troop to be with Lambert, they seized him and brought him to colonel Ingoldsby, where, he said, that being dissatisfied with Lambert's design, he had quitted the party, and thereby hoped to be set at liberty. But Ingoldsby told him, that unless he would bring off his troop also from Lambert, his deserting them should be of no advantage to him. He promised to use the best of his endeavours to serve him, and thereupon was permitted to return to Lambert. When the two parties were ready to engage, he brought off his troop as he had promised to endeavour, which caused such a consternation in the rest of the party, that many of them went over to Ingoldsby, and most part of those who did not think fit to follow their example, shifted for themselves as well as they could, leaving Lambert talking with Ingoldsby, and endeavouring to dissuade him from engaging any farther against him. But colonel Ingoldsby perceiving that Lambert's party had abandoned him, rode up close to him and required him to yield himself prisoner, which, after a short hesitation, he did, desiring Ingoldsby's lordship, as he called him, to give him leave to escape. Colonel Cobbet, major Creed, and some other officers were taken prisoners, and with major-general Lambert committed to the Tower. Thus our enemies were those of our own house, and it was not the king's party that could destroy us; which, as it ought to be a subject of humiliation to us, so it can be no just cause of exaltation to them. Being thus deprived of an opportunity of appearing in the field for the service of my country, I resolved to go to London, and there to wait the pleasure of God, either by acting or suffering in his cause; where being arrived, I took up my lodging at the house of a friend who lived in Holborn, and endeavouring to learn what major-general Lambert designed to have done if he had kept his ground, I was informed, that he had prepared two declarations very different from each other, intending to publish that which might have procured him the greater party; but because it could not be agreed which of them was most likely to do so, he had thought fit to publish neither. Hitherto Monk had continued to make solemn protestations of his affection and fidelity to the commonwealth interest, against a king and house of lords; but the new militia being settled, and a convention, calling themselves a parliament, and fit for his purpose, being met at Westminster, he sent to such lords as had sat with the parliament till 1648, to return to the place

place where they used to sit, which they did, upon assurance from him, that no others should be permitted to sit with them; which promise he also broke, and let in not only such as had deserted to Oxford, but the late created lords. And Charles Stuart, eldest son to the late king, being informed of these transactions, left the Spanish territories, where he then resided, and by the advice of Monk, went to Breda, a town belonging to the states of Holland: from whence he sent his letters and a declaration to the two houses by Sir John Greenvil; whereupon the nominal house of commons, though called by a commonwealth writ in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, passed a vote, That the government of the nation should be by a king, lords, and commons, and that Charles Stuart should be proclaimed king of England, &c.

M E M O I R S

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EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;

THE LAST PART.

WITH A

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

WHEN the former part of these memoirs were published, the author's friends had no design of letting the rest of his papers go abroad; as well because those already printed contain the most remarkable transactions that passed during the whole time that England was governed without a king, as because much of this following part consists of things relating to his own person. But the good reception which the other volumes have found in most parts of Europe, and the incessant inquiries of divers persons of worth and honour concerning these remains, has induced the friends of the author to think that the publick might have just cause to complain, if they should be denied the view of the following papers. And indeed, after a careful perusal of them, they find, if they mistake not, that they will afford such instructions as may prove not unserviceable to the world. For men will see, that though the most violent animosity and desire of revenge had so possessed the English court against those who had any part in the death of Charles I. that they thought the most base and treacherous ways of compassing their ends not to be rejected; yet many years were spent, many villains unsuccessfully employed, some of them punished, much treasure consumed, and more infamy contracted, whilst they could not find means to assassinate more than one of all those who had withdrawn themselves from their fury; and that the principal person against whom they directed their

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T H E P R E F A C E.

malice, lived to see that tyranny brought to the last degree of contempt, which had taken so much pains to destroy him. The tragical end of the king's judges may be an instruction to those who shall in future time appear in the defence of liberty, to avoid all occasions of division, to use their power with moderation, and to content themselves with such a share in the publick felicity, as may be consistent with the publick safety. Men may learn from the issue of the Cromwellian tyranny, that liberty and a standing mercenary army are incompatible. For 'tis as clear as the sun at noon-day, that the parliament, by neglecting to put a period to the exorbitant greatness of Oliver Cromwell immediately after the battle at Worcester, drew destruction upon themselves and the whole commonwealth; and gave the army such an opportunity to feel their strength as naturally led them to counsels destructive to the government. This produced that monstrous tyranny of the usurper and his basbas under the name of majors-general, and afterwards compelled the people to suffer the return of Charles II. The ingratitude of that prince to the Presbyterians, who had so well deserved from him by betraying all into his hands, may serve to admonish those who go under that, or any other denomination of religion or party, that no trust can be safely reposed, where there is found an incompatibility of manners and principles; and that a revenge taken against those who will not let us possess all, is a slender satisfaction for the hazard of utter ruin. But these, and perhaps many other more useful reflections, judicious men will be much better able to make, than others to suggest.

Berr, March 26,
1699.

M E M O I R S

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E D M U N D L U D L O W, Esq;

THE convention at Westminster having thought themselves sufficiently authorized to alter the government, by virtue of which they had been called together, and rewarded Sir John Grenvil for the message he had brought, the proclamation for the readmission of monarchy in the person of Charles Stuart, was published on the eighth of May, in the presence of the new general George Monk. Bonfires were made, the bells were rung, and much happiness expected from this change. The officers of the army subscribed a declaration, and presented it to Monk to be sent to the king, in which they expressed a resolution to become true and faithful subjects, and to accept of the king's grace and favour, according to the tenor of his late declaration from Breda. Whilst these things were doing, I kept myself private at the house of a particular friend, till I might better understand what the issue was like to be; for the council of state had, on the day I arrived at London, sent orders into the West of England for seizing my person, which probably might have been served upon me, if I had returned by the usual road. Fifteen commissioners were appointed to be sent to Breda to compliment the new king, and to attend him in his passage to England, five to be nominated by the lords, and ten by the commons. But every man expecting some mark of favour to be conferred on him for this service, great contentions arose among the members for that employment. To these, many others, especially of the looser sort of men, added themselves; and some, to make an early offer of their subjection, and to provide themselves of favour and places, went over before the commissioners, and being one day with their king in his apartment, boasting of their loyalty and services, he called for wine, and applying himself to the duke of York, drank to the health of those gentlemen, with this remark, That he was now even with them, having as he thought done as much for them as they had done for him.

THE committee of privileges and elections having declared me to have been duly returned to serve for the Borough of Hinden in the county of Wilts, and made their report, which was agreed by the house, I received an order for my admission to sit as a member, but clogged with this unusual clause, "That I should attend my duty in the house, and take my place by a certain day;" which would be within ten days after the date of the said order. Suspecting that the reason of this insertion might proceed from some information given by the council of state that I had withdrawn myself, I thought fit to make my application to Mr. Arthur Annesley, knowing him to be a leading man among them, as well to give him satisfaction touching the cause of my absence, as to learn from him what might be the reason of that addition. And though I well understood, that being now declared to be a member of that which was called a house of commons, no other power could seize me without breach of their privileges; yet the same council of state still sitting, which had procured from the secluded members a power to seize any member that did not sit, and considering that things were carried on with the utmost treachery, I sent a servant to let him know I would wait on him at night. He received me with great civility, and having conducted me to his apartment, I acquainted him, that the end of my coming to him at that time was to assure him that my late privacy did not proceed from any design that I had on foot against the present power; but that finding the wheel to go round so fast, that it was difficult to guess where it might rest, I thought a man, who had been engaged with the first against the king, and always zealous for a commonwealth government, might be excused, if he was unwilling to be found in prison at the king's return; especially since it was well known that a warrant had been signed for my seizure: and therefore I desired he would favour me to inform those that were in power, with the true reasons of my absence. He answered, That though I had been zealous in the way I mentioned, yet that he and others were well satisfied, that my intentions were directed to the publick good; and though he could not blame me for taking measures to avoid a confinement, yet he assured me that a hair of my head should not suffer any more than his own. He then acquainted me with the passages that had happened in the house upon the report from the committee touching my election: that though nothing was said against it; yet because I was the person concerned, who, as they said, had constantly opposed them, and withdrawn myself out of their protection, a vote of the house had probably passed against agreeing with the committee, if he had not stood up and desired the house, "That they would not do an act upon a personal distaste, of which they would be ashamed when they should better consider the matter: that justice ought to be impartial, and that nothing being alleged against the report of the committee, it ought to be taken for good: that if the person concerned had done any thing amiss, he being a member ought to answer it in his place." This motion being seconded by Mr. Matthew Hale, prevailed with the house to allow the report with the addition before-mentioned. He took this occasion to tell me, that there was a young head-strong party in the house, who in all debates were for the most violent courses,

courses, and that it would be very difficult to keep them in order: yet advised me to take my place in the house as soon as I could. I thought fit to follow his council, not only to undeceive those who thought I would continue in my retirement, but also by coming among them before I was expected, to disturb the measures of those who waited for my ruin. I chose to go into the house early in the morning, and immediately went up into the speaker's chambers, where I was no sooner sat down, when major Robert Harley came to me and desired, that if any thing should be objected against me by any member of the house, which he supposed would happen, and that the house should require me to answer, I would by all means forbear to say any thing in justification of the proceedings of the high court of justice against the late king, because it would not be suffered. I told him, that unless I was constrained, I saw no reason to mention that matter: but in that case, though it should cost me my life, I could not prevaricate.

SOME of the members, who during the time of the parliament's prosperity had gone as high with them as any others, now reproached me with the present condition of affairs; to whom I contented myself to reply in general, That if they liked it not they might thank themselves; and that as to my own particular, my conscience did not accuse me for contributing to the change, or not using my endeavours to prevent it. Others said, They had frequently admonished us that things would be brought to this pass, by rendering the foundations of our party too narrow. But to these I answered, That they knew my principles and practices to have been such in that respect, as had drawn upon me the censures of many. Divers of those who in Richard's convention had joined with the commonwealth-interest, now appeared to be totally altered, whilst others who had opposed them at that time, now wished for Sir Henry Vane and some others to balance the royal party. But those who had continued in their fidelity to the publick cause, though they durst not speak out by reason of the present torrent, yet shook their heads to express their dislike of the present affairs.

THE commissioners who had been voted to be sent to Breda being to be nominated that day I took my place in the house, divers members solicited me to insert their names in my paper. But though it was my fortune to be one of this convention, that I might not altogether neglect my own preservation; yet resolving to have no part in betraying the commonwealth, by re-establishing the government, against which I had engaged, and contracting the guilt of that blood which had been shed in the late wars, I determined to put in no paper of names. To this end I went out of the house; but the serjeant at arms being commanded by the speaker to call in the members to be numbered, and seeing me, was very earnest with me to return to the house: I told him, I designed not to put in any paper; and therefore it was not necessary I should be numbered. In the mean time, the serjeant received fresh orders to summon the members, and repeating his importunity with me, told me plainly, If I would not go into the house, he would inform the speaker of my refusal; which had he done, it is probable I should have been sent to the Tower. But having de-

fired him to enquire of some ancient member, whether it was necessary for one who would put in no paper, to be numbered with the rest; he went to Mr. Pierrepont, and serjeant Glynn, to ask the question; who, I suppose, satisfied the serjeant it was not necessary: for looking down from the gallery, I perceived both of them to smile whilst he was with them; but especially because I heard no more of that matter.

THIS business being over, the house fell into a debate touching persons to be entrusted with the great seal. All agreed in Mr. Tyrrel; but it was objected against serjeant Fountain, that though he had been formerly for the king, yet he had of late shewed himself a great promoter of the reformation of the law. Many pressed that the earl of Manchester might be one of the commissioners; but others who were better informed of affairs, objecting, that it would be a dishonour to the earl, to be put into a place, which they assured the house was already given away to another person, no more was said concerning him. In the afternoon I went to the committee of elections, which sat in the house: another day I sat with the members in the abbey to hear a sermon, and endeavoured in all things so to carry myself, as to give no occasion to suspect me to be under any apprehensions of danger; hoping by this means to discourage my enemies from moving any thing against me, which I knew the cavalier-party inclined to do out of principle; and divers of those who had served the parliament, would not fail to comply with, from a prudential care of themselves; hoping not only to make their own peace, by sacrificing those who had been most faithful to the publick, but also to procure favour and preferment for themselves.

DURING this time, I had sent orders to my bailiff in Ireland, to sell my stock, which in sheep, black cattle, corn, and horses, might amount to about fifteen hundred pounds, and to collect the rents that were due to me from my tenants. But he being negligent, I made over my stock to my brother-in-law, colonel Kempson, for satisfaction of my sister's portion, pressing him to send some person forthwith to take possession; which not being done with the expedition that was requisite in such a conjuncture, Sir Charles Coote, without any order or pretence of authority from the parliament, made seizure of all; forcing my tenants to pay my rents to him, and commanding my servant not to dispose of any part of my stock but by his order: only four stone-horses which I had bred, and were then in my stable, were taken away by colonel Theophilus Jones; these men who had engaged in the same cause, outdoing our enemies in rage and cruelty to us.

IN the convention things went high, men not daring to shew moderation lest it should be called disaffection to the king; but in private, divers members of both houses declared themselves of opinion, that a general indemnity ought to be granted for all that had passed, without any exception. The earl of Northumberland was heard to say, That though he had no part in the death of the king, he was against questioning those who had been concerned in that affair; that the example might be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future kings, by deterring them from the like exorbitancies. And the lord Fairfax on that subject

subject plainly said, That if any man must be excepted, he knew no man that deserved it more than himself, who being general of the army at that time, and having power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the king, had not thought fit to make use of it to that end. Divers also of the commons moved that limitations and conditions might be drawn up, on which they should consent to receive their king; till at length finding that Monk, who had the power in his hand, gave constant intelligence of all that was said and by whom, none of them durst insist any farther on those heads. And that he might complete his treachery, when the lord Say proposed to him, that for the quiet of men's minds, an act of indemnity should be passed, in which some of those who had been principally concerned in the death of the king might be excepted; he in a great rage answered, "Not a man; for if I should suffer such a thing, I should be the arrantest rogue that ever lived." Yet for all this, under colour that the house might have better terms from their king, by relying on his ingenuity, than by capitulating with him, especially at a distance, he had the confidence to move them, That their commissioners might be empowered simply to invite him into England. Which motion concurring with the opinion of the unforeseeing cavaliers among them, and disliked only by those who had not courage enough to publish their dissent, for fear of exposing themselves to a future revenge, was taken for the sense of the whole house, and so passed.

SIR Charles Coote having opened the bloody scene by the seizure of the chief justice Coke in Ireland, a party of the Staffordshire militia, commanded by one colonel Bowyer, thought themselves sufficiently authorized to act in the like manner; and therefore seized major-general Harrison, with his horses and arms, he having refused, upon advice of their intentions, to withdraw himself from his house, accounting such an action to be a desertion of the cause in which he had engaged; though many precepts and examples might be produced, even from the scriptures, to justify men who endeavour to avoid the cruelty of enemies and persecutors, by removing themselves where they may be protected. For that only can properly be called a desertion of the cause, when men disown it to save their lives, and not when they endeavour to secure themselves by lawful means, in order to promote it. But I shall not take upon me to censure the conduct of the major-general, not knowing what extraordinary impulse one of his virtue, piety, and courage, may have had upon his mind in that conjuncture. Sure I am, he was every way so qualified for the part he had in the following sufferings, that even his enemies were astonished and confounded.

THE king's party in the house of commons having got such an ascendent, that it was no longer safe to oppose them, drove on furiously, and procured a resolution to be passed for seizing the persons of all those who had signed the warrant for the execution of the late king; which though carried with all possible privacy, yet being not destitute of friends among them, I had timely notice of their intentions: and because I doubted not that the house where I lived would be suddenly searched, I went to another in Southampton-buildings, belonging to one of my relations, where I had appointed some friends
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to meet me in the evening, and to bring me an account of what had passed at Westminster. When I came to the house, I found my friends had been in great pain for me; the time that I had appointed for our meeting being passed by almost two hours, through the fault of my watch. Upon the account I received of the state of our affairs, we entered into a debate concerning the course I should take to preserve myself from the danger that threatened me; and the company advised that I should forthwith remove from the house where I was, because the entrance was in so publick a place that it was probable I might have been observed at my coming in: for this reason I consented to go immediately to the house of another friend, which was not far distant, and had a back gate leading to several other houses, with an intention to stay there till night, and then to repair to a more private place in London, which had been prepared for me some days before. Night being come, and I ready to depart, my friend, though not insensible of the danger that might ensue by entertaining me, would by no means let me go, alleging, that on the night of that day, when a resolution of such importance had passed the house, the watch in London would not fail of their accustomed diligence. This being seconded by some of my nearest relations, who also advised me to stay, I was contented to acquiesce; and the next morning was informed that the watch had hardly permitted any coach to pass into London without some kind of search.

THE order for seizing the king's judges, not producing that sudden effect the commons expected, provoked them to such a degree, that they commanded their real and personal estates to be forthwith seized in an extraordinary manner, contrary, I presume, to the known laws, which provide that no confiscation shall be made till after conviction. But it ought not to seem strange, that those who had so far parted with their prudence, to recall from a twelve years banishment, the son of a father whose head had been publicly taken off, and invest him with the government of a nation, where this had been done, should be no more solicitous for the privileges of their countrymen.

THE house having received information, that major-general Harrison was brought prisoner to London, they ordered him to be sent to the Tower, and that all his horses, which had been taken from him by those who had seized him at his house, should be brought to the stables in the Meuse, for the use of their king. Chief justice Coke being also sent to London by Sir Charles Coote, was by another order committed prisoner to the same place.

IN the mean time the commissioners sent from England to attend the new king, arrived at Breda, where Mr. Denzil Hollis, according to the instructions he had received at Westminster to impart their message to the king, going about to execute that order, was interrupted and ruffled by Mr. Henry Howard, brother to the earl of Arundel, who said, It was insolent in him to pretend to that honour, which belonged to another of the commissioners, and named one that was his own kinsman. But Mr. Hollis affirming, That the house had entrusted him with their compliments and desires, the king thought fit to make up the difference, and to suffer Mr. Hollis to perform his part. Fifty thousand pounds were sent over by these commissioners to pay the debts of the
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king, and to equip him for his journey to England, together with considerable sums of money for the dukes of York and Gloucester. Divers private persons also had taken care to make their presents. Among others, Mr. William Lenthal, late speaker of the parliament, had commissioned a friend to give the king three thousand pounds from him, and to desire that he might continue master of the rolls; but the person he had employed was told, That the place was already promised to another.

WHILST these things were doing in Holland, the house of commons were preparing a bill of indemnity with all possible diligence, that it might be ready to pass at the arrival of the king. They unanimously agreed, that some of the king's judges should be excepted both as to life and estate, the remaining dispute being only about the number. Some proposed, that all might be excepted, others would be contented with twenty, and many with thirteen: but Monk, who had betrayed them all, expressing his desires to be for moderation, they were reduced to nine, which that boutefeu Pryn, contrary to the orders of the house, undertook to name. Yet I was so far obliged to him, that my name was not upon his list. Monk at last prevailed with the house to bring the number to seven.

COLONEL John Jones, who had acted as a member of the high court of justice, being walking one evening at some distance from his lodging to take the air, was seized, and sent prisoner to the Tower by order of the house; together with Mr. Gregory Clement, another of those judges, who had concealed himself at a mean house near Gray's-Inn. But some persons having observed that better provisions were carried to that place than had been usual, procured an officer to search the house, where they found Mr. Clement, and presuming him to be one of the king's judges, though they knew him not personally, carried him before the commissioners of the militia for that precinct: one of these commissioners, to whom he was not unknown, after a slight examination, had prevailed with the rest to dismiss him; but as he was about to withdraw, it happened that a blind man who had crouded into the room, and was acquainted with the voice of Mr. Clement, which was very remarkable, desired he might be called in again; and demanded, If he was not Mr. Gregory Clement. The commissioners not knowing how to refuse his request, permitted the question to be asked; and he not denying himself to be the man, was by that means discovered and sent to the Tower likewise.

MANY of the judges passed over into Holland and other parts beyond the seas, divers of them not without great danger of being surprized. Of these, Mr. Cornelius Holland being at Colchester, in order to depart with the first occasion, the mayor of the town was informed that a suspected person was lodged at a certain inn; and that they supposed him to be major-general Lambert. Upon this notice the inn was searched, and his horse with other things seized at four in the morning: but Mr. Holland was already gone abroad to receive a sum of money from a merchant of that place, who was to begin a journey to London early that day; and having received advice of what had passed at the inn,

inn, he was by the favour of a friend conveyed out of town, and by that means made his escape.

THE new king being suddenly expected, great numbers of those who had been officers in the cavalier army, or were otherwise zealous for him, procured horses and clothes, for the most part upon credit, and formed themselves into troops under the lord Litchfield, lord Cleveland, and that apostate Brown the woodmonger, in order to attend him at his reception. And news being brought that he was put out to sea, Monk, accompanied with a guard of horse, marched to Dover, and received him at his landing: the king embraced him, kissed him, and called him Father; and it might be truly said, that in some respects they were very nearly allied. At Canterbury the king presented him with the George and Garter; the first was put on by the duke of York, the other by the duke of Gloucester. And because it was suspected that the army which had fought against him, might still retain some of their former inclinations, it was resolved that the king, with his brothers, should lodge at the house of colonel Gibbons, one of their officers, at Rochester. Many knights were made in this journey, and bonfires were to be seen in great numbers on the road; the inconstant multitude in some places burning the badges of their own freedom, the arms of the commonwealth. Monk's army was drawn up on Blackheath, and by the best judges was thought to deserve the fool's coat rather than the soldier's casaque.

THE lord-mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of the city, treated their king with a collation under a tent, placed in St. George's Fields; and five or six hundred citizens clothed in coats of black velvet, and (not improperly) wearing chains about their necks, by an order of the common-council, attended on the triumph of that day; with much more empty pageantry which I purposely omit: but I must not pass over the folly and insolence manifested at that time by those who had been so often defeated in the field, and had contributed nothing either of bravery or policy to this change, in ordering the soldiery to ride with swords drawn through the city of London to Whitehall, the duke of York and Monk leading the way; and intimating (as was supposed) a resolution to maintain that by force which had been obtained by fraud.

THE lords, with those who sat in the house of commons, received the king at Whitehall after this tedious cavalcade, where the speakers of both houses loaded him with compliments; and took the best care they could to make him believe himself to be the best, greatest and bravest prince in the whole world. His answer to them was short, by reason, as he said, of his present discomposure, caused by the great acclamations he had received in his passage, which yet he pretended had been very agreeable to him, as they were expressions of the affections of his people.

MOST of those who had attended this entry, finding the streets through which they had passed to be full of people, returned to the city by the way of Holbourn; by which means I had a view of them from the house where I then was. And, I confess, it was a strange sight to me, to see the horse that had formerly belonged to our army, now put upon an employment so different
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from that which they had at first undertaken; especially, when I considered that for the most part they had not been raised out of the meanest of the people, and without distinction, as other armies had been, but that they consisted of such as had engaged themselves from a spirit of liberty in the defence of their rights and religion: but having been corrupted under the tyranny of Cromwell, and kept up as a standing force against the people, they had forgotten their first engagements, and were become as mercenary as other troops are accustomed to be.

THE dissolution and drunkenness of that night was so great and scandalous, in a nation which had not been acquainted with such disorders for many years past, that the king, who still stood in need of the presbyterian party which had betrayed all into his hands, for their satisfaction, caused a proclamation to be published, forbidding the drinking of healths. But resolving, for his own part, to be obliged to no rule of any kind, he publickly violated his own order in a few days, at a debauch in the Mulberry-garden; and more privately at another meeting in the city, where he drank healths to the utmost excess till two in the morning.

THE bill of indemnity being not yet finished, the commons, out of a tender care for their own persons and estates, resolving to make it ready with all diligence, proceeded to the nomination of the seven persons who were to be excepted for condemning the late king to death; and having agreed that major-general Harrison, John Lisle, Esq; and William Say, Esq; should be three of that number, it was contrived that a letter should be brought to Monk at that instant (not without suspicion that he was the author of the design, to the end I might be inserted) informing him, that I was in arms at the head of several hundred men, in one of the islands called the Holmes, and had declared against this convention. The letter being communicated to the house, who were ready to give credit to any thing of that nature, had probably answered the end of the contrivers of this design, if something, of which I was not informed, had not obliged them to adjourn abruptly. Yet upon this alarm, one of my friends in this house, who had served in the king's army, and to whom I had been formerly useful at the time of his composition, came in a great surprize to one that was his sister-in-law, and also related to me, acquainting her with the report; and telling her, that he had engaged many members, that were of the king's party, to be for me; but that, if this should prove to be true, neither they nor he could possibly serve me; and therefore desired her to give me notice with all diligence of what had passed, that I might take some course to satisfy the parliament of the falsehood of this rumour. She promised him to endeavour so to do, and in the mean time assured him that she knew the report to be false. Upon this assurance, which he immediately reported to the party above-mentioned, I am inclined to believe it chiefly came to pass, that when they proceeded to complete the number of seven, who were to be excepted both for life and estate, and had agreed that colonel John Jones, Mr. Cornelius Holland, and Mr. Thomas Scot, should be added to the three before-mentioned, a motion being made by one colonel Skipwith, that I might be the seventh

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man, he was not seconded: so that another member proposing colonel Barkstead, and no man daring to say any thing either in extenuation of the pretended crime, or commendation of the persons concerned, he was voted to fill up the number. Chief-justice Coke, who had been solicitor to the high court of justice, Mr. Broughton who had been clerk, and Mr. Edward Dendy their serjeant at arms, were also excepted in the same manner. And that no means of gratifying the passions of our enemies might be omitted, having already, under pretence that some of the late king's judges were fled, ordered their estates to be seized; it was contrived by the creatures of the court, who were a great part of the house, that a petition should be drawn and presented to the king, to issue out a proclamation for requiring all those of the late king's judges and others therein named, to surrender themselves within the space of fourteen days, under pain of exception from the benefit of the act, both for life and estate.

THIS petition having had its rise from the court, and on that account received with joy by the king, soon produced a proclamation as had been desired, which being published near my lodgings, I heard the officer distinctly, as he read it aloud to the people. But I found it difficult to resolve what to do: for though the message from Breda had declared the king would be satisfied, if some few persons who had an immediate hand in the death of his father, might be excepted from the indemnity: yet finding himself now possessed of the throne, it was visible to all men that he used the utmost of his endeavours to influence the house of commons to greater severities than were at first pretended; and partly for rapine, partly for revenge, to except a great number of those, who had taken part with the parliament, from any benefit of the act except only as to life, their estates being declared to be confiscated to the king. Among those who appeared the most basely subservient to these exorbitancies of the court, Mr. William Prynne was singularly remarkable, bringing in a clause for excepting all those who had taken the oath at the council of state for abjuring the family of the Stuarts, which the clerk undertaking to read without any order of the house, Mr. Clergies brother-in-law to Monk, perceiving that vice-admiral Lawson would by this means be excluded from pardon, and knowing that Monk had engaged to bring him off clear, most sharply rebuked the clerk for his officiousness, and with the help of his friends put a stop to that motion.

THE commons being acquainted, by Sir Harbottle Grimston their speaker, that Mr. William Heveningham, Mr. Simon Mayne, and others of the late king's judges had rendered themselves into his hands according to the late proclamation, ordered them to be in the custody of the serjeant at arms attending the house: which when some of my friends and relations heard, they consulted what might be best for me to do in this conjuncture. Some were of opinion I should surrender myself as others had done. Others were unwilling to advise in a case wherein my life was concerned; yet gave some obscure intimation, that if they were in my condition, they would not put themselves into the hands of their enemies: and one of them, who was not unacquainted with the publick affairs, gave it for his opinion, that I should by no means render myself.

Of this I received an account by my wife. But not being in the number of the seven who were to be excepted, and my affairs by reason of the sudden change altogether unsettled, I was willing to improve the present opportunity, and if I might have no favour in relation to my estate, yet to settle at least my private affairs as well as I could. To this end, I inclined to surrender myself according to the proclamation, and drew up a petition containing in substance, That whereas I had engaged with the parliament on the behalf of the commonwealth, and had discharged the trust reposed in me with as much tenderness to those of the contrary party as my fidelity to the parliament would permit, providence having ordered that the former government should be re-established in this nation, I thought it my duty, as a member of the commonwealth, to declare my resolution to submit to the present powers, that I might with the rest of the good people of England enjoy the benefit of their protection. Having signed this paper, and presuming upon the friendship of Mr. Annesley, I sent it to him by my wife, desiring his advice. But he being lately sworn a privy counsellor, and with his condition altering his manners, when he had perused the paper, he delivered it again to my wife, and said, That the lieutenant-general was very good at drawing letters of recommendation. My wife told him, That what was contained in that paper was as much as my conscience would give me leave to say; and received for answer, That then I should do better to say nothing; which was not altogether without reason; for some of those who had petitioned the house, and not acknowledged themselves guilty of a fault, were for that cause excepted, who otherwise, as men thought, would not have been so treated.

THERE being some relation between the earl of Ormond and me, I directed my wife to apply herself to him on this occasion. He received her with great civilities, and made her large promises, pressing her with great importunity to acquaint him if I were in England. But she desired to be excused in that particular, as a thing not proper to be communicated to any person in such a conjuncture. In the mean time, my friend, whom I mentioned before, continued to advise, that I should not by any means render myself, affirming that the house of lords would not fail to make some addition to the exceptions, and that some of them had intimated that I was likely to be one. Being not a little surprized with this information, though the reasons above-mentioned inclined me to surrender myself, yet I was unwilling to expose my life to the fancies of such an uncertain sort of men; and therefore, by my direction, my wife went to Sir Harbottle Grimston, and acquainted him with the state of my affairs, and the doubts which I lay under, of which he seemed very sensible, communicating his thoughts very freely to her, and telling her, That it was his opinion the lords would rest satisfied with what had been done; but if they should not, it would be the most horrid thing in the world, should the house of commons agree with them in excepting any man who had rendered himself; but withal acquainted her, that the house was so composed, that no man could undertake to tell what they would not do; adding, that he should dine that day with Mr. Hollis and other leading men of the parliament, and that he would inform

himself from them, touching that particular, of which he would then give her the best advice he could. The time which he had fixed being come, my wife went to him again, and was informed by him, that he had been with that company he had mentioned to her, and had found them all to be of opinion, that the house would never be guilty of so unworthy an action; and therefore advised her to persuade me to come in, giving her an order under his hand to secure me from any seizure in my way to him, and promising to speak to the serjeant at arms to be moderate in his demands of caution for my appearance. Under the favour of this warrant I went to a place where divers of my friends were, in order to seal some writings for settling my private affairs, which was the principal motive that had prevailed with me to render myself; and having dispatched that business, I went to the speaker's chamber; who being not there, I took Mr. James Herbert, a member of the convention, with me to the house of the serjeant at arms, where finding that he had received orders from Sir Harbottle Grimston concerning me, Mr. Herbert gave his word for my appearance, till I should procure personal security. This engagement made me very uneasy; for I thought myself obliged, whatever might become of me, to take care that Mr. Herbert might not suffer for his friendship to me. But after two or three days, I prevailed with the serjeant to accept of the security I had provided: they were my uncle colonel Thomas Stradling, who had been constantly of the king's party; and by being engaged for some debts of his brother Sir Edward Stradling, had ruined his fortune: the second was colonel Edward Sutton, one knighted by the king since his return, and who had no other estate than in the right of his wife: the third was one Mr. Etherington, who had been possessor of a considerable estate; but for many years past had not been worth any thing: the fourth was Thomas Ashton, a citizen of London, who had been my tailor; but was now in the same condition with Mr. Etherington. Colonel Sutton was arrested as he was coming to me, and by that means prevented; Mr. Etherington being furnished with a clean band, hat, and cloke, passed without dispute; so did Ashton, and of colonel Stradling there was no colour to doubt. I gave the two first a little money, with which they were well pleased; and I was abundantly satisfied that this business passed thus over.

WHEN Sir Harbottle Grimston had reported to the house, that I had rendered myself, and desired to know their pleasure concerning me; some of my friends moved that I might be continued in the custody of the serjeant at arms, which being put to the question, was accordingly ordered. Whilst these things were doing, my lady Vane told my wife, That Mrs. Monk had said, she would go upon her knees to the king, and beg that Sir Henry Vane, major-general Lambert, and lieutenant-general Ludlow, might die without mercy; and one of my friends who frequented the court, assured me, he heard Monk saying to the king, that there was not a man in the three nations more violent against him, or more dangerous to his interest than I was; to which the king made answer, That he had been otherwise informed by many of his party, who had received civilities from me in their troubles. But that which made me most
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ensibible of my danger, was, that secretary Maurice, with whom I had been acquainted for some time, not knowing that I had rendered myself to the speaker, told a person whom he knew to be my friend, that wherever I was, I should do well to be upon my guard; for if I should be taken, I was a dead man.

SOME members of this convention, who had engaged to do me all the good offices they could, presuming the house would proceed forthwith to impose certain fines upon those of the late king's judges who had rendered themselves; and therefore desiring to see a particular of my estate, that they might know how to moderate my fine when it should be debated, I drew it up as well as I could at that distance from my papers, and sent it to them. And now my friends supposing my business to go on prosperously in the house of commons, began to apply themselves to the lords on my behalf, in case they should add any farther exceptions to the bill of indemnity; and received promises of assistance from all they thought fit to ask, except only the earl of Northampton; who said to my wife's father, that I had been a great enemy to the king: however, I made the best use I could of this time in settling my private affairs; and my brother Kempson had prevailed with my lord Broghil to write to Sir Charles Coote, that my stock might be delivered to him upon security to be responsible where it should be adjudged to belong. But Coote was so far from satisfying either his own conscience or the lord Broghil in this matter, that fearing I might be in a condition to call him to account for the injustice he had done to me, he wrote a letter to the king; in which having first inveighed against me as the most bitter of all his enemies, he informed him, that dining with me one day at my house, I had assured him, that Cromwell had not proceeded to extremities against the late king, if I had not pressed him, and almost forced him to that resolution: and for confirmation of the truth of this, he desired that the lord Broghil, who, he said, had dined with me the same day, might be interrogated. But when the king asked my lord Broghil concerning this business, he protested, he had not charged his memory with any such thing; adding, that he thought it unbecoming a man of honour to remember any thing to the prejudice of a gentleman who had spoken freely at his own table.

THE army being not yet disbanded, the king thought convenient in some measure still to cajole the presbyterian party; and therefore Mr. Richard Baxter, and Mr. Edmund Calamy, were appointed to be his chaplains in ordinary. But he could not forbear, on some occasions, to discover his contempt of the men of that sort, particularly when Mr. Case, who thought he had deserved highly of the king, would have pressed with his usual freedom into his presence; and being denied entrance, had sent in his name, though in answer to his importunity he was admitted, yet by the carriage of those who were present, and derided his habit and unmannerly way of approaching the king, he might easily perceive how disagreeable his company was in that place. Yet the king having demanded what he had to say, he told him he had a word of advice to his majesty; and going on to persuade him to a care of his party, he

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was interrupted by the king, who said, he did not remember that he had made him one of his council. However, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Manchester, the lord Roberts, and Mr. Denzil Hollis, were sworn of his privy council; and the earl of Manchester made chamberlain of the household. But Monk, for a reward of his treachery to those who had entrusted him, not only received the garter, but was continued to be general of all the forces; and obtained the parchment honour of duke of Albemarle, with divers pensions and lands of great value. To these favours was added the charge of master of the horse, which by the industry of his wife, who having been an exchange-woman, knew how to drive a bargain, was by the sale of places improved to the utmost advantage.

HAVING acquainted those who had answered for my appearance at the time when they entered into that obligation, of my intentions to withdraw myself, if I should find my life in danger; I took care at all times when the house was fitting, lest I should be surprized and seized by an order from them, to cause the gates of my house, which were divers, to be well guarded; and for the most part retired to some other place during that time. When the house was up, I used to take more liberty, having daily advice from some members of what had passed among them.

THE bill of indemnity being brought to the lords, a great contention arose concerning the number of persons to be excepted; the widow of Dr. Hewit, with Mrs. Penruddock, and divers others soliciting them with such importunity for particular satisfaction, on account of their relations who had been put to death, that they found themselves obliged to appoint a committee to hear their demands. The lords also were inclined to revenge their own order on the persons of some in the high court of justice, by whom some of their number had been condemned, and to except one of the judges for every lord they had put to death; the nomination of the person to be excepted being referred to that lord who was most nearly related to the person that had suffered. According to this rule, colonel Croxton was nominated by the next relation to the earl of Derby, major Waring by the kinsman of another, and colonel Titchburn by a third: the earl of Denbigh, whose sister had been married to the duke of Hamilton, being desired by the lords to nominate one to be excepted, in satisfaction for the death of his brother-in-law, nominated a person who had been some time dead, of which some of the house being informed, they called upon him to name another; but he said, that since it had so fallen out, he desired to be excused from naming any more. This action, though seeming to proceed from chance, was generally esteemed to have been voluntary, the earl of Denbigh being known to be a generous man, and a lover of his country.

AND now the royal party, in the house of lords, began to discover their intentions to except all the king's judges from the benefit of the indemnity, which was communicated to me by Sir John Winter, secretary to the queen-mother, in a visit he made me at my house: he also informed me, that Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and the marquis of Argyle, had been seized and
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sent to the Tower by the king's order. In conclusion, he said, That whilst the king was treating with Monk about his restitution, and considering that I was then at the head of the parliament's forces in Ireland, he had acquainted him, that he had no greater difficulty to encounter than how to prevent me from obstructing the design; and that he would have given me any conditions, to have been assured of my service: from all which considerations, he advised me rather to withdraw myself, than to submit to the mercy of my enemies.

COLONEL Ingoldsbey, on account of his service, in the suppression of the party that had followed major-general Lambert, was not excepted from the act; nor colonel Hutchinson, though he had been as zealous against the late king, at the time of his trial, as any other of his judges. But having joined with Monk in his treacherous design, he had obtained a pardon from the king, whilst he was beyond sea. It was agreed in the house, that colonel Adrian Scroop and colonel Laffels should have the benefit of the act, paying one year's value of their estates. Major Lister was not inserted, as was supposed, by the credit and interest of Mr. William Pierrepont; and colonel Thomlinson was excused upon information given to the house by Mr. Seymour, that the late king, when he waited on him a day or two before he suffered, signified to him his pleasure, that the colonel should receive favour on account of his civil carriage to him, during his confinement. But the son would not think this to be sufficient for his exemption: declaring to some about him, That he ought of all men to be excepted, because he had an opportunity, and a fair offer to let his father escape, which he refused. On this ground the earl of Litchfield moved for his exception; but the earl of Bristol being engaged for Thomlinson, and presuming to be better acquainted with the king's intentions, undertook to reprove the earl of Litchfield so sharply, that the dispute had almost ended in a quarrel.

THESE contestations and delays in finishing the act of indemnity and oblivion, made the people not only murmur, but begin to doubt, that nothing of that nature would be passed for their security; especially after the earl of Bristol had made a speech in the house of lords, which, according to his manner of ostentation, he caused to be printed; where, after much boasting of his important employments abroad, he desired that the act might pass with the exception only of those who had a hand in the death of the king, who, he moved, might be more particularly described in another bill to be drawn for that purpose. By which no man could know whether he intended not, that not only his judges and the members who sat after the year 1648, with those who petitioned for justice against him, but even all those who had in any way contributed to make war for the parliament should be excepted. But the court having not yet disbanded the army, would not venture too far in irritating the people; and therefore pressed that the bill might be hastened to a conclusion.

GREAT endeavours were used by the friends of those who had been excepted in the house of commons, to procure them to be omitted by the lords: and the earl of Litchfield soliciting the lord Sturton for his vote in the behalf of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, received his promise to that effect, on condition

tion he would engage to be for me on the like occasion. Of this the lord Sturton informed me in a visit he and his lady were pleased to make me in that conjuncture.

HAVING observed which way the lords inclined, I drew up the state of the case, as well as I could, of those who had rendered themselves upon the proclamation, accompanied with such reasons as then occurred to my thoughts, why the house of commons should not agree to any enlargement of the exceptions made by them: this paper I designed for the press; but having sent it to Mr. Henry Martin for his opinion, he returned for answer, That unless my name were subscribed, the house of lords would not fail to call it a libel; and therefore advised that it should be presented in the form of a petition, upon which I laid it aside.

DIVERS messages were sent from Whitehall by Hyde and others to the lords, for the dispatch of the bill; but meeting with little success, by reason of many obstructions that were continually laid in the way, the king came in person to the house, and pressed them to expedition, thanking the lords for excepting those who had been the judges of the king his father; "Who," said he, "were guilty of such a crime, that they could not pardon themselves, much less expect it from others." By which he not only manifested his own revengeful temper, and the little regard he had to the promise he had made in his proclamation from Breda, to refer himself wholly to the parliament for pardoning what had been done during the late troubles; but his imprudence in this so early violation of the privileges of the parliament, by taking notice of what was depending in the two houses, before it came to be judicially presented to him; and by that means fomenting a division between them concerning an affair in which he himself was principally interested. He told them, "Other ways might be found to meet with those who were of turbulent and factious spirits;" insinuating, if I mistake not, that his intentions were not to be guided by the direction of the laws, but that he had some secret reserves to render the act of indemnity insignificant; concluding with desires, that they would be careful to make provision for his Irish subjects, who had manifested great affection to him during his exile; expressing the same zeal in the latter part of his speech for the bloody Irish rebels, as he had done in the former, against those who had dared to defend the liberties of England. And by this means the Irish grew immediately to that confidence, that one Fitzharris publickly affirmed in Westminster-hall, that they were the best subjects the king had; and for that reason should be soon restored to the possession of their lands; of which the house being informed, they committed him to the Gatehouse; but after two days, he was, by the prevalency of the court faction, discharged from his imprisonment.

THE king, who had not only an inclination to re-establish the Irish in their estates, but had by a treaty formerly made with them, obliged himself to that condition, found no small difficulty to carry fair with those of the army, who were concerned in the confiscated lands. He was not willing to send any one into that government, who should be ungrateful to the Irish; and durst not employ

employ such as he and they desired, for fear of the English: for an expedient therefore, it was proposed that the lord Roberts should be sent as deputy to Monk, who, when he contracted to sell his masters, had desired the lieutenancy of Ireland for himself: but being told, that if he would have that employment, he must go over and execute it in his own person; he thought not convenient to accept it on those terms, apprehending that it would be no hard matter to supplant and ruin him in his absence. However, the lord Roberts had the title of deputy, and was addressed by that name; but finding he had only served for a present occasion, he desired to be recalled from that employment.

FINDING my friends to grow every day more apprehensive of the dangers that threatened me, I removed from my house; and on this occasion received a signal testimony of the friendship of chief justice Coke, who being little solicitous for himself, solemnly protested in a message he sent me, that if he were in no hazard on this occasion, he would willingly lay down his life to secure mine, who, he was pleased to say, might be more useful to the publick, than he could hope to be.

THE earl of Antrim, an Irish papist, and principally concerned in the rebellion of that country, had been seized at the same time with the marquis of Argyle, though for a different reason; the former for his services in the cause of liberty and religion, the other for unseasonably affirming, that the Irish were authorized by the late king to act as they had done. Both these lords coming to London to congratulate the restitution of the king, were sent to the Tower; the laird of Swintown was also made prisoner, and sent in custody to the same place. The cause of his seizure was at first reported to be for designing to stab the king, as he was pretending to cure the disease called the king's evil: but afterwards they changed their language, and gave out, that it was for deserting the Scots after the battle of Dunbar, and rendering himself to Oliver Cromwell. Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haslerig were also seized, under the pretext that they had endeavoured to persuade divers officers of the army to form a party in order to oppose the present power. But this soon appeared to be a fiction, and that the design was to take away their lives by any means; the king, when he heard they were in custody, offering to lay a wager they should not escape. Colonel Axtel, who had behaved himself honestly and bravely in the service of the commonwealth, was about the same time trapp'd by a cavalier, under pretence of treating with him for the purchase of some lands, and sent prisoner to the Tower.

THE lords being pressed, as I mentioned before, to dispatch the act of indemnity, came at last to this result, touching the twenty persons proposed by the commons to be excepted from all other benefit of the act, except only as to life, that Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, major-general Lambert, and colonel Axtel, should be excepted both as to life and estate; the other sixteen to be made incapable of any office or employment in church or state. The news of this resolution being carried to the king by the duke of York, the duke of Buckingham, and Monk, he openly expressed his joy; and when they told him, that the chief justice St. Johns had narrowly escaped, he wished he had

been added also; of which particulars I had received information by a person of honour then present, immediately after they had parted.

THE next thing to be considered, was how to treat those of the late king's judges who had rendered themselves upon the proclamation, which held no long debate; those who were inclined to do that which was just, decent and reasonable, being far the lesser number: yet the earl of Southampton had the courage to move, That since it was not thought fit to secure the lives of those who had been induced to surrender their persons upon the faith of the proclamation, they ought at least to give them the like number of days for saving themselves, as were appointed by that paper for their coming in: but Finch, who had formerly fled from the justice of the parliament, opposed that motion, and said, That by that means they might be enabled to do more mischief (as he knew had happened in his own case): upon this, Mr. Thomas Challoner, with those of the judges who had rendered themselves, were put into the exception for life and estate; Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Robert Wallop, the lord Mounson, Sir James Harrington, Mr. James Challoner, and Mr. John Phelps, were excepted from receiving any benefit of their estates, and subjected to such farther punishments as should be inflicted upon them, their lives only to be preserved: colonel Hacker, who was one of those to whom the warrant of the high court of justice, for the execution of the king had been directed, together with Mr. Hugh Peters, and the two persons who were in mask upon the scaffold when he was beheaded, were excepted by the lords both for life and estate.

THE bill with these alterations being sent down to the house of commons for their concurrence, they seemed unwilling to sacrifice those, who, upon invitation and promise of favour, had rendered themselves; and therefore refused to consent to the exception of Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, and major-general Lambert from the benefit of the act as to their lives; some of them saying in the house, That those gentlemen having had no immediate hand in the death of the king, there was as much reason to except most of themselves. Yet they agreed to except colonel Daniel Axtel, Mr. Hugh Peters, and the rest as desired. And to shew their readiness to gratify the revenge of those at the helm with the blood of as many as they could find any colour to abandon; being informed that Mr. John Carew, who had not at all concealed himself, had been seized by a warrant from a justice of the peace; that his name being mistaken in the warrant, and the officer refusing to detain him till that error should be amended, Mr. Carew had told him, that he was, as he conceived, the person designed to be seized, and therefore acquainted him with the place to which he was going; yet for all this (though happening within the fourteen days limited by the proclamation, and on the way to London, where such persons were directed to render themselves) the major part of the house of commons voted this not to be a surrender, and excepted him both in life and estate. Mr. Gregory Clement being already a prisoner in the Tower, was put into the same condition; and colonel Adrian Scroop, though he had rendered himself within the time limited by the proclamation,

and though the commons had declared themselves contented with the forfeiture of a year's value of his estate; yet upon information from that renegade Brown, of some private discourse between them, in which the colonel, as he said, had justified the part he had in doing justice upon the late king; they condemned him without a hearing, and added him to the exception both in respect to life and estate: an action of such a nature, that I shall forbear to give it the name it deserves. But the king, not satisfied with these sacrifices, greedy of revenge, and forgetting his message from Breda, encouraged his creatures in the house of lords to insist upon their exceptions; but the commons being averse to break the publick faith in every particular, a conference of both houses was appointed; in which some of the lower house pressing the promise of the proclamation, the chancellor presumed to affirm, That the proclamation was only in the nature of a subpœna; but the commons were not satisfied with this definition.

HAVING received advice from divers persons of honour, that the court was enraged that I had not been excepted, and that Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, had declared his resolution to move the house that their prisoners in the serjeant's custody might be committed to the Tower, my servants having also acquainted me that the serjeant had endeavoured to inform himself if I continued still at my house, I resolved not to appear any more in publick; and having the offer of a house near Richmond for my retirement, I went down thither, where I passed some days very quietly, and had the advantage of walking in the park. Having one day made an excursion as far as major-general Lambert's house at Wimbleton, I perceived words to this effect written on the outside of a banqueting-house, "The way to ruin enemies, is to divide their councils;" which lesson had he practised, the confusions brought upon the nation had possibly been avoided.

DURING these contests between the two houses, touching the exceptions to be made, Sir John Bouchier, who had been one of the king's judges, and had rendered himself within the time limited by the proclamation, being of a great age and very infirm, was permitted to lodge at a private house belonging to one of his daughters. In this place he was seized with so dangerous a fit of illness, that those about him who were his nearest relations, despairing of his recovery, and presuming that an acknowledgment from him of his sorrow, for the part he had in the condemnation of the king, might tend to procure some favour to them from those in power, they earnestly pressed him to give them that satisfaction. But he being highly displeased with their request, rose suddenly from his chair, which for some days he had not been able to do without assistance; and receiving fresh vigour from the memory of that action, said, "I tell you, it was a just act; God, and all good men will own it." And having thus expressed himself, he sat down again, and soon after quietly ended his life.

THE court-party among the commons, though they could not bring the house to an entire violation of the publick faith; yet so far prevailed, that they consented to sacrifice the estate and liberty of Sir Arthur Haslerig; and that

Sir Henry Vane, with major-general Lambert, should be excepted both for life and estate, with this reserve, that if upon trial they should be found guilty, the two houses then to join in a petition to the king for the pardon of their lives. But the lords finding they could not bring the commons to a full compliance in the matter of exceptions, desired another conference; which being agreed, the chancellor, after he had endeavoured to persuade them, that the difference between the two houses was rather in form than substance, offered for an expedient, that no sentence to be pronounced against any of those that had been added by the lords, should be executed otherwise than by act of parliament; telling them he assured himself they would accept this proposition, and hoped also that none of the king's judges, who, after their surrender, might withdraw themselves from their protection, should participate of this favour; which last clause I took to be particularly levelled at me, having been informed that the serjeant's deputy, attended with soldiers, had very lately searched my house.

AT last the commons, partly from inclination and partly for their own safety, consented to pass the alterations as they had been made by the lords; (or rather by the king) which business being over, the house ordered the serjeant at arms to deliver those of the king's judges, who were in his custody, into the hands of the lieutenant of the Tower. They were colonel Adrian Scroop, Mr. William Heveningham, Mr. George Fleetwood, colonel James Temple, Mr. Peter Temple, Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Simon Mayne, colonel Thomas Wyte, colonel John Downs, colonel Vincent Potter, Mr. Henry Martin, colonel Edmund Harvey, alderman Isaac Pennington, Mr. Gilbert Millington, colonel Robert Lilbourn, Mr. Augustin Garland, and colonel Owen Roe. Sir Hardress Waller, who had been in France, returned to England upon the proclamation, and rendered himself; but finding his surrender not like to answer his expectation, he had withdrawn together with alderman Titchburn from the serjeant at arms; yet upon farther consideration, they both came in. So that when, by the order of the house, the serjeant was called to give an account of his prisoners, and had acquainted them I was not to be found, a motion was made to add my name to those who were excepted both for life and estate: but one Mr. Swanton a member of this house, and my countryman, moving, That before they should proceed to extremities, they would examine the bond I had given for my appearance, to see if I had broken the condition; they let it drop for that time, hoping that by this seeming gentleness I might be persuaded to submit.

INFORMATION of these things being sent to me by the above-mentioned Mr. Swanton and colonel Henley, who was also a member, I repaired privately to London, in order to consult with my friends touching the course I should take in this conjuncture. Upon which my wife went to Sir Harbottle Grimston, then speaker of the house; and finding him still to persist in his advice for my surrender, she took the liberty to say, That she apprehended great danger in that counsel; because she thought those, who, to gratify the court, had already so far receded from their own resolutions, and permitted,
that

that persons who had rendered themselves upon the faith of the late proclamation, should be excepted both as to life and estate, though with the limitation mentioned, might justly be suspected of being capable to be drawn yet farther; and to consent, that, after they should be declared guilty, an act might pass for putting the sentence in execution. But though it were supposed that this house would never be induced to such an action; yet they might be dissolved, and the persons excepted kept in prison, till such should be procured to sit in that place who would not be so scrupulous; especially since it was visible that the clause of limitation was so doubtful, that it might afford a pretence for interpreting it to be intended, not only of this, but of any parliament that should think fit to use their power against the persons excepted. The speaker seemed much offended with this discourse; and going down the stairs with her, told her he would wash his hands of my blood, by assuring her, That if I would surrender myself, my life would be as safe as his own; but if I refused to hearken to his advice, and should happen to be seized, I was like to be the first man they would execute, and she to be left the poorest widow in England. But another of my friends who was well acquainted with the designs of the court, and had all along advised me not to trust their favour, now repeated his persuasions to withdraw out of England, assuring, That if I staid I was lost; and that the same fate attended Sir Henry Vane and others, notwithstanding all engagements to the contrary. He added, That there was a design on foot to seize the estates of all those who had been outlawed in the late king's time, of which number my father having been one, it would be difficult for me to escape ruin on that account. The advice of my friend, whom I had always found to be entirely sincere, and knew to be well informed of affairs, was of great weight to induce me to resolve upon departing from England; in which resolution I was confirmed by the friendly counsel of the lord Offery, eldest son to the marquiss of Ormond, who with divers others that had observed the inconstancy and irresolution, to say no worse, of those in the house of commons, in sacrificing Mr. Carew and colonel Scroop to the revenge of the enemy, concurred in giving the same advice.

THE time appointed for my departure from England being come, after I had settled my affairs in the best manner I could, and taken leave of my dearest friends and relations, I went into a coach about the close of the day, and passing through the city over London-Bridge to St. George's Church in Southwark, I found a person ready to receive me with two horses, one of which I mounted and began my journey. My guide was so well acquainted with the country, that we avoided all the considerable towns on the road, where we suspected any soldiers might be quartered; and the next morning by break of day we arrived at Lewis without interruption. On the Tuesday following, a small vessel being prepared for my transportation, I went on board; but the wind blowing hard and the vessel having no deck, I removed into another that had been provided for me by a merchant of Lewis, and was struck upon the sands as she was falling down to receive me. This vessel had carried over Mr. Richard Cromwell some weeks before, and lay very commodiously for my safety

safety on that occasion; for after I had entered into her to secure myself from the weather, till I might put to sea in the other, the searchers came on board my small vessel to see what she carried, omitting to search that in which I was, not suspecting any person or thing to be in her, because she was struck upon the sands. But the storm still continuing, and the men thinking not fit to put to sea, we continued in the harbour all that day and the night following; the master, who had used the ports of Ireland whilst I had been in that country, among other things, enquiring if lieutenant-general Ludlow were not imprisoned with the rest of the king's judges; to which I answered, That I had not heard of any such thing.

THE next morning we set sail, and had the wind so favourable, that we arrived in the harbour of Diepe that evening before the gates were shut; where going ashore, I was conducted by the master, to the house of one madame De Caux, to whom I was recommended, where I was received with all possible demonstrations of civility; the gentlewoman leaving it to my choice, either to continue at her habitation in Diepe, or to go to her house in the country; which last I chose to do, as well that I might enjoy the liberty of taking the air, as to avoid the Irish, who were in great numbers in the town, and who probably might have seen me in Ireland when I served the parliament. I had not been many days in this place, when I received letters from England, with a printed proclamation enclosed, taking notice, that I had withdrawn myself from the officer's custody, forbidding any person to receive or entertain me under pain of high displeasure; requiring all persons to seize and secure my person, and proposing the sum of three hundred pounds as a reward for those who should perform this service. These letters, accompanied with the earnest desires of my friends for my removal to some place more distant from England, obliged me to think of leaving that place; and accordingly having prepared myself for my journey, and taking leave of the good family where I had been so kindly received and entertained, I set forward for Geneva, and passing by Rouen, a place of great trade, and the seat of one of the French parliaments, I arrived in three days at Paris. In this town I viewed such things as were accounted remarkable, passing several days in this exercise. The Louvre seemed to me rather like a garrison than a court, being very full of soldiers and dirt. I saw the king's stable of horses, which, though not extraordinarily furnished, gave more pleasure than I should have received by seeing their master, who thinks fit to treat them better than his miserable people. But I loathed to see such numbers of idle drones, who in ridiculous habits, wherein they place a great part of their religion, are to be seen in every part, eating the bread of the credulous multitude, and leaving them to be distinguished from the inhabitants of other countries, by thin cheeks, canvass clothing, and wooden shoes.

HAVING made what stay I thought necessary in Paris, and taken bills of exchange for Geneva, I departed for Lyons in the company of a German lord, from whom I received great civilities during the journey. Being arrived at Lyons, though the rest of the company were examined, and obliged to give in

in their names; yet, by I know not what accident, none of the officers asked me any question of that nature, but permitted me to go quietly to the inn that had been taken up for us, where we were no sooner entered, when divers friars of different orders crowded in to beg or rather command something; one of these behaving himself in so lewd a manner, to a youth who came in our company from Paris, as obliged me to shew my resentment of his impudence. The next day after my arrival at Lyons, I set forward for Geneva, continuing my journey without interruption, till I came to the Recluse, about six leagues distant from that city, where the king of France maintains a garrison, because it lies upon his frontier. Here I was informed they would examine us strictly, and oblige us to lodge our arms with them; but they only desired money to drink, which I willingly gave. The same day I passed the river Rhone, and understood that I was then within the territories of Geneva, which was no small satisfaction to me, hoping I might enjoy some measure of quiet in that free city, and perhaps the society of some of my friends and countrymen; divers of whom I knew had been necessitated to retire into foreign parts.

AT Geneva I took up my lodgings in the house of one monsieur Perrot, who having served in the army of the parliament understood the English tongue; and having heard that Mr. William Cawley, an able and ancient member of parliament, had passed through part of France, I hoped to find him in this place; but upon inquiry, I was informed, that there were no Englishmen in the town, except one Mr. Felton and his servant. In the house where I lodged, the mistress being an English-woman, I found good beer, which was a great refreshment to me, after the fatigue of my journey, and constant use of wines, by which my body had been much disordered with rheums. The next day after my arrival, I received a bill of exchange, inclosed in a letter from monsieur Marga, a banker of Paris, for six hundred crowns, payable by a merchant of Geneva; but having a considerable sum remaining, of the stock I brought with me from London, and received no advice of that supply, I writ to monsieur Marga, to keep the money in his hands till I should receive letters from my friends.

I HAD not been here many days, before I was informed, that various reports had been raised in England concerning me; some saying, That I had been taken as I was endeavouring to make my escape in a disguise; others, That upon notice given that I was concealed at the house of a countryman, some persons coming to seize me, and offering money to that purpose, the man of the house refusing the offer, had caused me to be conveyed from thence by a private way. These things being believed by many, served to amuse my enemies, who suspected me to be still in England, and doubting the fidelity of the army, doubled their diligence to find me out. But my friends and relations being advised of my retirement, were not at all disturbed at their proceedings.

THE convention, before their adjournment, had referred to the king the things in dispute between the episcopal and presbyterian parties, who, in prosecution

secution of their desires, required them to consider, how far each party could condescend for mutual accommodation. The presbyterians finding the tide to be against them, agreed with the bishops in many particulars, desiring only to be dispensed with in wearing the surplice, reading some parts of the liturgy, and using some ceremonies; on which conditions they promised to subject themselves to the bishops, as superintendents of the church, if some ministers might be joined with them in the act of ordination. These propositions and condescensions being communicated to the bishops, and those of the bishops to the presbyterians, it was soon perceived, by discerning men, that these two competitors for ecclesiastical power and riches, would not be easily brought to agree. However, the king thinking fit to temporise, as long as the army was on foot, appointed a conference between the disagreeing parties, at which he was present in person; where though the bishops appeared as inflexible as before, yet the king, for the reason above-mentioned, thought convenient to publish a declaration, forbidding the liturgy, surplice, and some ceremonies, to be imposed upon those who should be unwilling to use them. Which shew of moderation took so much with the presbyterians, who were ready to stretch their consciences to the utmost, that they presented their humble thanks to him for this favour. The like method was observed to lay those asleep who had purchased the church-lands, and who promised themselves full satisfaction, according to the message from Breda; commissioners being appointed to that end. But after they had sat once or twice, and heard bitter invectives against the late sales, as sacrilegious, the purchasers, finding them for the most part to be of the same opinion, were quite discouraged from any farther prosecution of that matter.

IN the mean time, the business of the country gentlemen, who were members of this convention, was, during their adjournment, to be assisting in the raising those great sums of money they had laid upon the people; for the payment of which, the intended disbanding of the army afforded a most plausible pretence, that the laws, as they said, might run in their proper channel, without impediment or controul: but indeed, that the men in power might deliver themselves from the fear of those who had reduced the government within its proper channel, and that the word of their king, with the assistance of an inconsiderable party, might pass for a law without controul.

THE first letters I received from England, after my arrival at Geneva, informed me, that major-general Harrison, Mr. John Carew, chief justice Coke, Mr. Hugh Peters, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Gregory Clement, colonel Adrian Scroop, colonel John Jones, colonel Francis Hacker, and colonel Daniel Axtel, being accused of having contributed, in their several stations, to the death of the king, had been condemned and executed. This important business had been delayed during the time that Mr. Love was to continue sheriff of London, he being no way to be induced, either for fear or hopes, to permit juries to be packed, in order to second the designs of the court. But after new sheriffs had been chosen, more proper to serve the present occasion, a commission for hearing and determining this matter, was directed

directed to thirty-four persons, of whom fifteen had actually engaged for the parliament, against the late king, either as members of parliament, judges, or officers in their army; most, if not all of them, the lord mayor excepted, having been put into places of trust and profit since the late revolution.

COLONEL George Monk being commissioned to be of this number, was not ashamed to sit among them, any more than Mr. Denzil Hollis and the earl of Manchester, who having been two of the six members designed by the late king for destruction, before the beginning of the war, and therefore personally concerned in the quarrel, had contributed the utmost of their endeavours to engage divers of the gentlemen (upon whom they were now to sit as judges) on that side, were not contented to abandon them in this change, but assisted in condemning them to die for their fidelity to that cause, which themselves had betrayed. Mr. Arthur Annesley, who had been also a member of the parliament whilst they made war against the king, was also one of this number. Finch who had been accused of high treason twenty years before, by a full parliament, and who by flying from their justice, had saved his life, was appointed to judge some of those who should have been his judges; and Sir Orlando Bridgman, who, upon his submission to Cromwell, had been permitted to practise the law in a private manner, and under that colour had served both as spy and agent for his master, was entrusted with the principal management of this tragical scene; and in his charge to the grand jury, had the assurance to tell them, "That no authority, no single person, or community of men; not the people collectively or representatively, had any coercive power over the king of England." For proof of which assertion, he cited Spencer's case, in the time of Edward the second. And after-ages may, with as much reason, cite the proceedings of this court for precedents of the same kind.

ALL things being prepared, and the court assembled at the session-house in the Old-Bailey, Sir Hardress Waller, major-general Harrison, and Mr. Heveningham, were ordered to be set to the bar, where the indictment being read, containing many strange expressions, it was contrived that Sir Hardress Waller (who was known to be a man that would say any thing to save his life, and was prepared to that purpose) should be first demanded, whether he were guilty or not guilty. Which being done, he, after a little shifting, according to the expectation of the bench, pleaded guilty, taking the blood which had been shed during his employments in the army, upon his own head. But when major-general Harrison was required to answer, he not only pleaded "not guilty," but justified the sentence passed upon the king, and the authority of those who had commissioned him to act as one of his judges. He plainly told them, when witnesses were produced against him, That he came not thither with an intention to deny any thing he had done, but rather to bring it to light, owning his name subscribed to the warrant for executing the king, to be written by himself; charging divers of those who sat on the bench, as his judges, to have been formerly as active for the cause, in which he had engaged, as himself or any other person; affirming, That he had not

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acted by any other motive than the principles of conscience and justice; for proof of which, he said, it was well known, he had chosen to be separated from his family, and to suffer a long imprisonment, rather than to comply with those who had abused the power they had assumed to the oppression of the people. He insisted, That having done nothing, in relation to the matter in question, otherwise than by the authority of the parliament, he was not justly accountable, either to this or any other inferior court; which being a point of law, he desired to have counsel assigned upon that head; but the court overruled; and by interrupting him frequently, and not permitting him to go on in his defence, they clearly manifested a resolution of gratifying the resentments of the court upon any terms. So that a hasty verdict was brought in against him, and the question being asked, If he had any thing to say, why judgment should not pass? he only said, That since the court had refused to hear what was fit for him to speak in his defence, he had no more to say; upon which, Bridgman pronounced the sentence. And that the inhumanity of these men may the better appear, I must not omit, that the executioner, in an ugly dress, with a halter in his hand, was placed near the major-general, and continued there during the whole time of his trial; which action I doubt whether it was ever equalled by the most barbarous nations. But having learned to contemn such baseness, after the sentence had been pronounced against him, he said aloud, as he was withdrawing from the court, That he had no reason to be ashamed of the cause in which he had been engaged. This sentence was so barbarously executed, that he was cut down alive, and saw his bowels thrown into the fire.

MR. John Carew was a gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Cornwall, educated in one of the universities, and at the inns of court. He had a plentiful estate, and being chosen to serve in the great parliament, he was elected into the council of state, and employed in many important affairs; in which he shewed great ability. He found the same usage from the court as major-general Harrison had done, being frequently interrupted, and counsel denied, though earnestly desired by him, in that point of law touching the authority by which he had acted: when he saw that all he could say was to no purpose, he frankly acknowledged, that he sat in the high court of justice, and had signed two warrants, one for summoning the court in order to the king's trial, and another for his execution. Upon this, the court, who were well acquainted with the disposition of the jury, permitting him to speak, he said, That in the year 1640, a parliament was called according to the laws and constitution of this nation: That some differences arising between the king and that parliament, the king withdrew his person from them; upon which the lords and commons declared — Here the court being conscious, that their cobweb coverings were not sufficient to keep out the light of those truths he was going to produce, contrary to the liberty they had promised, interrupted him, under colour that what he was about to say, tended not only to justify the action for which he was accused, but to cast a ball of division among those who were present. But Mr. Carew going on to say, The lords

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and commons by their declaration — Judge Foster interrupted him again, and told him, he endeavoured to revive those differences which he hoped were laid asleep, and that he did so to blow the trumpet of sedition; demanding, if he had ever heard, or could produce an act of parliament made by the commons alone? To this he would have answered, but was not permitted to finish what he began to say, or hardly any one thing he endeavoured to speak in his defence during the whole trial; Mr. Arthur Annesley particularly charging him with the exclusion of the members in the year 1648, of which number he had been one; to which he only replied, That it seemed strange to find a man who sat as a judge on the bench, to give evidence as a witness in the court. These irregular proceedings, unbecoming a court of judicature, obliged Mr. Carew to address himself to the jury, leaving them to judge of the legality of his trial; and appealing to their consciences, whether he had been permitted to make his defence. But they, who were not to be diverted from the resolutions they had taken, without any regard to the manner of his trial, declared him guilty as he was accused.

COLONEL Adrian Scroop was accused for sitting as one of the judges in the high court of justice, when the king was brought to answer as a prisoner at the bar, for signing one warrant for summoning that court together, and another for the execution of the king. He denied nothing of this, but pleaded the authority of the parliament in his justification; denying that he had been actuated by any motive of malice, as the indictment had untruly suggested; and asserting, That in what he had done relating to the king, he had followed the light of his reason and the dictates of his conscience. At this trial, the principal witness was that Brown, who having been major-general in the service of the parliament, and mentioned already in this work to be of a mercenary spirit, was now brought to betray a private conversation; and to depose, That talking one day with colonel Adrian Scroop in the speaker's chamber, and telling him that the condition of the nation was sad since the murder of the king, the colonel had answered, That men had different opinions touching that matter; and being desired by the said Brown to explain himself, he told him, he should not make him his confessor. Though this evidence be in appearance very insignificant; yet having influenced the house of commons, as I mentioned before, 'tis not to be admired if it took effect with a jury in an inferior court, who taking every thing said against the person accused for substantial proof, made no scruple of bringing him in guilty of treason.

MR. Thomas Scot was on the same day brought to a trial, or rather to receive the sentence of condemnation: he was charged with sitting in the high court of justice at the king's trial, with signing the two warrants above-mentioned; and desiring that the following inscription might be engraved upon his monument, "Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudged the late king to die." Divers witnesses were produced to prove these things; and among them Mr. William Lenthall speaker to the parliament, who, though when the king entered the house of commons, and had demanded of him the five members, he knew how to answer, "That he had neither ears to hear, eyes to

see, or mouth to speak except what the house gave," could now appear as evidence against Mr. Scot for words spoken in parliament, which he was conscious to himself was a high breach of privilege; acquainting the court, That the person accused, had justified in the house the proceedings against the king. Mr. Scot said in his defence, That whatever had been spoken in the house ought not to be given in evidence against him, not falling under the cognizance of any inferior court, as all men knew: That for what he had done in relation to the king, he had the authority of the parliament for his justification: That the court had no right to declare whether that authority were a parliament or not; and being demanded to produce one instance to shew that the house of commons was ever possessed of such an authority, he assured them he could produce many. But having begun with the Saxon times, he was interrupted by the court, and told that the things of those ages were obscure. Finding he might not be permitted to proceed in that way, he took the liberty to tell them, That he could not see for what reason it was not as lawful for that house of commons in which he had sat as a member, to make laws, as for the present convention which had been called by "the authority of the keepers of the liberties of England." I had the authority of parliament, the legislative authority to justify me — Here the court interrupted him; but having no reasons to give, Finch said, in a passion, "Sir, if you speak to this purpose again, I profess for my own part I dare not hear any more: 'tis a doctrine so poisonous and blasphemous, that if you proceed upon this point, I shall (and I hope my lords will be of the same opinion) desire that the jury may be immediately directed." Mr. Scot replied, "My lord, I thought you would rather have been my counsel, as I think 'tis the duty of your place. But in this matter I am not alone, neither is it my single opinion: even the secluded members owned us to be a parliament, else why did they, supported by an armed force, intrude themselves contrary to the resolutions of the house, in order to procure the major vote for our dissolution?" To which Mr. Annesley answered, That if the secluded members had not appeared in parliament, and by that means put an end to all pretences, the people had not so soon arrived at their happiness. These, with many other things of equal force being said by Mr. Scot in his defence, rather to justify himself to his country, than from any hopes of consideration from those with whom he had to do; the jury, as directed, found him guilty also.

COLONEL John Jones and Mr. Gregory Clement, finding all that had been said in vindication of the things objected against the gentlemen who had been already tried, to prove ineffectual, informed the court that they could say no more than had been already alleged; and therefore confessed the fact, upon which they were declared guilty, as the persons before mentioned had been.

ON the thirteenth of November, 1660, the sentence which had been pronounced in consequence of the verdict, was executed upon major-general Harrison at the place where Charing-Cross formerly stood, that the king might have the pleasure of the spectacle, and innure himself to blood. On the fifteenth, Mr. John Carew suffered there also, even their enemies confessing

sing that more steddiness of mind, more contempt of death, and more magnanimity could not be expressed. To all who were present with them, either in prison or at the place where the sentence was executed, they owned, That having engaged in the cause of God and their country, they were not at all ashamed to suffer in the manner their enemies thought fit, openly avowing the inward satisfaction of their minds, when they reflected upon the actions for which they had been condemned, not doubting the revival of the same cause; and that a time should come when men would have better thoughts of their persons and proceedings.

MR. John Coke, late chief justice of Ireland, had in his younger years seen the best part of Europe; and at Rome had spoken with such liberty and ability against the corruptions of that court and church, that great endeavours were used there to bring him into that interest: but he being resolved not to yield to their solicitations, thought it no longer safe to continue among them, and therefore departed to Geneva, where he resided some months in the house of signior Gio. Diodati, minister of the Italian church in that city; after which he returned to England and applied himself to the study of the laws; and in that profession became so considerable, that he was appointed by the high court of justice to be their solicitor at the king's trial. I have already said, that he was seized and imprisoned by Sir Charles Coote, who joining with Monk in his treachery to the commonwealth, sent him over to England, that he might sacrifice him to his new master, in satisfaction for the blood of his party which he himself had formerly shed. Being brought to his trial, he was accused of preferring, in the name of all the good people of England, an impeachment of high treason to the high court of justice against the late king; that he had signed the said impeachment with his own hand; that upon the king's demurrer to the jurisdiction of the court, he had pressed that the charge might be taken for confessed; and therefore had demanded judgment from the court against the king: but this indictment being more particularly charged upon him in the three following articles,

FIRST, That he, with others, had propounded, counselled, contrived, and imagined the death of the late king.

SECONDLY, That to bring about this conspiracy, he, with others, had assumed authority and power to accuse, kill and murder the king.

THIRDLY, That a person unknown did cut off the king's head; and that the prisoner was abetting, aiding, assisting, countenancing and procuring the said person so to do.

HE answered, first, That he could not be justly said to have contrived or counselled the death of the king, because the proclamation for the king's trial, even by the confession of his accuser, was published on the ninth of January, which was the day before he was appointed solicitor to the high court of justice. In the second place, though the court should not admit that

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to be an act of parliament, which authorized him to do what he did; yet he assured himself they would allow it to be an order, which was enough to justify him. Thirdly, that he who had neither been accuser, witness, jury, judge, or executioner, could not be guilty of treason in this case. He urged, That having acted only as counsel, he was not answerable for the justice or injustice of the cause he had managed; that being placed in that station by a publick command, it could not be said he had acted maliciously or with a wicked intention, as the indictment mentioned; that words spoken do not amount to treason, much less when set down in writing by the direction of others; especially since no clear proof had been produced, that his name subscribed to the charge against the king was written by himself. He said, That to pray and demand justice, though injustice be done upon it, could not be treason within the statute; that when he demanded justice, it might be meant of acquittal as well as of condemnation; and that if it should be accounted treason in a counsellor to plead against the king, it must also be felony to plead against any man who may be unjustly condemned for felony; that the high court of justice, though now called tyrannical and unlawful, was yet a court, had officers attending them, and many think had authority, there being then no other in this nation than that which gave them their power; and if this will not justify a man for acting within his own sphere, it will not be lawful for any one to exercise his profession, unless he may be sure of the legality of the establishment under which he acts. These and divers other things of no less weight he said in his defence; but the cabal thinking themselves concerned to prevent the like in the time to come, and to terrify those who were not only able but willing also to be employed in such service, procured from the jury a verdict of condemnation against him according to their desire.

THE charge against Mr. Hugh Peters was for compassing and imagining the death of the king, by conspiring with Oliver Cromwell at several times and places, and procuring the soldiers to demand justice; by preaching divers sermons to persuade the soldiery to take off the king, comparing him to Barabbas, and applying part of a psalm where 'tis said, "They shall bind their kings in chains," &c. to the proceedings against him; assuring them, That if they would look into their Bibles they should find there, "That whoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;" and that neither the king nor any other person are excepted from this general rule. He was also accused of saying, That the Levites, lords and lawyers must be taken away in order to establish a commonwealth; that the king was a tyrant, and that the office itself was chargeable, useless and dangerous. These, with other things of like nature, being sworn against him, Mr. Peters said in his defence, That the war began before he came into England; that since his arrival, he had endeavoured to promote sound religion, the reformation of learning and the law, and employment of the poor; that for the better effecting these things he had espoused the interests of the parliament, in which he had acted without malice, avarice or ambition: and that whatever prejudices or passions might possess the minds of men, yet there was a God who knew these things to be true.

true. It was not expected that any thing he could say should save him from the revenge of the court, and therefore he was without hesitation brought in guilty. This person had been a minister in England for many years, till he was forced to leave his native country by the persecution set on foot in the time of archbishop Laud, against all those who refused to comply with the innovations and superstitions which were then introduced into the publick worship. He went first into Holland, and from thence to New England; where after some stay, being informed that the parliament had relieved the people in some measure from the abuses in church and state, and designed to perfect that work, he returned to England; and in all places, and on all occasions, encouraged the people to appear vigorously for them. Having passed some time in England he was made chaplain to a brigade that was sent against the Irish rebels, and observing the condition of the plundered protestants in that country to deserve compassion, he went into Holland, and improved the interest he had there with so good success, that he procured about thirty thousand pounds to be sent from thence into Ireland for their relief. He was a diligent and earnest solicitor for the distressed protestants of the vallies of Piedmont, who had been most inhumanly persecuted and reduced to the utmost extremities by the tyranny of the duke of Savoy; and in gratitude to the Hollanders for the sanctuary he had found among them in the time of his distress, he was not a little serviceable to them in composing their differences with England in the time of Cromwell.

AN order being made, that the chief justice Coke and Mr. Peters should die on the same day, they were carried on two sleds to the place appointed for the execution of the sentence that had been pronounced against them, the head of major-general Harrison being placed on that which carried the chief-justice, with the face uncovered, and directed towards him; which was so far from producing the designed effect, that he not only seemed to be animated with courage from the reflection he might make upon that object; but the people every where expressed their detestation of such usage. At the place of execution, among other things, he declared, That he had used the utmost of his endeavours that the practice of the law might be regulated, and that the publick justice might be administered with as much expedition and as little expence as possible; and that he had suffered a more than ordinary persecution from those of his own profession on that account. He said he understood not the meaning of the court, when they affirmed, That if the lords and commons had brought the king to the bar, it had been treason in them; and as to the part he had in the action with which he was charged, he was so far from repenting what he had done, that he was most ready to seal it with his blood: here the sheriff rudely interrupting him, he replied, That it had not been the custom in the most barbarous nations, much less in England, to insult over a dying man; adding, That he thought he was the first who had ever suffered death for demanding justice.

WHEN this victim was cut down and brought to be quartered, one colonel Turner called to the sheriff's men to bring Mr. Peters to see what was doing; which

which being done, the executioner came to him, and rubbing his bloody hands together, asked him how he liked that work? He told him he was not at all terrified, and that he might do his worst. And when he was upon the ladder, he said to the sheriff, "Sir, you have butchered one of the servants of God before my eyes, and have forced me to see it in order to terrify and discourage me; but God has permitted it for my support and encouragement."

ON the sixteenth of October, Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Gregory Clement were drawn in one sledd, and colonel Adrian Scroop with colonel John Jones in another, to Charing Cross, in order to suffer death as the rest had done. Mr. Scot was a gentleman who having been educated in the university of Cambridge, had lived privately in the country, till, upon a recruit of members to serve in the parliament, he was chosen to be of their number; and in that station carried himself with such constancy and zeal for the service of the commonwealth, that during the interruption of the parliament by Cromwell, the country in which he lived, as a mark of their esteem, chose him to serve them as often as there was occasion. When the parliament was a second time interrupted by the army, he held a constant correspondence with Monk for their restitution; in which he was very instrumental, as well by causing the letters he received from Monk, declaring his resolution to live and die with the parliament, to be printed and published, as by other services. He had been several times chosen a member of the council of state; and the parliament being again restored, they appointed him to be secretary to that board, and deputed him for one of the two commissioners they sent to accompany Monk in his march to London. To this gentleman Monk solemnly swore at St. Albans, that he would be faithful to the parliament, in confidence of which, when Mr. Scot had resumed his place in the house, he undertook so largely for his integrity. But when his treachery was too manifest, he endeavoured to pass beyond the seas, and was taken by pirates: who having plundered him, set him ashore in Hampshire; yet, by the assistance of his friends, he procured another vessel to land him in Flanders, where he was no sooner arrived but he was seized by an agent for the king. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, then governor of the Spanish Netherlands, who had been ambassador for the king of Spain in England, during the government of the commonwealth, remembering the particular obligations he had to Mr. Scot, caused him to be set at liberty. Being freed from these dangers, and afterwards finding his name to be inserted among others of the king's judges who were required to render themselves if they expected any benefit by the act of indemnity; in confidence at least of saving his life, he surrendered himself to the English agent within the time limited by the proclamation. And though he was thus ensnared, yet he was not unwilling to confirm what he had done, with the testimony of his blood, which he did with the greatest demonstrations of cheerfulness and satisfaction of mind. He attempted several times to speak to the people at the place of execution, in justification of that cause for which he was to die; but those who feared nothing so much as truth, interrupted him so often, that he found himself obliged
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to say, "That surely it must be a very bad cause which cannot suffer the words of a dying man."

MR. Gregory Clement being the next that suffered, was a citizen and merchant of London, who by trading to Spain, had raised a very considerable estate. He was chosen a member of the parliament about the year 1646, and discharged that trust with great diligence, always joining with those who were most affectionate to the commonwealth, though he never was possessed of any place of profit under them. Being appointed one of the commissioners for the trial of the king, he durst not refuse his assistance in that service. He had no good elocution, but his apprehension and judgment were not to be despised. He declared before his death, that nothing troubled him so much, as his pleading guilty at the time of his trial, to satisfy the importunity of his relations, by which, he said, he had rendered himself unworthy to die in so glorious a cause.

COLONEL Adrian Scroop was descended of an ancient family, and possessed of a considerable estate. His port and mien was noble, and the endowments of his mind every way answerable. He appeared early in the army of the parliament, being present and engaged at the battle of Edge-hill, in the head of a troop of horse, which he had raised. He was first advanced to the degree of a major, and soon after appointed to be colonel of a regiment of horse. He had been, for several years, governor of the castle of Bristol, and when the parliament thought fit to slight that garrison, they made him one of their commissioners for the civil government of Scotland, in conjunction with the lord Broghil, Monk, and others. In all these employments he manifested such abilities and fidelity, that the parliament appointed him to be one of the commissioners for the trial of the late king; in which place he acted with all the impartiality that becomes a judge in whom so great a trust is reposed, and who ought to be no respecter of persons. The hard measure he received from the convention at Westminster, I have already mentioned; it remains only to give some account of what he said at the place where he suffered death, which was to this purpose, That though he had been accustomed to be seen in better places, and other kind of circumstances, yet it being the will of God he should be brought into this condition, he submitted cheerfully; that he never had entertained malice against any man, and that he now wished no ill either to the jury who found him guilty, or to the judges who pronounced sentence; or even to the person by whose means he was brought to that place, who, he presumed, was so well known, that it was not necessary to name him. He said he should not boast of his birth, or education, or the private conduct of his life, because he was going to appear before a tribunal where all men must come; and where the justice or injustice of every action would be manifest, desiring the people in the mean time not to think uncharitably of him; for he was firmly persuaded he suffered for the cause of God and his country.

COLONEL John Jones, who next appeared on this bloody theatre, was a gentleman of a competent estate in North-Wales, and so well beloved in his country that he did considerable service to the publick cause by his interest in those parts. He reduced the isle of Anglesey to the obedience of the common-

wealth, and was soon after chosen to serve in parliament for that place. He had been one of the council of state, and in the year 1650, was constituted one of the commissioners of parliament for managing the civil affairs of Ireland. This trust he discharged during the course of divers years, with great diligence, ability, and integrity, in providing for the happiness of that country, and bringing to justice those who had been concerned in the murders of the English protestants. When the great parliament was restored to the exercise of their authority, after the long interruption, they chose him to be one of those eight persons, to whom they committed the care of the publick safety, till they could establish a council of state. Of this also he was chosen a member, and soon after sent by the parliament to his former trust in Ireland, where he continued till the late change. Being drawn to Charing-Cross on the same sled with colonel Scroop, the gravity and graceful mien of these aged gentlemen, accompanied with visible marks of fortitude and internal satisfaction, surprized the spectators with admiration and compassion.

COLONEL Daniel Axtel was next brought to trial. The chief heads of the accusation against him were, That he commanded the guards both at the trial and execution of the king; that he ordered the soldiers, in a tumultuous manner, to demand justice and afterwards execution; that he threatened to shoot a lady, who from a gallery that was near the court where the king was tried, had contradicted the president when he was speaking concerning the charge; that he sent for and encouraged the executioner, and that he had upbraided with cowardice one of the persons, to whom the warrant for seeing execution done upon the king was directed, for refusing to sign it. And these, with some other things of less weight, were called compassing and imagining the death of the king. Colonel Hercules Huncks, who was one of the three to whom the said warrant had been directed; one of the forty halberdiers attending the high court of justice, and one who had opposed with more than ordinary vehemence all those who were for the king, was the principal witness against him. Colonel Axtel having first acknowledged his ignorance in matters of law, and therefore desiring that no undue advantages might be taken against him on that account, proceeded to speak to this effect: That the war was made by the joint authority of the lords and commons assembled in parliament, who claimed a right of employing the military force of the nation for the publick safety, as appears by divers acts and declarations published by their order. This authority raised an army, made the earl of Essex general, then the earl of Manchester, of the forces of the Eastern association, and after that created and authorized Sir Thomas Fairfax to be general of all their forces. "Under this authority," said he, "I acted, which I conceive to be legal, because this parliament was not only called by the king's writ, and chosen by the people, but also because a bill had passed, that they should not be dissolved otherwise than by their own consent. Having this unquestionable authority for my justification, I presume my case comes not within the reach of the statute 25th Edward III. which could by no means intend such a power as was not only owned and obeyed at home, but acknowledged by princes and states abroad, to be the chief authority of the nation,

nation, by sending agents and ambassadors to them. The judges, who ought to be the eye and guide of the people acted under them, divers of them publicly declaring that it was lawful and justifiable to obey the parliament. But if their acts may not be accounted such, though they carried that title, and were obeyed by the judges, ministers, officers of state, and the whole nation; yet surely they cannot be denied to be orders of parliament; which would be sufficient to justify any man who acted by them. This parliament so constituted, so acknowledged and so obeyed, having made choice of a person to be general of their forces, I was by that general, in virtue of the authority he had received from them, constituted an officer under him: and therefore whatever I have done was as a soldier, and according to the duty of my office; for if I was in Westminster-hall, at the time of the king's trial, I was there by a command of the general: and if it be so great a crime to have been an officer in that army which was raised by the parliament, the earls of Essex and Manchester, the lord general Fairfax, Monk and others who have acted by the same authority, were no less criminal than myself." He cited the declarations of the lords and commons, published when they engaged the people to take arms, in which they asserted, That it was repugnant to reason that the judgment and actions of the parliament might not be a rule and guide to the nation in their duty; and declared that the persons who should act under their authority ought not to be questioned for so doing: he therefore presumed that an inferior court would not expound the law contrary to the judgment of the high court of parliament; adding, That if the house of commons, who are the representatives of the whole nation, may be guilty of treason, it will follow that all the people of England, who chose them, are guilty also, and then where will a jury be found to try this cause? My commission is dated 27th of March 1648, ten months before the king's death. The commission by which general Fairfax was authorised to give mine to me, he received from the lords and commons assembled in parliament. I did nothing but my duty in going to my regiment; for if the general says, go to such a place and stay there, if I refuse, by the law of arms I am to die. But if I obey it seems I am in danger also. The question therefore in law, I humbly conceive, will be this, and I desire it may be truly and fairly stated, "Whether a man who is guided by the judgment of the lords and commons assembled in parliament, acting only according to that judgment of parliament, and under their authority, can be questioned for treason? To this the council answering, That he was not accused of levying war, but of assisting at the trial and execution of the king, and encouraging the soldiers to clamor for justice and execution; the colonel replied, That he was no more guilty than the general, that his presence in Westminster-hall was not voluntary, and that he was there by command. This he pressed so home upon the court, appealing to themselves for their judgment in the case, that they were necessitated to fly to their old refuge of questioning the authority by which he had acted. To the rest of the evidence he said, That if any lady had talked aloud during the time of the king's trial, to the interruption and disturbance of the court, he supposed it was no treason to bid her hold her tongue; that if he

smiled, as colonel Temple deposed, it could not amount to so great a crime; that if some soldiers did cry out justice, it was not by his instigation; yet he hoped that to desire justice, which is one of the principal attributes of God, is no treason. Having said these, with many other things in his defence, he addressed himself to the jury, and acquainted them that he left his case and his life in their hands.

IN answer to these arguments, Bridgman, who was president of this assembly, contented himself with repeating that strange and unheard-of doctrine, "That no person whatsoever, nor community, not the people either collectively or representatively, have any coercive power over the king." For this he quoted some precedents as little to the purpose as the assertion itself, and then concluded the case to be so clear, that the jury needed not to stir from the bar. It soon appeared that he knew the men, for they fully answered his expectations; and as they were directed, without any difficulty, declared colonel Axtel to be guilty of the treason with which he had been charged.

COLONEL Francis Hacker being appointed to appear also in this tragical scene, he was brought to the bar; where an indictment for compassing and imagining the death of the king was read against him; and to prove the accusation witnesses were produced, who deposed, that he was one of the persons that were upon the guard, and kept the king prisoner; that the warrant for seeing the sentence that had been pronounced by the high court of justice against the king put in execution, was directed to him with others; that in prosecution of that commission, he had signed a warrant for executing the king; and that he took the king, by virtue of the warrant he had received, out of the custody of colonel Thomlinson, and conducted him to the scaffold on which he had been put to death. Colonel Hacker excepted not against any of the jury, finding all of them to be of the same stamp; and said little more in his defence than that he had acted by the command of his superiors, and that he had always endeavoured to serve his country in all his publick actions; so that his trial was quickly dispatched, and he declared guilty of high treason. He was a gentleman of a considerable estate, derived to him from his ancestors, who lived in the county of Leicester: he had passed through several degrees of command in the service of the parliament, and particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Worcester, in the head of a regiment of horse which he had raised on that occasion for the defence of his country: he refused his assistance to support the usurpation of Mr. Richard Cromwell, though he had forced a knighthood, as it is called, upon him, and presented him with two swords, refusing to obey his orders, and joining with the commonwealth-party in his deposition: he had continued in the command of his regiment till he was taken in custody, having had assurances from Monk, that he should be fully indemnified. So that when he came to London, he made a visit to Monk, and was received with all the appearances of friendship and affection. But the next day after he had been thus carested, he was seized, examined, and sent to the Tower.

COLONEL Daniel Axtel had been captain, major and lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of foot; in the last of which employments he had assisted at the trial and execution of the late king. When lieutenant-general Cromwell was sent by the parliament into Ireland with an army against the rebels, and the regiment in which colonel Axtel served was drawn out by lot for that expedition, he cheerfully undertook the employment; and for his fidelity, courage, and conduct, was soon preferred to the head of a regiment; and not long after was made governor of Kilkenny and the adjacent precinct, which important trust he discharged with diligence and success. In this station he shewed a more than ordinary zeal in punishing those Irish who had been guilty of murdering the protestants; and on this account, as well as for what he had done in relation to the late king, the court had procured him to be excepted out of the act of indemnity.

CAPTAIN William Hewlet was also accused and tried for cutting off the king's head, or at least for being one of the persons that stood masked upon the scaffold during his execution; and though divers creditable witnesses deposed, that Gregory Bandon, who was common hangman, had confessed and owned to have executed the king; yet the jury found him guilty of the indictment. But the court being sensible of the injury done to him, procured his reprieve.

THOSE whom I mentioned before to have been excepted both for life and estate, with a reserve, that if upon trial they should be found guilty, sentence of death should not be executed against any of them except by act of parliament, were brought to be tried before this court; where some of them pleaded guilty simply; but others, though they acknowledged the guilt, denied the malice; and some confessing the fact, denied the guilt. Of this last number was colonel Henry Martin, of whose trial I shall only mention some few of the most remarkable passages, and so leave this melancholy subject: for if I should give an account, though with all possible brevity, of what passed in the court during their session, together with what might be necessary to say concerning the persons accused, I should be carried too far from my purpose. Colonel Henry Martin was charged with signing and sealing the precept for summoning the high court of justice; with signing the warrant for executing the king; with sitting in court almost every day of his trial, and particularly that on which he received the sentence of death. To these things he answered, That he declined not to acknowledge the matter of fact that was alleged against him, the malice imputed to him by the indictment set aside. Upon which, being told by one of the council, That he seemed to be of opinion, that a man might sit and adjudge a king to death, and sign a warrant for his execution, meekly, innocently, charitably, and honestly. He answered, That though he should not compare his knowledge in the law with such a learned gentleman; yet according to that little understanding he had been capable of acquiring, he presumed, "That no fact could be named which in itself is a crime, but only as it is circumstantiated:" and to make good that assertion, gave several instances. But the counsel, to prove that he had acted maliciously, produced a person who deposed, that he signed the warrant merrily and in a jesting way,

as he was rallying with lieutenant-general Cromwell. To which he replied, That such a way of doing a thing does by no means imply malice. The council finding their insinuations and aggravations of the charge against him so easily blown away by these and other answers, made up with passion what they wanted in the weight of reason; the solicitor-general exclaiming, "That all good people abhorred the action; and that he was sorry to see so little repentance." To this the colonel only said, He hoped that what was urged by the counsel, would not make that impression upon the court and jury as seemed to be designed; and that if it were possible for that blood to be in the veins again, and every drop of that which was shed in the late wars, he could wish it with all his heart: but he presumed it might be lawful to say in his own defence, That what he did, he thought at that time he might do. "There was," said he, "a house of commons, as I understood it to be, though perhaps your lordships think them not to have been a house of commons: however, they were then the supreme authority in England, and acknowledged and reputed so to be both at home and abroad; I suppose he who gives obedience to the authority, "de facto" in being, sufficiently shews himself to be of a peaceable temper, and far from a traitor: there was a statute made in the time of Henry the VIIth, to indemnify all those who should take arms for a king "de facto," though he were not so "de jure." And if a supreme officer, "de facto," can justify a war, I presume the supreme authority in England, though "de facto" only, may justify a court of judicature. If it should be said, that the authority by which we acted was only one estate of three, and but part of that; I answer, it was all that was then existing. And I have heard lawyers say, that if there be commons appurtenant to a tenement, and that the tenement be all burnt down except one small stick, commons still belong to that small piece as much as when the tenement was all standing. I shall also humbly offer it to consideration, whether the late king for some time before his trial, could truly and properly be called a king, who was not in the execution of his office, but made a prisoner, and no way concerned in the administration of publick affairs." But notwithstanding these and divers other things which he said in his defence, with as much presence of mind as solidity of argument, he was brought in guilty of the treason for which he had been accused; in pursuance of which verdict, the sentence of condemnation was passed against him, the convention making no provision for securing the lives either of him or the rest of the gentlemen that had been decoyed into a surrender of their persons, though they had implicitly promised them favour.

THE army that had so long stood in the way of the court, was now wholly disbanded, except only Monk's regiment of foot; and that was balanced by a regiment of horse raised under colour of being a guard to the king. This, together with the payment of their arrears, and a liberty of trading in corporations, was the reward they received for their services, notwithstanding all the fair promises both of Monk and the king. And thus these men, who had accumulated treachery upon treachery, were dismissed with infamy; for the very acknowledgment that was made by the king, that they had been the chief instruments

instruments of his return, reproached them with infidelity to the parliament, and their own desires to be absolved from the guilt of their former actions, was a confession that they had been rebels to the king. However, the dissipation of these men was not caused by the king's aversion to a standing army; for the whole course of his life demonstrates the contrary; but being persuaded that they who had already made so many changes in England, were able to bring about another, and to turn him out again with as little consideration as they had brought him in, he thought it most safe and necessary to free himself at once from such dangerous companions.

THIS work being accomplished, the court began to take off the mask: for though the king had published a declaration for accommodation in matters of publick worship and ceremonies, and though the episcopal party in the convention had patiently permitted a committee to be appointed to consider of that matter; yet being delivered from the terror of the army, they opposed the report of the committee with such violence, that it was not thought fit to press it any more: by which means all the hopes of the presbyterians vanished, and this mountain brought forth a mouse. The natural tendency of these things was so visible, that Mr. Pryn, who had manifested a more than ordinary zeal for disbanding the army, finding his expectations defeated, and the presbyterian party so miserably deluded, after he had made report of the number of regiments that had been disbanded, desired the house that they would be mindful not to do those things that might bring them together again. Upon which the adverse party fell upon him with that fury, that if the house had not risen immediately in great disorder, he had been obliged to explain himself at the bar.

BUT for all this, the convention, though called in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, as if they had designed to put the people beyond the hopes of any remedy, made a present to the king of the customs and excise during his life, besides other great sums charged upon the nation to supply his present occasions: and though before the passing the bill of indemnity they had seemed sensible, that they were in honour concerned to make provision for the security of the lives of those, who having sat as judges of the late king, had rendered themselves into their hands upon the proclamation which had been published by their advice; yet they not only abandoned those poor deluded gentlemen who lay under the sentence of condemnation, and waited for the favour they had implicitly promised; but also passed a bill of attainder against those of the king's judges and other persons, who having been excepted out of the act, had escaped their hands, adding to other unusual clauses, "That all trusts for their use should be forfeited." But the duke of York, upon whom these confiscated estates were bestowed, must be supplied by any means.

Henrietta Maria of France, widow to the late king Charles, who had been a principal instrument to advise and encourage him in his illegal actions, passed over into England about this time; and being arrived at London, the house of commons, in which were many persons, who had been members of that parliament which had threatened to accuse her of high treason, not only congratulated

lated her return, but presented her daughter that had accompanied her in her journey, with the sum of ten thousand pounds. But notwithstanding all the flattering subserviency they could shew, and all that they could do to procure themselves to be thought fit for the service of the court; yet being not thoroughly principled to do the work of the church, they were acquainted that they should be dissolved on the 24th of December next ensuing; against which time it was desired, that all bills under consideration might be made ready. And lest the people should, upon the dissolution of this assembly, form a body of men, and assert their liberties, it was pretended that a great plot to seize the king and the Tower, to kill the queen with all those that should be found of the French nation, and to restore the parliament, was carrying on throughout England. Under this colour, major-general Overton, colonel Desborough, colonel Salmon, lieutenant-colonel Farley, major Whitby, and divers other persons were seized in London; and colonel Duckenfield, major Anthony Morgan, and several others were imprisoned in the country.

DURING the noise of this conspiracy, the queen, accompanied by her daughter and Jermyn, returned to France, which induced many to believe that she was terrified by the designs against her person. But she, who knew the plot to be no more than a fiction, had other real grounds for her departure. For having endeavoured to persuade her son to remove the chancellor Hyde from his councils, and finding she effected nothing by her continual solicitations, she soon grew weary of England; where, though by the importunity of the king, she had at last admitted the new dutchess of York to come into her presence; yet by applying herself to other company, not desiring her to sit, and taking the first opportunity to withdraw from the room, she abundantly shewed, that she thought her not worthy to be treated as a daughter. These were the principal, if not the only reasons that moved the queen to quit the court of her son, and to retire into her own country, though to give a better colour to her departure, and to conceal these domestick divisions, they made use of the pretences before-mentioned.

ON the day of the dissolution of the convention, Sir Harbottle Grimeston, who was their speaker, made a speech to the king filled with the greatest flattery: in answer to which, the chancellor was no way sparing of compliments, applauding the wisdom of the house on the king's restitution, and their diligent endeavours to give his majesty satisfaction, by settling things in such a manner as might prevent new disturbances and troubles. Yet he could not forbear to reflect upon them for not investing the king with the militia, (which, he said, had been the great bone of contention during the late war) not declaring any thing concerning that matter, but leaving it uncertain as they found it, and consequently a foundation of new differences. To prevent which, and to secure the peace of the nation, he acquainted them, that the king would be constrained to establish it for the present, as formerly his predecessors had done. And to convince them of the necessity of this arbitrary proceeding, he took occasion to put them in mind of the late plot (an admirable state-engine fitted for all times) telling them, that though the persons engaged in this conspiracy

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were only the lees of the people, yet small beginnings ought not to be neglected, especially considering that all things in this design had been brought to a head; that I had been nominated to command two thousand five hundred men in London, who were ready to seize the Tower; that the like number was enlisted under my command in the western parts of England; and that another person, whom he named not, had as many ready in the north ready to prosecute the same design. To give the best colour they could to these falsehoods, all places where it could be suspected I might lie concealed, were diligently searched; my wife was several times plundered of her wearing clothes; the lodgings of colonel Kempson my brother-in-law were ransacked, and many of his goods taken away: all my writings, which I had recommended to the care of a friend, were betrayed by a servant in hopes of a reward, and seized; and one who had waited on me in my chamber was imprisoned in the Gatehouse, where he lay ten weeks, because he could not discover where I was.

COLONEL John Barkstead and colonel Okey, with colonel Walton and colonel Dixwell, who had been commissioners in the high court of justice at the trial of the late king, having made their escape from England into Germany, were received into protection at Hanaw, and made burgeses of the town. Of these colonel Barkstead and colonel Okey took a journey to Holland, to meet some relations who were contented to banish themselves with them, and to conduct them to the place which they had chosen for their residence. But one Mr. George Downing, who was agent for the king in Holland, and had formerly been a preacher and chaplain to colonel Okey's regiment, having received information that such persons were in that country, obtained an order from the States-general for their seizure; by virtue of which they were taken, together with Mr. Miles Corbet, one of the king's judges also, sent into England in a ship of war, and committed prisoners to the Tower. Two things seemed especially remarkable in this action, the treachery of Downing, after he had given assurance to a person sent to him by colonel Okey to that end, that he had no orders to look after him; but chiefly the barbarous part of the States in this conjuncture, who, though they had themselves shaken off the yoke of tyranny, and to that time had made it a fundamental maxim to receive and protect all those who should come among them; yet contrary to the principles of their government, and the interest of their commonwealth, to say nothing of the laws of God, nature, and nations, without any previous engagement to the court of England, contributed as much as in them lay to the destruction of these gentlemen. But a treaty was to be made with England, and their trade secured at any rate, though the foundations should be laid in blood.

MR. Miles Corbet was a gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Norfolk. He had applied himself with diligence to the study of the laws of England in the society of Lincoln's-Inn, and for the space of thirty-seven years had been chosen to serve his country in the several parliaments that were called. Being appointed one of the high court of justice for the trial of the late king, he appeared not among the judges, by reason of some scruples he had entertained, till the day that sentence was pronounced. But upon more mature

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deliberation finding them to be of no weight, he durst no longer absent himself, coming early on that day into the court, that he might give a publick testimony of his satisfaction and concurrence with their proceedings. He was afterwards by the parliament made one of their commissioners for the civil government of Ireland, in which employment he manifested such integrity, that though he was continued for many years in that station, yet he impaired his own estate for the publick service, whilst he was the greatest husband of the treasure of the commonwealth. The day before his death, he assured his friends, that he was so thoroughly convinced of the justice and necessity of that action for which he was to die, that if the things had been yet intire, and to do, he could not refuse to act as he had done, without affronting his reason, and opposing himself to the dictates of his conscience; adding, that the immoralities, lewdness, and corruptions of all sorts, which had been introduced and encouraged since the late revolution, were no inconsiderable justification of those proceedings.

COLONEL John Barkstead was a citizen and goldsmith of London, who being sensible of the invasions that had been made upon the liberties of the nation, took arms among the first for their defence, in the quality of captain to a foot company in the regiment of colonel Venn: he had not been long in this employment, before his merit advanced him to the degree of a major, in which station he was made governor of Reading: and afterwards being preferred to the command of a regiment, he was constituted by the parliament, in consideration of his services, lieutenant of the Tower of London. When he was brought to confirm with the testimony of his blood that cause for which he had fought, he performed that part with chearfulness and courage, no way derogating from the character of a soldier and a true Englishman.

COLONEL — Okey was also a citizen of London, and one of those who appeared early in the service of the parliament. He had been first a captain of foot, then a captain of horse, and afterwards major in the regiment of Sir Arthur Haslerig. In the year 1645, at the time when the army was new modelled, he was made colonel of a regiment of dragoons, which was afterwards converted into a regiment of horse. In these employments he distinguished himself by his courage, conduct, and fidelity; and during the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell was dismissed from his command in the army, on account of his affection to the commonwealth. He was chosen by the county of Bedford to represent and serve them in the convention that was called by Richard; and after the restitution of the great parliament, they restored him to his command in the army. Being ready to suffer for that cause which he had strenuously defended, he said in the presence of many witnesses, That if he had as many lives as he had hairs on his head, he would willingly hazard them all on the same account. The sentence against these three gentlemen having been executed on the 19th of April, 1662, the king bestowed the body of colonel Okey upon his wife to dispose of as she thought fit; upon which she ordered him to be interred at Stepney, where his first wife lay in a vault that he had purchased for himself and family. But the report of this funeral being spread

spread among the people, several thousands of them assembled themselves in and about Newgate-market, where the body lay, resolving to attend it to the grave. And though they behaved themselves with decency and modesty, yet the king, upon notice of this appearance, was so alarmed, that he revoked his grant to the colonel's wife, dispatched orders to the sheriff to disperse the company, and commanded the body to be interred in the Tower.

THE report of the inhumanity of the States towards our friends being brought to Geneva, we began to doubt whether that little commonwealth, who were under great apprehensions of the king of France, might not, if our enemies could engage him to press them, follow the example of the Dutch, and deliver us up also. We resolved therefore, either to procure an assurance of safety for our persons, or to make the best provision we could for ourselves in some other place. To this end we employed Mr. Perrot, our landlord, to discourse with monsieur Voisin, the principal syndic, and to desire him to inform us what usage we might expect, in case we should be demanded of that state. The syndic, upon this application, promised to serve us to the utmost of his power, assuring us, that if any letters should come to his hands concerning us, he would not only give us timely notice, but if such a thing should fall out in the night, he would cause the water-gate, of which he always kept the key, to be opened for our escape; and if we should be obliged to depart by day, we should have a free passage through any of the city-gates that we should chuse: to all which he added this farther promise, that when his brother syndic monsieur Dupain should return from Bern where he then was, they would consult together how to make our residence more safe to us, either by a publick act or otherwise, as should be found most convenient. With these assurances I was fully satisfied, being, as I thought, as much as could be expected. But Mr. Lisle and Mr. Cawley, who were likewise in the same place, made many objections against our stay, and pressed Mr. Perrot, upon the return of Mr. Dupain, to put him upon conferring with monsieur Voisin touching our affair. Mr. Perrot upon this went to the nephew of the said Mr. Dupain, who was procurator-general of Geneva, and by him was advised that we should address ourselves in a publick manner to the council for their protection. This way I opposed, as a thing not fit for us to ask, or the city to grant, lest they should be brought into difficulties, and perhaps danger upon our account. But Mr. Perrot affirming, that the procurator was of opinion, that it was both easy and fit to be done, and that his brother, who was a leading man in the council, was of the same judgment, I thought they were best acquainted with their own affairs, and therefore resolved to let them proceed as they pleased. Having made their attempt, they found the success I expected. For the business being brought before the council, monsieur Let, one of the syndics, from whom the first syndic had endeavoured to conceal his correspondence with us, expecting the payment of a great debt due to him from the king of England, or possibly inclining in his affections to that interest, not only obstructed the address, but charged those who had promoted it, with a design of surprizing the council. However the council was so favourable, that though they thought not convenient to grant the request,

request, yet being unwilling to deny us their protection, they put off the farther consideration of this affair to another day, some of their members, in friendship to us, advising privately that it should be withdrawn, which was done accordingly. In the mean time, that we might not be wanting to ourselves in this conjuncture, we made application to the lords of the Swiss canton of Bern for their protection, in which we were most friendly assisted by monsieur Bailival, lieutenant-governor of Laufanna, who had been lately put into that place upon the death of one Godward, the only friend to monarchy and enemy to our cause that lived in that town.

MR. Lisle and Mr. Cawley meeting with this disappointment at Geneva resolved to remove, and to that end hired a boat to carry them to Laufanna. I accompanied them to the water-side, and whilst I was taking leave, a letter was brought to me from the person we had employed to their excellencies of Bern; in which I was assured that they had readily condescended to our desires. This was an encouragement to me to continue some time longer at Geneva, not doubting their protection when they should find us to be favoured and countenanced by their best friends and allies. Therefore a day or two after the departure of my two friends, I went to the principal syndic, and having excused them as well as I could, for leaving the town without waiting on him, I acquainted him that the application to the council was made without my advice, and that I was before, as well as now, fully satisfied with the verbal engagement he had given for our security; which I had no sooner said, when he, not without discomposure, and as I conjectured, fear, made answer, That he could no longer think himself obliged by his promises, having gone so far, in expectation that what had passed between us should be kept secret; whereas now he thought the king of England might have notice of it. Upon this retraction, thinking it too hazardous to remain any longer at Geneva, I departed the next day, accompanied by a particular friend, for Laufanna, where we found Mr. Lisle and Mr. Cawley, who had received the act of protection from the lords of Bern, granted under our proper names, which I mention for their honour, who shewed their courage and generosity in owning us and our cause, when we had been abandoned by those whose true interest was the same with our own.

IN the month of July 1662, I received letters from England, with an account of the trial, sentence, and death of Sir Henry Vane; of which I shall only say, that he behaved himself on all those occasions, in such a manner, that he left it doubtful, whether his eloquence, soundness of judgment, and presence of mind, his gravity and magnanimity, his constant adherence to the cause of his country, and heroick carriage during the time of his confinement and at the hour of death; or the malice of his enemies, and their frivolous suggestions at his trial, the breach of the publick faith in the usage he found, the incivility of the bench, and the savage rudeness of the sheriff, who commanded the trumpets several times to sound that he might not be heard by the people, were more remarkable.

THE following account of this (and another transaction which I care not to insist upon) being sent to me at Geneva, I may not omit to insert in this place, because

because it seems to give the true reasons of the court of England for hurrying Sir Henry Vane out of the world.

“ ON Friday last, being the sixteenth of this instant June, 1662, Sir Henry Vane pleaded for his life, and major-general Lambert for his; or rather, the first pleaded for the life and liberties of his country, and the other for his own. The issue, in all appearance, will be, that Sir Henry will be put to death, and Lambert pardoned, though both are under sentence of condemnation. The reason of this distinction is no other, than the manner of their defence, the one alleging the authority of the great parliament for his justification, and that he was indemnified by the act of amnesty; the other meanly extenuating and excusing what he did against Sir George Booth and Monk (which was the principal part of the accusation against him) by pleading ignorance of their intentions, neither of them having declared that they designed to restore the king, and Monk to the contrary having openly declared for the restitution of the parliament. Sir Henry Vane was long in his defence but not tedious: he much perplexed both court and counsel, and has acquired eternal reputation by nobly pleading for the dying liberties of his country; it being clear that all the party which seemed to be indemnified by the act of amnesty, shall be punished in his person; and that for this cause only, that in his pleading he undertook by the authority of the said parliament to justify what he had done, maintaining, That the house of commons representing the whole body of the people, in case of difference between the authority royal and politick, possesses a just power to defend the rights of the people, and to authorize the people of England, and every one of them, to defend them.”

SIR Henry Vane was a gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Durham, eldest son to Sir Henry Vane, who had been secretary of state and comptroller of the household to the late king. Being scandalized with the innovations brought into the publick worship, he went to New-England, and remained there for the space of five or six years; the two last of which he was consecutively chosen governor of that country, though not exceeding the age of twenty-four years. In the beginning of the great parliament, he was elected to serve his country among them, without the least application made on his part to that end: and in this station he soon made appear how capable he was of managing great affairs, possessing in the highest perfection, a quick and ready apprehension, a strong and tenacious memory, a profound and penetrating judgment, a just and noble eloquence, with an easy and graceful manner of speaking. To these were added, a singular zeal and affection for the good of the commonwealth, and a resolution and courage, not to be shaken or diverted from the publick service. He had been removed by the late king from being treasurer of the navy, for performing his duty in the house of commons; and being restored to that employment by the parliament, he freely contributed one half of the profits, amounting to the sum of two thousand pounds yearly, towards carrying on the war for the liberties of England. When that war was ended, he put the receipt for the navy in such a way, that
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by order of the parliament, the whole expence of that office exceeded not one thousand pounds by year; men being brought by this means to understand, that they were not placed in employments to serve themselves, but to serve the publick. And that this conduct was not mistaken, the successes of our arms by sea against Portugal, France, Holland, and other enemies, did abundantly manifest. When Cromwell had treacherously advanced himself upon the ruins of the commonwealth, he would not be induced by any means to favour or countenance his usurpation, chusing rather to suffer imprisonment and other hardships, than to comply with tyranny under any form. Upon the return of king Charles, being conscious to himself of having done nothing in relation to publick affairs, for which he could not willingly and cheerfully suffer, he continued at his house in Hampstead near London; where under false and unworthy pretences, that he had engaged in councils with some of the army to drive him out of England again, he was seized and imprisoned in the Tower; whence he was carried from one place to another for the space of about two years; after the expiration of which, they who feared his abilities, and knew his integrity, thought convenient to violate the publick faith, and under a form of law to put him to death.

THE king of France, who had been fully informed of the importance of the town of Dunkirk, which had been acquired by the arms of the commonwealth; and that his brother in England, notwithstanding the vast sums he had received from the people, still wanted more to supply the excesses of his way of living, tempted him with the offer of between three and four hundred thousand pounds for that place, which after some difficulties was accepted, the bargain struck, and the town surrendered to the French: an action so infamous that it wants a name, rendering him equally contemptible both to protestants and papists, and so astonishing in the eyes of all Europe, that no man on this side the sea would believe it possible, till they found it confirmed from all parts, that the French were actually entered into possession.

ABOUT the same time a treaty was concluded between England and Holland, the foundation of which having been laid in the blood of our three friends beforementioned, the superstructure was raised with the like materials; and the Dutch agreed to an article, importing, That if any, who had been the judges of the late king, or otherwise excepted from the benefit of the act of indemnity, should be found within their territories, they should upon demand be forthwith delivered into the hands of such as should be appointed by the king of England to receive them: and that if any other persons of the English nation should at any time be demanded by the king, the States obliged themselves to surrender them also, in case they should be found in that country fourteen days after such demand made.

IN the mean time, the English court knowing themselves to be fallen under the hatred and contempt of the people for their cruelty, immorality and corruption, aggravated by the late sale of Dunkirk, resolved by the contrivance of a plot to disarm their enemies, and provide for their present safety. To this end, by the means of major-general Brown and others, money was advanced,

vanced, and arms put into the hands of some persons, among whom one Bradley, who had formerly belonged to Cromwell, was the principal, that by giving small sums to indigent officers of the late army, and by shewing the arms they had ready, they might engage them and others in this pretended design. An account of this plot was printed and published, affirming, that divers thousands of ill-affected persons were ready, under my command, to seize the Tower and city of London; then to march directly to Whitehall, in order to kill the king and Monk, with a resolution to give no quarter to any that adhered to them, and after that to declare for a commonwealth. By this means one Baker, who had been of the guard to Cromwell, and since the disbanding of the army had been reduced to grind knives for a poor living, having received half a crown from Bradley, and promised his assistance when there should be occasion, was executed with some others for this conspiracy. However this served the court for a pretence to seize five or six hundred persons; to disarm all those they suspected; to require those they had taken to give bonds of 200*l.* each, not to take up arms against the king, and to increase their standing guards. They were not ashamed also to give it out, that their messengers had been so near to seize my person, that they had taken my cloke and slippers, and committed two gentlemen to the Tower for accompanying me, as they said, to the sea-side, in order to my escape; though at the same time they knew so well where I was, that they had employed instruments to procure me to be assassinated in Switzerland, which was discovered to a merchant of Laufanna by a person of quality living in these parts, who had refused ten thousand crowns offered to him on the part of the dutchess of Anjou, sister to his gracious majesty, if he would undertake that province.

THE earl of Antrim, an Irish papist, and one who had been concerned among the first in the rebellion of that country, having been seized at London, as I mentioned before, and afterwards sent prisoner to Ireland, was ordered by a letter under the king's hand and seal to be cleared and set at liberty, charging the guilt of that rebellion upon his father, and affirming in the said letter, "That the earl of Antrim had not done any thing, without warrant and authority from the king his father;" though it was well known that he had his head and hands deeply and early engaged in that bloody work. Thus the mask was openly taken off, in confidence, that a people deprived of their leaders, dispirited by the late executions, and awed by the authority of a complying house of commons, would not be able to shew their resentment.

IN the months of September and October 1666, we had a considerable addition to our company by the arrival of Mr. William Say, colonel Bisco, Mr. serjeant Dendy, Mr. Nicholas Love, Mr. Andrew Broughton, Mr. Slingsby Bethel, and Mr. Cornelius Holland, at Laufanna. The three gentlemen first named having passed by Bern in their journey to us, had made a visit to Mr. Humelius, the principal minister of that place, who having a competent knowledge of the English tongue, had been highly kind and serviceable in procuring the order of the lords of Bern for our protection. By him they were entertained with all manner of civilities, and informed that we were at Laufanna,

Laufanna, which gave us an opportunity of returning our acknowledgment for his favour to our friends and countrymen, with our desires that he would be pleased to present our humble thanks to their excellencies for their honourable protection; being obliged to use this way rather than any other, not only because of the respect he had acquired in that place by his singular merit, but because we were not sufficiently acquainted with the language of the country, to make our addresses to the government. Upon the return of his answer to our message we perceived that he had performed our desires with great affection, and that it was the opinion of our best friends there, and in particular of Mr. treasurer Steiger, that for many reasons it would be more convenient for us to remove to Vevay, than to remain longer at Laufanna. Having received this advice, six of us, after we had taken leave of the magistrates, who expressed their sorrow for our departure, quitted our residence and went to Vevay; but Mr. Phelps and colonel Bisco having bought goods at Geneva, and other places, resolved to try if by trading in Germany and Holland, they could improve the stock of money they had. Mr. serjeant Dendy and Mr. Andrew Broughton chose rather to continue at Laufanna than to remove with us, yet promising to make us frequent visits wherever we should resolve to fix our habitation.

AT Vevay we were received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and affection both from the magistrates and people: the publick wine was presented to us in great abundance, and the next morning the banderet or principal magistrate, accompanied by most of the members of the council, came to the place where we lay to give us a visit; expressing themselves ready to serve us to the utmost of their power; giving us thanks for the honour they said we did the town in coming to reside among them; and assuring us, That though they were sufficiently informed concerning our persons and employments, both civil and military, yet the principal motive that inclined them to offer their services in so hearty a manner, was the consideration of our sufferings for the liberties of our country. We returned our thanks as well as we could; and the next day, having retired to a private house belonging to Monsieur Dubois, who was one of the council of the town, we were again visited by the magistrates, and presented with wine, with assurances that their excellencies of Bern had caused them to understand, that they would take the civilities they should do to us, as done to themselves. They acquainted us also, that seats were ordered for us in both their churches; that the commander, as they name him, was directed to accompany us the first time to the one, and the chatelain to the other. These favours so considerable, so cordial and so seasonable, I hope a man in my condition may mention, without incurring the charge of ostentation.

THE endless prodigality of the English court, the persecution of the dissenters, the sale of Dunkirk, the articles exhibited in parliament by the earl of Bristol against the chancellor Hyde, and the factions ensuing on that account, together with many other causes of discontent and division, had so alienated the affections of the people from their king, that the best judges

were of opinion, that if a favourable conjuncture should happen, they would be as ready to shake off the yoke, as they had been foolish and inconsiderate in putting it on: and our friends in all parts began to entertain hopes that they might be again employed to rescue their country from servitude. In this posture of affairs, colonel Algernon Sidney, who, when Monk acted his treacherous part in England, was one of the three plenipotentiaries that had been sent by the parliament to mediate a peace between the two Northern crowns, which they effected in conjunction with the like number empowered by the states of Holland to that end; and since that time had resided at Rome and other parts of Italy, thought convenient to draw nearer home, that if an opportunity should offer, he might not be wanting to his duty and the publick service. In his way he was pleased to honour us with a visit in our retirement in Switzerland, assuring us of his affection and friendship, and no way declining to own us and the cause for which we suffered. He favoured us with his company for about three weeks, and at his departure, presented me with a pair of pistols, the barrels of which were made at Brescia in Lombardy by old Lazzarino Comminazzo. Designing to go for Flanders, where he resolved to pass the ensuing winter, he took his journey by the way of Bern, doing all the good offices he could for us with the advoyer and other principal magistrates, assuring them of the great sense we had of their excellencies favours, and of our desires to have our acknowledgment presented to them in the best manner; not forgetting to let them know, that they would oblige a considerable part of the good people of England by their kindness and civilities to us. He had a long conference with the advoyer about the affairs of England, and in a letter written to me from Bern, he acquainted me, that he thought he had left him and others in a temper rather to add than diminish their favours to us. But upon the whole matter, our noble friend advised that some of us, who might be best able to travel, should go to Bern, and pay a compliment to the government in our own persons, intimating that so generous and publick a favour deserved a publick acknowledgment. Having imparted this advice to our friends, Mr. Nicholas Love, and Mr. Andrew Broughton (who though usually residing at Lausanna, was then with us) offered their company; but Mr. Lisle made many objections against this undertaking at that time; so that we three were obliged to go to Bern in the name of the rest of the company. Being arrived there we went first to wait on our good friend Mr. Humelius, who received us with great affection, and expressed his joy for the resolution we had taken to present our thanks personally to their excellencies. We desired of him that some means might be found to make our addreses with as little ceremony and noise as possible, which he approved, and promised to see Mr. treasurer Steiger the same evening, and to consult with him, in order to serve us according to our desires, assuring us that the next morning we should hear from them. In conformity to his promise Mr. Humelius came to us in person, with assurances from the treasurer of his affection and services; acquainting us, that we should have the liberty of making our acknowledgment to the council of Bern in our own manner, either by speech or writing as

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should

should be most agreeable to us. -Upon which, considering our inability to express ourselves in the French or German language as was requisite on such an occasion, we resolved to do it in writing. Having agreed upon this way, we accompanied Mr. Humelius to see his children, as he called them, who were orphans of both sexes, born of poor parents, and bred up by the magistracy in a place set apart for that purpose, all manner of necessaries being provided for them, till they should be capable of being employed in such trades as were proper for persons in their condition. From thence we retired to prepare our address, which we agreed to present in the French tongue as follows:

Illustres, Hauts & Puissans Souverains & Trez honorez Seigneurs.

“ **A** YANT esté contrainsts par l’etrange revolution des affaires d’Angle-
 “ terre (le lieu de nostre naissance) pour eviter l’orage qui nous
 “ menacoit & tous les gens de bien, de quitter nostre patrie, apres que nous
 “ y avions fait nostre possible pour l’avancement de la gloire de Dieu & le bien
 “ de la republique, nous avons trouvé une assistance particuliere du tout
 “ puissant, en ce qu’il a disposé vos Excellences a nous secourir & proteger au
 “ temps de nostre adversité. C’est cette faveur que deux de nos compatriotes
 “ & un de nous ont deja experimenté par la protection particuliere qu’il a
 “ plu à vos Excellences de leur accorder, les autres se reposans sur la generale,
 “ que toutes personnes pieuses & paisibles obtiennent sous le gouvernement
 “ juste & favorable de vos Excellences.

“ COMME nous sommes obligez d’adresser nos vœux au Seigneur pour le
 “ remercier d’une grace si particuliere; aussi, afin de temoigner à vos Excel-
 “ lences jusqu’ou va nostre ressentiment, nous avons plusieurs fois prié quel-
 “ ques seigneurs de vostre illustre senat, de vous l’assurer de nostre part. Mais
 “ ayant depuis esprouvé les effets de vostre bonté d’une maniere extraordi-
 “ naire, nous avons cru estre obligé de rendre personnellement ce devoir a vos
 “ Excellences. C’est ce que font a present deux d’entre nous, de nostre propre
 “ part & de celle de ceux qui ont esté conservé par vostre protection generale;
 “ et un de nostre nombre, de sa propre part, & de celle de Monsieur Guillaume
 “ Cawley, a qui vos Excellences ont fait la grace de donner une protection
 “ particuliere; qui est tresaffligé que les infirmités corporelles qui l’accompa-
 “ nent, le privent du bien & du contentement qu’il auroit receu, s’il eust pu
 “ avoir l’avantage de vous temoigner sa reconnoissance en personne.

“ COMME nous avons pris cette occasion pour vous donner des assurances du
 “ ressentiment que nous avons de tant de bonté qu’il a plu à vos Excellences de
 “ nous temoigner, nous prenons aussi ce temps pour vous assurer de nostre
 “ obeissance, & de la grande passion que nous avons de vous en pouvoir donner

“ quelques marques considerables, si Dieu nous en donne l'occasion, dont
 “ nous ne desesperons point. Cependant nous prierons l'Eternel qu'il vueille
 “ fortifier vos Excellences de plus en plus a le servir, jusques a ce qu'ayant
 “ parachevé le cours de cette vie, vous veniez a recevoir la couronne qui est
 “ préparé pour ceux qui le craignent,

Illustres, Hauts & Puissans Soverains,
 & tres honorez Seigneurs,

Vos Serviteurs Tres humbles
 & Tresobeissants,

Edmond Ludlow, &c.

The same in English.

To the Illustrious, High and Mighty Sovereigns, and most honoured Lords, their Excellencies of Bern.

HAVING been constrained by the late extraordinary revolution of affairs in England, the place of our birth, for avoiding the storm that threatened us and the good people there, to quit that land, after we had used our utmost endeavours for the advancement of God's glory and the good of our country, we find cause to admire the goodness of the Almighty, for inclining your excellencies to succour and protect us in this time of our distress. This favour two of our countrymen, and one of our number, have already received, by virtue of those particular protections which it has pleased your excellencies to grant; the rest of our company relying on the general one, that all pious and peaceable persons enjoy under your excellencies righteous and just government.

As we esteem ourselves obliged to bless God for this signal and especial favour; so also to testify to your excellencies our grateful acknowledgment, we have divers times desired some of the honourable lords of this illustrious senate to present you with our most humble thanks. But every day more and more experiencing the effects of your goodness and favour, we have thought ourselves obliged personally to pay this duty to your excellencies. This two of us do at this time for ourselves, and in the behalf of others who have been preserved by virtue of your general protection; and one of us for himself and on the part of Mr. William Cawley, one of those, to whom your excellencies have been pleased to grant a particular protection: who finds himself sensibly

afflicted that the infirmities of his body do now deprive him of the happiness and satisfaction he should have received if he could have tendered his duty in person.

HAVING taken this occasion to testify the deep sense we have of your excellencies favours, we desire leave to assure you of our obedience, and the ambition we have to give some signal testimony of our gratitude to your excellencies, if God shall favour us with an opportunity, of which we do not despair. In the mean time, That God will fortify your excellencies in his service, till having finished your course in this world, you shall receive the crown prepared for those that fear him, shall be the prayer of,

Illustrious, High and Mighty Sovereigns,
and most honoured Lords,

Your most humble and most
obedient Servants,

Edmund Ludlow, &c.

WE had scarce finished this paper, when Mr. treasurer Steiger, accompanied by Mr. Humelius, came to our lodging; and having acquainted us that he should not have failed to be with us in the morning, if the publick affairs had not required his presence at the council, he made us the offer of his services in a most affectionate manner, and declared his resolution to assist us to the utmost of his power; expressing his detestation of the late action of the states of Holland, in delivering up our friends into the hands of their mortal enemies, and purchasing the security of trade with so much shame to themselves. When we had answered his civilities in the best manner we could, and given him our thanks for the offers of his favour, we shewed him the paper above-mentioned; which having perused and approved, he desired Mr. Humelius to accompany us to the advoyer (or president of the council, by whose hands all addresses pass to their excellencies) and took his leave for that time.

THE advoyer being informed that we were waiting to present ourselves to him, gave orders for our admittance, and received us with great kindness, expressing his sense of the justice of that cause which we had defended, and for which we then suffered, together with the esteem, which he assured us their excellencies in general, and himself in particular, had of our persons. We desired him to believe, that we had the deepest sense of his and their excellencies favour, attributing the civilities and respect we had received, as well from the magistrates as from the people in all places within the territories of
their

their excellencies, to the bounty and favour of the government towards us: to which he replied, That he was very glad, their officers and others of their subjects had so well performed their duty. Then proceeding to acquaint him with the occasion of our coming to Bern, I delivered the address into his hands, with our humble desires that it might be presented to their excellencies; which when he had read and intimated that my name was not unknown to him, he assured us with much affection, that he would not fail to present it to their excellencies, and to return a speedy answer. I would have saved him that trouble, and therefore told him that we expected no answer, and desired no more than their excellencies acceptance of our humble acknowledgments. But he said we should have an answer; accompanying us, when we took leave, to the outward gate, not permitting us to prevail with him to the contrary.

HAVING dispatched this business, we went to take a view of the publick buildings, particularly that, where the senate and council of two hundred are used to assemble. The chambers are opposite to each other, and divided by a narrow passage, on both sides of which are rooms for the reception of such as have any affairs in either of those places. From thence we were conducted to the Arsenal, where we saw a train of artillery consisting of about one hundred pieces of all kind of ordnance, with ammunition and all things necessary. There were arms, as I conjectured, sufficient for about twenty thousand foot, and a proportionable number of horse. But I confess nothing that I saw gave me greater satisfaction, than to find a statue erected in one of the chambers of the Arsenal, to the memory of William Tel, who may in a great measure be called, The founder of this commonwealth. For when a certain knight called Grisser, who was governor of Ury and Sultz, after many repeated acts of tyranny, had wantonly caused a cap to be set on the top of a pole in the market-place of Altorf, commanding all those who should pass that way to uncover their heads, and to pay the same honours to the cap, as if he himself had been there present in person; William Tel refused to obey, and for his disobedience was sentenced by Grisser to be put to death, unless he could with one arrow hit an apple that should be placed on the head of his son. To this hard condition he was compelled to submit, and on the day appointed, in the presence of the governor, struck the apple with his arrow from the child's head. But Grisser having observed that he had brought with him two arrows, though he might use no more than one; and desiring to be informed why he had so done, William Tel, upon the governor's promise that he should not be put to death, acknowledged, that if he had killed his son with the one, he would have revenged his blood on the tyrant with the other. The governor conscious of his own crimes, and therefore fearing the resolution of such a man, though he would not put him to death, resolved to imprison him during life; and to that end caused him to be tied and thrown into a boat, with intention to see him securely laid in the dungeon of the strong castle of Cusnach. After they had been some time upon the lake of Ury, a violent storm arising, the governor finding his life in great danger, and knowing Tel

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to be an expert water-man, caused him to be unbound, that he might help to save the lives of himself and company. This he undertook to do, and steering towards Sultz, brought the boat so near the shore, that taking up his cross-bow which lay by him, he leaped out upon a rock, (called to this day "the Stone of Tel") pushed off the boat with his foot, and made his escape into the mountains. In the mean time the governor lay floating in his boat upon the water, and not without great danger and difficulty at last arrived in the port of Brunn, from whence he continued his way to Cusnach; of which William Tel being informed, and well acquainted with every part of the woods and hills, he posted himself in a private place, by which the tyrant was to pass, and with his cross-bow shot him dead upon the spot. The success of this action so animated the rest of his associates, who had formed a design to restore the liberty of their country, that on a day appointed they seized their governors, demolished the castles where they lived, banished them and their families, and bravely freed themselves from that tyranny which they could not bear. Besides the statue of William Tel taken in full proportion, standing with a cross-bow in his hand, and aiming at an apple on a child's head, there is a statue of the first advoyer, with two more, of persons who were principally eminent in establishing the commonwealth, armed "de cap en pied," and one of them on horseback, to encourage others to defend that liberty which their ancestors had purchased for them.

THIS night, as we were at supper, we received a compliment from the advoyer, accompanied with a present of wine; and the next morning an order was brought to Mr. Humelius, who was then with us, from their excellencies of Bern, written in the German tongue, which being translated by him into English, contained as follows:

SEPTEMBER the 3d, 1663.

"CONCERNING the three English gentlemen, who have for some
 " time resided at Vevay, and have this day presented in our assembly of
 " council their thanks for our protection formerly granted to them; 'tis re-
 " solved, that they shall be saluted on our part with a present of wine, and
 " that Mr. treasurer Steiger, with Mr. Kilberger, and you our Doyne, do ac-
 " quaint them with our affection and good will to them, and assure them of
 " the continuation of the same for the time to come."

MR. Humelius, after he had read this order, informed us, that the gentlemen therein mentioned, with some other magistrates, designed to dine with us that day, and had desired him to accompany them. Accordingly, between eleven and twelve, Mr. treasurer Steiger, colonel Weifs, and one more of the 24 senators, in the room of Mr. Kilberger, who was diverted by some publick business, attended by the grand Sautier with his mace, and three other gentlemen, came to us at our lodging; where after about an hour's discourse, Mr. treasurer being informed that the dinner was set upon the table, invited

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us to go down into the hall, and with great civility placed our company, which being done, he ordered the grand Sautier to lay aside his mace. After we had sat about a quarter of an hour, two officers clothed in their excellencies livery brought in the present of wine that had been ordered, upon which, one of the three gentlemen who came with Mr. treasurer arising from the table, harangued us in the name of their excellencies; concluding with an assurance of the continuation of their favour. To this we thought ourselves obliged to answer, That as we owed our lives and liberties to the protection of their excellencies, we resolved to sacrifice all in their service, when we should be so happy to find an occasion.

DINNER being over, a question was started by colonel Weifs, How it came to pass, that we, who for many years had the whole power of the three nations in our hands, were removed from the government without shedding one drop of blood? To which I answered, That for the right understanding of the affairs that had lately passed in England, it would be necessary to take up the matter from the beginning. But they pressing me to favour them with some account of those transactions, I told them with all the brevity I could, "That most of those persons who had first engaged in the war, having made their own peace, had endeavoured to deliver us and the cause itself into the hands of our enemies; and though they had many opportunities to have ended the dispute by destroying the king's army, they neglected all, and only endeavoured to reduce the crown to their own terms. This was visible in the conduct of the earl of Essex, on several occasions, and in that of the earl of Manchester after the battle of Newbery, who, though he had twenty thousand men in his army, flushed with that victory, yet suffered the king, with seven thousand only, to carry off the cannon he had left at a place which stood near the ground where he had been routed a few weeks before, without once offering to attack him, giving this at a council of war for the reason of his refusing to fight, "That if the king were beaten twenty times by us, he would be still king; but if he should once beat us, we should be all treated as traitors:" for which being accused in the house of commons, though they thought not convenient to proceed against him criminally; yet upon this and divers other considerations, they removed him, together with the earl of Essex, and the rest of the nobility, from their commands in the army, making choice of commoners to fill their places, whose interest they knew it was to take away the monarchy itself. By this means they soon put an end to the war, sentenced the king to die for the blood that had been shed, established a free commonwealth, brought their enemies at home to submit to their authority, and reduced those abroad to accept such terms as they would give. In the midst of all this prosperity they were betrayed by Oliver Cromwell, whom they had entrusted with the command of their army; who, having moulded the greatest part of the officers to his purpose, by calumniating the parliament, proposing advancement to the ambitious, and deluding the simple with a shew of religion; backed by the assistance of the clergy and lawyers, (who had been threatened by the parliament with a reformation of their practices) ejected his

his masters, and usurped their authority; endeavouring, during the five years of his reign, to ruin all that had been faithful to the interest of the commonwealth, and advancing those who would not scruple to sacrifice their consciences to his ambition. By these ways the army became so corrupted, that though after the usurper's death they had been persuaded with great difficulty to depose the son, and to permit the restitution of the parliament, yet they were soon after induced, under frivolous pretences, to offer violence to them a second time; which rendering them odious to the people, gave an opportunity to Monk, by declaring for the parliament, to divide their councils, and to render them useless. And when the parliament had, in gratitude for their restitution, conferred many undeserved favours upon Monk, he also, who had been a creature of Cromwell, and advanced by him, betrayed his trust, and contrary to many protestations, oaths, and solemn asseverations, brought a great number of persons to vote in parliament, who had formerly been ejected by the house, which turned the ballance from the side of the commonwealth, and under the influence of his forces brought in the son of the late king."

THOUGH the brevity of this account would not admit of that clearness and perspicuity which I could have wished; yet our generous friends were not only willing to pardon the imperfections, but gave me thanks for the information they said I had given them of our affairs, expressing themselves deeply sensible of the troubles that had fallen upon us and the honest interest by so base a treachery.

AFTER this conversation the senators rising from their seats, we gave them thanks for the honours they had been pleased to do us, and according to our duty offered to accompany them to their respective habitations. But these truly noble persons would by no means permit us; and being desirous that their favours to us should be yet more publick, they invited us to go to the church, that all men might see they were not ashamed to own what they had done. To this end, Mr. treasurer Steiger having ordered the mace to be carried before him, constrained me to take the right hand, monsieur Humelius and colonel Weifs doing the like to Mr. Love and Mr. Broughton, obliging us to enter the church before them, and placing us in the most honourable seats; neither could we prevail with them to go before us from the place of publick worship, or to permit us to accompany them to their houses. The next day we went to wait on the advoyer, who was then preparing for his embassy to France, where he and another person were appointed to represent the canton of Bern; and having acquainted him with the deep impression their excellencies and his favours had made upon us, he expressed himself highly sensible of our condition, and heartily desirous of our restitution, with assurances of his farther services on all occasions, and promising the like favour and protection to as many of our countrymen as should come to them. At our taking leave, he accompanied us to the outward gate as in the first visit, and when we told him he had exceeded in the honours done to us, he condescended to say, That in his own account he had never received so much honour in his life. After this, we paid our respects and thanks to Mr. treasurer Steiger, to the ancient

bailiff monsieur Lentulus, to colonel Weifs, and to our true friend monsieur Humelius, with divers others of the senate and council. And being desirous to wait also on general D'Erlach, who, we were informed, had much favoured us in the business of our protection, we went to his house; but he was gone out of town, and we had not the advantage to see him at that time.

HAVING been thus successful in our affairs at Bern, we returned to our residence at Vevay, where we had not been long, before we were informed, that an Irishman going under the name of Riardo, and belonging, as he said, to the Dutchess of Orleans, was arrived at Turin, and had formed a design against our lives; and that Mr. Denzil Hollis, since the late revolution called lord Hollis, and at that time ambassador in France, had been with one monsieur Lullin, who was agent at Paris for the republick of Geneva, to desire satisfaction for a book which he supposed to be printed in that place, in favour of those who had been condemned for putting the late king to death. But that which alarmed us most, was a report, that letters had been sent from the king of England to their excellencies of Bern, to demand our persons. Of this information having given an account to Mr. Humelius, and desired him to use his diligence in finding out the truth of these things; we soon received in answer, that he had heard nothing of the two first: and as to the last, he assured us, that no letters of that sort from England were yet come to the hands of their excellencies; but if such a thing should happen, he would not fail to give us timely notice and advice, for our government on such an occasion. By a second, which we received from him soon after, he informed us, that general D'Erlach had acquainted him with the arrival of a courier from France, who had brought letters for their ambassador, together with particular orders to inform himself, whether their excellencies of Bern might by any means be induced to deliver us up, or at least to withdraw their protection from us. But not finding the ambassador in the country (he having taken a journey to the court of France, to be present at the reception of the Swiss ambassadors, who had been sent thither to ratify the treaty lately concluded with the king) he was returned to Paris, and had carried his letters back with him. And I am inclined to believe that our enemies, upon information of the honourable reception we had found from their excellencies, were entirely discouraged from attempting any thing in that way, and therefore turned their malice against us into designs of violence and assassination.

DIVERS letters from Turin, Geneva, Lyons, and other places, which we and our friends at Vevay received, were full of advices from those parts, that so many and such desperate persons had engaged against us, that it would be next to impossible to escape their hands: and one of my best friends, who was then at Geneva, sent a messenger express to me with a letter to inform me, That he had received a billet from a person who knew our friendship, and desired not to be known, with these expressions at the end, "If you wish the preservation of the English general at Vevay, let him know, that he must remove from thence with speed, if he have any regard to his own safety."

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We also received certain information, that Riardo had been seen in the Pais de Vaux, and in several parts of Savoy. Being somewhat alarmed with these things, our company met, in order to consult what was fit to be done on this occasion, and soon came to a resolution, that we would not remove into any country that was governed by a monarch, lest we should be guilty of our own blood, by seeking protection from those who were concerned in interest to destroy us. It remained only to consider, whether we should quit the place of our present residence for any other under the same government; or whether we should remove from the territories of Bern to some other republick. The first we were unwilling to do for many respects, and particularly on account of the good will and affection that the people had expressed to us: and to the second we could by no means consent, because the protection of their excellencies had been so frankly, publickly and generously extended to us. So that having determined to remain at Vevay, and being informed that a fair would be kept there in a few days, we contented ourselves with changing our lodging for one night, and procuring the guard of the town to be doubled during the day of the fair, lest our enemies should disguise themselves, and mixing with the concourse of people pass unsuspected, till they might find an opportunity of surprising us.

ACCORDING to our information, some of the villains who were employed to destroy us, had, on the fourteenth of November 1663, passed the lake from Savoy, in order to put their bloody design in execution the next day as we should be going to the church. They arrived at Vevay about an hour after sun set, and having divided themselves, one part took up their quarters in one inn, and the other in another. The next day being Sunday, monsieur Dubois, our landlord, going early to the church, discovered a boat at the side of the lake with four watermen in her, their oars in order, and ready to put off. Not far from the boat stood two persons with clokes thrown over their shoulders, two sitting under a tree, and two more in the same posture a little way from them. Monsieur Dupois concluding they had arms under their clokes, and that these persons had waylaid us, with a design to murder us as we should be going to the sermon, pretending to have forgotten something, returned home and advised us of what he had observed. In his way to us he had met one Mr. Binet, who acquainted him that two men whom he suspected of some bad intention, had posted themselves near his house, and that four more had been seen in the market-place; but that finding themselves observed, they had all retired towards the lake. By this means the way leading to the church through the town being cleared, we went to the sermon without any molestation, and said nothing to any man of what we had heard, because we had not yet certainly found that they had a design against us. Returning from church I was informed, that the suspected persons were all dining at one of the inns, which excited my curiosity to take a view of the boat. Accordingly I went with a small company, and found the four watermen by the boat, the oars laid in their places, a great quantity of straw in the bottom of the boat, and all things ready to put off. About an hour after dinner

ner I met our landlord, and having enquired of him concerning the persons before-mentioned, he assured me they could be no other than a company of rogues; that they had arms under the straw in the boat; and that they had cut the withes that held the oars of the town-boats, to prevent any pursuit if they should be forced to fly. But these ruffians, who had observed the actions of monsieur Dubois, and suspected he would cause them to be seized, came down soon after I had viewed the boat, and in great haste caused the watermen to put off, and returned to Savoy. This discovery being made, the chatelain, the banderet, together with all the magistrates and people of the town, were much troubled that we had not given them timely notice, that so they might have been seized. We afterwards understood that one Du Pose of Lyons, monsieur Du Pre a Savoyard, (of whom I shall have occasion to speak more largely) one Cerise of Lyons, with Riardo before-mentioned, were part of this crew, and that Riardo paid the whole expence they made at Vevay.

THE bailiff, the chatelain and the whole council, shewing themselves highly sensible of this affront offered to the government of their excellencies, and of the injury done to us, the banderet gave order that the boats of the town should be ready to attack them in case they should return to make any attempt against us. They not only offered us a guard for the safety of our house, but condescended to tell us, that they were ready to do that office themselves. The bailiff directed the chatelain to require all the inn-keepers every night to give an account upon oath, either to him or to monsieur Dubois, our landlord, of all persons that should come to lodge at their houses; and the council of the town ordered, That no burghers should entertain any man, for whom they would not answer. Their excellencies of Bern also being informed of this attempt, sent their orders to the bailiffs of Lausanna, Morges and Vevay, to take especial care of our persons, and to search all boats coming from Savoy, of which they should have any suspicion.

MONSIEUR Du Pre finding himself disappointed in this enterprize, and fearing that for this affront to their excellencies of Bern, he might be deprived of the profits of some lands lying within their territories, of which he had lately taken possession, after a long suit at law in the right of his wife, and which had been sequestered from him, because he had violently carried her out of their country before marriage, procured one of my good friends at Geneva to write to me on his behalf, and to inform me that he had no otherwise engaged in this affair than to do me service. Our landlord also being unwilling to provoke him any farther, knowing the desperate resolution of the man, desired that if I should write to any of my friends at Bern concerning this attempt, I would only name Riardo, who was confessed to be the principal undertaker. But though I thought it not proper for us to be the accusers and prosecutors of those who were concerned in this design; yet being not able to see any reason to do as was desired in his behalf, I resolved to leave the whole matter to the wisdom of their excellencies; who after they had received the report of those in our parts, to whom they had committed the examination of

this affair, being assured that monsieur Du Pre was one of that number, seized again into their hands the estate he had enjoyed in the right of his wife.

OUR enemies still giving out in all places where they durst, That they would not desist till they had effected their design; I received a letter from a good friend in which I found these words: "You are hated and feared more than all the rest of your companions: your head is set at a great price: 'tis against you they take all this pains to find assassins, and 'twas on your account they contrived the late attempt; so that upon the whole matter I cannot but advise, that you would resolve to retire to some place where you may be unknown, there being, in my opinion, no other way left to secure you from the rage of your enemies." But having strengthened our house, and made the best provision we could for our defence, being assured of the affections both of the magistrates and people of the town, and the government having given me power to ring the alarum-bell upon occasion, and to that end contrived it so that I could do it from my own chambers, our lodgings joining to one of the gates, I resolved not to remove: especially considering that those who had made the late attempt, being for the most part well known, had rendered themselves incapable of returning again to Vevay: whereas, if we should have removed to any other place, the same persons would have found greater facility to execute their design. As to that part of the advice, tending to persuade me to go to some place where I might not be known, I knew it was in vain to think of finding any such within the territories of their excellencies, and out of them I resolved not to depart.

IN the mean time I was informed by letters from England, That Riardo having been at that court to give account of the ill success of the late attempt against us, was not only well received by the king, but dispatched with new orders to carry on the same design; and that in his passage through France he had been with the dutchess of Orleans, who was the principal instrument used by his gracious majesty for encouraging and carrying on this manly attempt. I was also assured from France that in a letter to that king, he had acquainted him, That not thinking himself safe so long as the principal traitors were alive, he desired his assistance to seize or destroy those that were on that side the sea, and particularly those in Switzerland.

IN prosecution of the orders that had been sent from their excellencies of Bern, the bailiff of Morges having notice that one of the watermen who had brought the assassins from Savoy to Vevay was in that town, caused him to be seized, and sent prisoner to the castle of Chillion, which is the place of residence for the bailiff of Vevay. On the first of January we were invited by the bailiff to a publick entertainment in the castle, and by that means were present at his examination. For some time he confessed nothing material; but being found to contradict himself in his answers, and therefore threatened with the strapada by the bailiff and the baron de Chatteler, he seeing the cord made ready, informed them, That one monsieur De la Broette, and monsieur Du Fargis, both Savoyards, were among those who came in the boat with Du Pre; and

and that one of the four watermen was the person who cut the withes of all the town-boats to prevent them from pursuing; adding, that Du Pre told them at their return to Savoy, That if they had succeeded in their enterprize they should have had money enough; but constantly denying, that he knew any thing of the design till it had miscarried.

YET neither the care of the government to provide by their justice for our future safety, nor the disappointment of the assassins in their late attempt, could remove the fears our friends had entertained of new designs against our persons, or persuade them to believe that we could be safe whilst we remained in the place where we were. Among others, Mr. treasurer Steiger wrote a letter to the bailiff of Vevay, in which he desired him to persuade us to remove our quarters either to Yverden, Laufanna, or some other place that was near the center of their excellencies territories, where they might be better able to defend us, than he doubted they could at present, by reason of the advantages that the situation of the lake afforded to our enemies, who, he said, might come by water from Savoy, or Versoy, a place belonging to the French, to the foot of our garden wall without fear of surprize or discovery; assuring him, That having been the first adviser of our settlement at Vevay, if any ill should happen to us whilst we continued in that place, he should account himself the most unhappy man in the world. The bailiff having communicated this letter to me, I answered, That our company was extremely obliged to Mr. treasurer Steiger for the care he expressed to be upon him for our safety; but that our disease being entirely personal and not at all local, we should, in my opinion, be so far from mending upon the change of air, that I feared we should render our condition worse, by going to a place where we were not known, and putting ourselves under a necessity of making new friends, which by the favour and goodness of the magistrates and people, we had already acquired at Vevay; that therefore we should willingly acquit Mr. treasurer and all our friends from the blame of whatever might befall us, and take the consequences of our stay upon ourselves. With these and other reasons the bailiff, and by his means, the rest of our friends were so well satisfied, that we heard no more from them on that account.

ABOUT this time I received a letter from one monsieur De la Fleschere, a near relation of that monsieur Du Pre who was one of the twelve that came to assassinate us at Vevay, in which he declared his detestation of that villany, and promised to inform me from time to time of what he should learn of their designs; acquainting me of their intentions to attack us in our way to the church which was without the town, and therefore advising that I should go seldom thither, and never without company and well armed. He counselled us by all means to keep together, and not to separate, as he was informed we intended to do, and that we should continue in the place where we were, because the lake was a great impediment to our enemies designs, who, he said, assured themselves of success in their enterprize, if we should go to Yverden, Laufanna, or any other place, from whence they might make their escape on horseback.

DIVERS other advertisements of designs against us coming to our hands about the same time, most of them naming me to be the person, against whom the malice was principally directed, and insinuating, that the rest of our company were brought into hazard chiefly on my account, Mr. Lisle either really was, or pretended to be so alarmed, that he withdrew himself from us and went to Laufanna, under colour that expecting a visit from his lady in the month of May next ensuing, he was unwilling she should come to Vevay, lest it should prove prejudicial to her after her return to England. Before he left us, he made his will, and took leave of the magistrates, and of all his friends in the town in a solemn manner. At our parting, I took liberty to desire him to take the best care he could of himself, and not to be too confident of his security, upon supposition that I was the only person marked out for destruction; since he well knew, that at a consult held by our enemies at Châtillon, they had enquired after him as well as myself: I adjured him therefore to be upon his guard, lest presuming too much upon safety, he might betray himself into their hands.

Soon after the departure of Mr. Lisle, I received advice by the means of monsieur de la Fleschere, that du Pose and Cerise of Lyons, with one St. Du, had been at Tunno, a place lying upon the lake, to confer with Du Pre, de la Broette and Du Fargis, about resuming their former design, and that they had passed most part of that night in the wood of Courent, where it had been at last resolved, that they would come no more to Vevay by the way of the lake; but that the next attempt should be made by a smaller number of persons on foot, with horses kept ready to receive them, and to carry them off either by the way of Chillion, St. Dennis, or Laufanna; of all which I gave notice to Mr. Lisle, who with others of our friends and countrymen was then at Laufanna.

ABOUT eight days after, one monsieur Du Moulin of Vevay, going towards Laufanna, discovered in a lane not far from the lake on the way of Safron, three persons well mounted and armed, with one on foot, and thinking them to have no good design, he sent a servant to observe them, who upon his return confirming him in his suspicion, monsieur Du Moulin dismounted, and taking up the foot of his horse to induce them to believe he only wanted a shoe, he returned immediately to Vevay. But they suspecting themselves to be discovered, and that he was returned to give us notice, as indeed he was, made so much haste away, that before the people of the town could reach the place where they had been seen, they were arrived at Safron; and having a boat, which had brought them in the morning from Savoy, lying ready to receive them, they by that means made their escape. They had sent two persons on foot into the town to assassinate me by stabbing or shooting, and these horsemen were to have carried them off, as we afterwards understood: but that the town being raised by the information of monsieur Du Moulin, they also had thought convenient to shift for themselves.

ON the 21st of July 1664, we were informed, that some Savoyards had landed in the harbour of Ouches belonging to Laufanna, and had let fall some words

words of a design against the English there. Upon which some of their friends having notice, went to the burgomaster in order to procure his warrant to seize and bring them to be examined before him. But the burgomaster refusing to do any thing in the matter without the advice of the bailiff, they went to the castle; where, finding the bridge drawn up, they thought not fit to trouble him that night. The next morning they went again to the castle, and having acquainted the bailiff with what they had heard, he presently granted his warrant, and ordered the fiscal to summon the Savoyards before him. But they having notice of what was doing, got into their boat and were put off, before the warrant could be served upon them. Yet it was supposed, that if the town-boats had been ordered to pursue them, they might easily have seized and brought them in; for they were within musket-shot of the shore when the officer came to the port with the warrant, the lake very rough, and the wind directly in their teeth. However, I must not omit, that these villains had been seen to stand by the door of the church, where Mr. Lisle used to go, all the time the people were going in to the sermon; but neither he nor any of our countrymen coming to the church that morning, they departed in a rage, one of them saying, "Le B. gre ne viendra pas;" which words though they were not observed at that time, yet were afterwards too well understood.

MR. Lisle having received advice from the lieutenant Balival that a certain Frenchman, who used to engrave upon seals and dishes at Vevay, Laufanna, and other places, had informed these Savoyards of the way they should take for the execution of their wicked design, procured an officer of justice to demand him at his lodging in Laufanna; where being informed that he was gone to Vevay, a message was dispatched to me, that I might cause him to be seized. Accordingly the bailiff, at my request, granted a warrant for taking him in custody. But he having heard how things had passed at Laufanna, and supposing the alarm to be over, was returned thither. Of which the government of that town having advice, they caused him to be seized and carried before the burgomaster, who, after a slight examination, contented himself with banishing him from their jurisdiction. And now Mr. Lisle began to think that he had not much better provided for his security by abandoning Vevay.

ON the Wednesday of the same week, two men in the habit of grooms mounted upon good horses came to lodge at an inn in Vevay; of which our landlord having received notice, (according to an order of the bailiff and chatelain formerly signified to all inn-keepers) he went to the house where they were, and upon examination was assured by them, that they belonged to a German count who was then at the baths in the Pais des Valleees; that they were by his order come to this place to wait his return, and that they had already sent a messenger to acquaint him with their arrival. Being not able to draw any more from them, he came home, and having acquainted me with what had passed, earnestly desired that I would be upon my guard. In the mean time these pretended grooms continued at Vevay till the Thursday

day in the following week, when one coming from the baths before-mentioned, assured, that no such person, as these fellows described, had been there; which added to a threatening message sent by our landlord to the inn-keeper for entertaining such rogues, they hastened away and went to Laufanna.

ON Thursday the 11th of August, 1664, one monsieur Longeon of Laufanna, brought me the sad news, That Mr. Lisle going that morning to hear the sermon in the church that stood near the town-gate, was shot dead by a person on foot, who had a companion waiting for him on horseback with a led horse in his hand, which the murderer having mounted and cried "Vive le Roy," they immediately rode away together towards Morges. Soon after this barbarous murder was committed, we understood from Laufanna by the description of their persons, their clothes and horses, that they were the same that had lodged at Vevay. They had continued for a week in Laufanna before they found an opportunity to put in execution their detestable plot, and had carried themselves with such indiscretion, that divers persons suspected them to have a design against the English; of which Mr. Lisle being informed, he sent his landlord twice to try what he could draw from them. But they had so well contrived their story, that he could find no colour to remove them. Many persons upon suspicion of these fellows had desired Mr. Lisle to be upon his guard, and to forbear going to the church he used; because it lay so near the town-gate, that if any person should make any attempt against him, they might with little difficulty escape by that way. Our countrymen also who were with him performed the same office; but he would by no means hearken to their advice, saying he was in the hands of God, and had committed himself intirely to his protection; adding to this answer, That my life was his defence, and that till our enemies had dispatched me, he assured himself they would not think of him. The villain that murdered him had waited his coming at a barber's shop, where he pretended to want something for his teeth, till seeing Mr. Lisle at a distance he stepped out of the shop, and as he came by, saluted him. Then following him into the church-yard, he drew a carabine from under his cloak, and shot him into the back. With the recoil of the piece the villain's hat was beaten off, and he himself falling over a piece of timber dropped his gun, which he left behind him, and as soon as he had recovered himself, running to his companion who held the led horse, he mounted and made his escape. Thus died John Lisle, Esq; son to Sir William Lisle of the Isle of Wight, a member of the great parliament, one of the council of state, commissioner of the great seal, and one of the assistants to the lord president, in the high court of justice that was erected for the trial of the late king. The government of Laufanna was so remiss in the pursuit of the assassins, that it was suspected they had some friends among them. And of this the villains themselves seemed to give proof; for before they had advanced half a league on their way, calling to some men who were working in the vineyards, they bid them give their service to the governors of Laufanna, and tell them they would drink their healths. But the common people openly cried out against the burgomaster, and accused him of having favoured the

the assassins. And that I may do justice to the bailiff of Laufanna, who had been absent for some time from the town upon publick business, I must not omit, that, when he heard of the assassination of Mr. Lisle, he said, That if he had been at Laufanna, those villains should not have continued so long there without interruption.

UPON this we received a great number of letters from our friends in several parts, to inform us of the rage of our enemies, and of their resolution to leave no means of destroying us unattempted, some of them having affirmed, That if they could not accomplish their design either by stabbing, poisoning or shooting, they were resolved to attempt us even in our lodgings. These advices, together with the death of Mr. Lisle, so alarmed my companions at Vevay, that I found it difficult to bring them to any certain resolution, every one making a different proposition touching the way we should take to provide for our safety; though for my own part I thought nothing so rational, as to fortify our interest in that place, where the magistrates and people had been always more ready to oblige and serve us, than we could be to ask any favour from them. To this end, with the concurrence of my countrymen, which I at last obtained, I went to monsieur Geoffray, who was then chatelain and deputy bailiff of Vevay, acquainting him with the letters we had lately received, and he readily offering to do whatever should be in his power for our service, I proposed, That, considering the design of our enemies was either to surprize us, as they had done in relation to Mr. Lisle; or (all other means failing) to attempt us by open violence; for prevention of both, orders might be issued out to the town of Vevay, and to the other towns and villages of that jurisdiction, to seize and examine such persons as they should find cause to suspect; and that upon the sound of the great bell at Vevay, upon the firing of a great gun, or the view of a fire upon any of the towers of the said place, they should take arms, secure the passes, and seize all unknown persons in order to carry them before the bailiff; and that if these signals should happen to be given in the night, they should be appointed to repair with their arms to our lodgings at Vevay, to receive such orders as should be necessary. The chatelain approved the proposition, and desired, that such an order might be prepared, promising he would send it to the bailiff to be signed; which being drawn up and sent to the castle of Chillion, the bailiff most readily signed four orders of the same tenour, and directed them to Vevay, Moutre, the Tower and Bloney, with injunction that they should be published two several times in the market places, and before the churches of the said places, that none might pretend cause of ignorance. This worthy person, as he had done us great honour upon all occasions, so at this time finding us to be extraordinarily persecuted, he resolved to shew us more than ordinary marks of his favour; and therefore when he came to town, accompanied by the baron De Chatterler and monsieur l'Hospitalier of Villa Nova, he was pleased to make us a visit, and to honour us with his company at dinner, expressing his abhorrence of the baseness and treachery of our enemies, and assuring us of his friendship and services to the utmost of his power.

BUT Mr. Say, notwithstanding these assurances and the care he saw taken by our friends for our preservation, would by no means be persuaded to think himself safe whilst he continued in these quarters, where we were all so publicly known, and therefore resolved to retire to some place where he might be incognito; and to that end, accompanied by colonel Bisco, prepared to depart for Germany, earnestly pressing me to the same resolution, and professing himself to be as much concerned for my safety as for his own. I gave him my thanks for his friendship; but acquainted him that I thought it much better to be in a condition of making opposition against my enemies, than to live in the perpetual fear of being discovered; with which being satisfied, he took leave, after he had assured me that if we should continue at Vevay till the next spring he would make us a visit.

THE court of England being informed of the assassination of Mr. Lisle, that king procured one Dr. Colladon, a native of Geneva then residing at London, to write to one of his relations in these parts for a particular information of that action, and to inquire of the same person if I continued still at Vevay, or had removed to Zurich, as was reported; which particulars being too well known to him, to need any such information, it may be justly conjectured, that this message was sent to no other end, than to feel the pulse of the gentleman, that by his answer he might know, whether he were a fit person to be employed in his honourable designs. Upon the reception of this letter, the person to whom it was directed, being a man of probity and honour, not only gave advice to our friends of the contents, but protested that if he had a thousand lives, he would lose them all, before he would do us the least injury, utterly refusing to give any information touching the things that were demanded. Monsieur De la Fleschere also was pleased to continue his care of our safety, advising us, That his kinsman monsieur Du Pre, accompanied by Du Broetti, and Du Fargis, had lately given a meeting at Yvian to one of the duke of Savoy's guard who used to come into our parts; and that a certain Frenchman living at the same place, was also suspected to be of their gang. He added, That though he had received a thousand assurances from Du Pre that he would never make any farther attempt against us, yet he would not believe him, much less would desire us to rely upon his word, but rather that we should be constantly upon our guard, especially in consideration of what had lately happened to our countrymen at Laufanna.

THIS was the last message we received from monsieur De la Fleschere, who without any obligation laid upon him on our part, from the motives of humanity and true goodness, had been so generously serviceable to persons he never saw. For many days had not passed, before we were informed, that a difference arising between this gentleman and Du Pre, whose sister he had married, a certain gentlewoman of Tunno, with whom Du Pre was too familiarly acquainted, undertook to make up the dispute; to which monsieur De la Fleschere consenting, and coming to her house for that purpose, was there shot into the body by Du Pre, and afterwards dispatched with a stiletto. But this not being done without noise, divers persons came about the door to enquire what

was

was doing; to whom the gentlewoman answering, That there had been no other disturbance in the house, than what had been made by some children, they presently departed. Night being come, Du Pre went out; and after a short stay, brought two countrymen with him, and compelled them to take up the body, and lay it at the door of an infamous house in the same town, threatening to kill them if they disputed his commands, or should afterwards reveal the secret. And that it might be believed that his brother-in-law had been so used for endeavouring to effect some bad design, Du Pre went after them to the place where they laid the body, and firing a pistol, left that and a sword upon the ground by him: this hypocrite seemed to be much concerned for his death, and in deep mourning accompanied him to the grave; protesting to his sister, that he would willingly expend a great sum of money to find out the murderer. Yet this mask was soon taken off; for the parliament of Chambery in Savoy, having been informed of this murder, and deputed some of their number to make inquiry into the matter, they, by the depositions they received, suspecting Du Pre to have been the author, sent to seize him; but he having notice of their intentions, had made his escape before the officers could reach the house where he was.

IN England, the presbyterians had been long before ejected from all the benefices they possessed, and rewarded in the current money of those, for whose sake they had betrayed their friends: the prisons had been frequently filled with all sorts of men dissenting from the church, established by the act of uniformity: the people had been exhausted by frequent and excessive taxes to supply the luxury of the court: great numbers of the officers of the old army had under false or frivolous pretences been imprisoned or executed: many of the Irish rebels had been restored to the lands that had been settled upon the English for the reward of their services and blood: plots had been contrived to furnish the court with a pretence to transport those they feared, to remote and barbarous confinements; and the design of subverting the rights and liberties of the nation, was become manifest.

IN this posture of affairs, the court of England thought fit to declare war against the States-general of the United Provinces; by means of which, some of our friends conceiving great hopes of the restitution of the commonwealth, entered into a treaty with divers principal ministers of that country, for procuring some forces to join with our oppressed party in England, against the common enemy. Having received information of this treaty, and being pressed by a person of honour and integrity to declare my concurrence in the thing, I acquainted him, That though I should be ready to embrace any good occasion of serving the commonwealth, and relieving my country from oppression; and that I had no great reason to be a friend to the present establishment, yet the treachery of the Dutch, in delivering our three friends into the hands of their enemies, made me fear the same treatment from them in case of an accommodation with England. For if they had purchased their former agreement with the price of that blood, I could see no reason to persuade me that they would not purchase another with ours: I told him, That all men knew they preferred the pro-

fits of trade before any other thing in the world; and how dangerous it might prove to engage with such a sort of men, I left to his judgment to determine; that being convinced in conscience, that they had contracted the guilt of the blood of our friends upon themselves, my duty would not permit me to act in conjunction with them, till they should make satisfaction for that injustice; however, I offered, that if they might be brought to disown that action, as done by the influence of a particular faction, and promise, at a more convenient time, to punish the immediate authors, I would freely hazard my life in the expedition.

IN the mean time I received a letter from Mr. Say who was then at Amsterdam; in which, among other things, I found these expressions:

“ BELIEVE me, Sir, things are so well prepared here to answer the good
 “ ends we all desire, that nothing seems to be wanting but hands to set the
 “ wheels going. Invitations and encouragements are not only offered, but
 “ pressed upon you; and there is no ground to fear their retreat, of which you
 “ seem to doubt. The ruin of the present government in England is certainly
 “ intended, and I have cause to believe will be effected; the States being una-
 “ nimously for this war, and at last brought to see that their commonwealth
 “ cannot long subsist, if monarchy continue in England. Of this they will soon
 “ give the clearest evidence, as well of their resolution to assist the common-
 “ wealth interest as far as shall be desired; in which they seem to be no less
 “ zealous, than how to defend themselves. As to the usage our three friends
 “ met with in this country, I have examined the particulars, and find the thing
 “ to have passed in a different manner than has been represented: they are able
 “ here to give you or any person satisfaction, that the matter does not lie so foul
 “ upon them, as is generally conceived; and would, if it might be any way
 “ conducing to the advantage of our affairs, set that business in its true light.
 “ But this is not thought advisable at present by many of our friends, who
 “ think such a course may too much alarm the court of England, and put
 “ them upon measures of procuring peace at any rate. The king of England
 “ is never mentioned without the utmost contempt, and writings every day
 “ published to expose his person and government. You may propose what
 “ you please for your safety, and I dare answer it shall be granted: only I must
 “ take leave to tell you that the most private manner of treating is best approved
 “ by our friends. The offers they make here are very great, and yet no pro-
 “ mises exacted from us for their security. Therefore I beg of you to think of
 “ seeing this place, and quitting the quarters where you are, that you may be
 “ instrumental in the service of your country at this time. I am certainly
 “ informed, that considerable numbers in England, Scotland, and Ireland,
 “ sensible of their present servitude, will appear for us; and such measures
 “ will be taken here for their assistance, that I have great hopes of success.
 “ Nothing seems now so much wanting as fixed councils both here and in Eng-
 “ land, and no one can be more serviceable than yourself in this important
 “ matter: I beseech you therefore let us have your help, for we cannot be
 “ without

“ without it, and I am persuaded the work will prosper in our hands. Make
“ all the expedition you can in your journey; for though this be not the con-
“ juncture of action, yet I am persuaded it is high time to be preparing, and
“ it will be to our shame if we neglect it.”

ABOUT eight days after this, I received another from the same person; in which, having desired me to give credit to the contents of his last, he added, That the Heer Nieuport had at a conference assured him, that the intentions of the government of Holland were to relieve the good people in England; and that he should be glad of any overtures to that purpose from me or any other persons; that there was more in the design of this war than was commonly understood, and that the destruction of the whole protestant party was intended: that some of the most eminent of that religion in France had sent messengers into Holland to give information of this matter; advising, that the States would make the best preparations they could for their defence, and assuring, that if they should be borne down in this war, the reformed religion would soon be extinguished in France: that the Dutch had thirty thousand men ready to put on board their fleet, of which number ten thousand were land soldiers, and to be disposed as we should advise and direct: that a great sum of money was prepared for this service, and that the whole fleet should be commanded to favour our enterprize: that if it should be thought necessary to transport horse into England, the States would willingly comply in that also, having resolved to endeavour a perfect friendship with the good people of England, which he said, he hoped should never be broken. At the bottom of the letter were these words, “ I beg of you to lay aside all former prejudices, and as you love the cause in which you have engaged, come speedily, and set your heart and hand to this work. I can certainly assure you, that the most considerable minister of this state, has lately very much enquired for you, and having received some account of you, has given us reason to hope, that if you will come to them in this conjuncture, they will place you at the head of such a number of men, as should, by the blessing of God, and the concurrence of our friends in England, be sufficient to restore the commonwealth. I dare assure you, from the best information I can get, that on such an occasion there would be a greater appearance for us than at the beginning of the late war. Let me therefore not hear from you, but see you.”

THOUGH these offers were very advantageous, especially to one in my condition, and the honour I received more than I could expect, yet these things, I thank God, were no temptation to me. The cause of my country, which is dearer to me than my life, was that alone which made me earnestly wish, that I could have persuaded myself to lay hold of this opportunity, and to join with my friends in this enterprize for our common deliverance. But the reasons before-mentioned sat so close upon me; that I was constrained, not without great regret, to acquaint my friends with my intentions to persist in my former resolution, not to enter into a conjunction of counsels and interests with the Dutch, till they had given satisfaction touching the business of the three gentlemen they had so inhumanly delivered into the hands of our enemies,

mies, together with some reasonable assurances that they would not abandon the concernments of such as should join with them.

IN the mean time, a person of honour and quality of the English nation whom I had never seen, being then at Paris, took care to let me know by a third hand, that the king of England, suspecting I would join with the Dutch against him, had caused the assassins to double their diligence; and that the person who had murdered Mr. Lisle was come to Paris, accompanied with others of the same trade, and had undertaken either to carry me off alive, or to dispatch me upon the place. St. Du, another of this tribe, endeavoured also to engage one monsieur Torneri, a gentleman of Savoy, and my friend, in the design against me, promising him a great recompence if it proved successful. He dated his letter from Paris, and desired the answer to be directed to one at Lyons. But monsieur Torneri, suspecting him to be nearer to us than he would have it believed, and being desirous to penetrate farther into their secrets, told him in his answer, that money was not to be refused; but that I kept myself so much upon my guard, that nothing could be attempted without previous consultation. This gentleman did me the favour to give me a sight of the letter and answer, with assurances of his service, and a promise to send me St. Du's reply, as soon as it should come to his hands. He informed me also that Du Pre had been degraded, and broken on the wheel in effigy, for the murder of monsieur de la Fleschere; that his estate in Savoy had been confiscated, and that he was fled for protection to the town of Friburg, and that he was countenanced by the magistrates of that place. These things made me resolve upon withdrawing from my lodgings at Vevay, and lying privately for some time, that my enemies might be amused, and uncertain how to lay their designs; which having done, it produced the effect I desired. For no sooner had I withdrawn myself from the publick view, but it was generally concluded I was gone for Holland, which I conjecture might put a stop to the designs against me for that time, and rendered my countrymen at Vevay more safe and undisturbed than they had formerly been.

DURING this retirement, I received letters from my friends in England, with advice that four persons had been dispatched by the king for our parts with the accustomed instructions; but hearing no more concerning them, I concluded they were either the villains of whom I was already informed from Paris, or part of those who had been sent to Ausburg, with orders from the same hands to assassinate colonel Algernon Sidney; and probably being ten in number might have effected their design, if having taken a journey to Holland, upon business relating to the publick, he had not removed from that place before their arrival. After I had continued about six weeks privately with my friends at Laufanna, I returned to my quarters at Vevay, and had not been there above eight or ten days, before a Frenchman, well furnished with money, and arms, came to one monsieur Du Fort, a merchant of Vevay, with a letter unsealed, from a trader of Geneva, who was little known to him, which contained an account, that the person who should bring him that letter, having been prosecuted in France, for getting a wench with child, had desired to be known

to some persons in this place, which he had chosen for his retreat. Though such a recommendation had been sufficient to have caused him to be whipped out of the town; yet other things contributed chiefly to his removal. For it had been observed that he had acknowledged he came lately from England, and seemed to be well informed of the affairs of that court; that he was no less instructed in all the circumstances of the assassination of Mr. Lisle; that he intruded into all companies, and had endeavoured to lodge in several houses that stood most convenient to discover our usual walks; that he had expressed his discontent, that no one would entertain him without the permission of the council, and had offered to pay double at certain places for a lodging. To this was added, that on a market-day, having dressed himself in the habit of a buffoon, with a basket on his back, and wooden shoes on his feet, he bought many things that were to be sold at much more than the value, and gave them to the meanest of the people, drawing by that means many idle persons after him. Upon consideration of these things, the chatelain, by order of the bailiff, went attended with his officers to the inn where he lodged, and upon examination, finding him unwilling to tell his name, or business in this place, he acquainted him, that by reason of divers attempts that had been made against the English gentlemen, who had been taken by their excellencies into protection, it had been resolved that no stranger should remain at Vevay, without giving a good account of himself; which he having not done, had incurred the consequence, and therefore must resolve to depart within the space of twenty-four hours. He was much disturbed whilst the chatelain was present; but having recovered his spirits by drinking brandy after his departure, he hired a boat for Villa Nova, pretending to go directly for Milan, but we were informed afterwards, that from Villa Nova, he turned short to Savoy, and by the way of Lyons went to Paris.

SOME publick business requiring the presence of Mr. treasurer Steiger at Vevay, he came accompanied by monsieur Lentulus, late bailiff of Laufanna, commissary-general Godart, and another person of the senate of Bern; and having dispatched his affairs, did us the honour to make us a visit, in which having expressed great kindness and friendship, he informed us, that Du Pre had procured the magistrates of Friburg to give instructions to colonel Pharamond, and their other deputies then at Bern, to solicit their lordships for the restitution of his lands; but that the council was so far from doing as he desired, that they forthwith caused the advoyer to issue out an order to seize his person if he should come within the territories of their jurisdiction, and to send new instructions to the bailiff of Morges, for receiving his rents, and employing them in publick uses; directing the said treasurer Steiger to give the deputies an account of their proceedings; which when he had done, and acquainted them with the attempt Du Pre had made to assassinate us, together with the murder he had committed on the person of his brother-in-law, and many other villanies of which he had been guilty, the colonel said, That he had not heard any thing of these matters before; and desiring to be excused, promised never to open his mouth more in his behalf. The next day we returned the
visit

visit we had received from the treasurer and his company; and were most affectionately received, all of them expressing themselves with the utmost friendship, and assuring us of the care and favour of the government.

OF this we had in a short time the most evident demonstration; for their excellencies of Bern having received information that Du Pre designed to take a journey to a place in Burgundy, called Joigny, they sent out two parties to lie upon the way; one of which meeting with him, and commanding him in their lordships name to surrender himself, he at first made some resistance; but finding that way too hazardous, he clapped spurs to his horse, and when he was at some distance from the guard, endeavouring to leap a deep and broad ditch, he fell with his horse into the middle of it. Some people who were carrying in the harvest, seeing him in distress, and not knowing that he was pursued by publick authority, hastened to his relief. But he being conscious of his own crimes, and therefore suspecting all men to be his enemies, fired one of his pistols upon them, which provoked the countrymen to entertain him with stones, till the officers came up, and seized him. They found a case of pistols at his saddle, another pair at his girdle, and a carabine hanging by his side. In his pocket was a letter directed to him without any name subscribed, containing in substance, that he should inform himself where the great whale or the little old fish might be found; and give notice if any publick honours had been done to the memory of the English gentleman who was killed at Laufanna. The rest of his papers and letters he had torn in pieces before he could be taken; but upon putting them together in the best manner that was possible, it appeared, that most of them had relation to the same subject, and were full of malicious expressions against the government of Bern. He was carried to the house of one monsieur de la Berche, a gentleman living near the place where he was seized, and being kept there all night, he was the next day brought prisoner to Yverden, and committed to the castle.

THEIR excellencies having received information of the seizing and imprisonment of Du Pre, dispatched orders to their officers of Vevay, to examine all persons upon oath who might know any thing of the attempt made against us, in which he had been a principal actor; and to transmit to them the examination and confession of the waterman which had been taken by the bailiff at the castle of Chillion. Whilst the evidence was preparing against him, great interest was made to their lordships of Bern for their favour to the prisoner. But meeting with cold reception from them, they applied themselves to those of Yverden, who were to give the first judgment in the case. His mother being admitted to speak with him in presence of the guard, told him, That certain fathers capuchins would remember him in their prayers. But he had another game to play; and having already promised to quit the Romish superstition, and to educate his son in the reformed religion, if by that means he might save his life, answered, That he owned no such persons to be his fathers; that he needed not their prayers, and that they might have enough to do if they would pray for themselves. By these and other artifices that were used by himself and his friends, the officers of justice at Yverden were persuaded

persuaded to sentence him only to be banished, and to pay the fine of one hundred pounds; but four of the twelve who were his judges dissented from the rest, and not only voted him worthy of death, but signed a paper to that purpose, and presented it in their own persons to their excellencies, that they might acquit themselves from the blame of this proceeding. When the judgment was presented to the lords of Bern for their approbation, they esteemed it to intrench upon the sovereignty; in that an inferior jurisdiction had taken upon them not only to moderate the punishment, but also to ascertain the fine. His mother, and divers other persons who had accompanied the sentence to Bern, most earnestly solicited, to get it confirmed; but because Mr. treasurer Steiger was to go to Friburg the next day about some publick affairs, the consideration of this business was deferred for seven or eight days. At which time the treasurer being returned, the cause was heard before their excellencies; and after mature deliberation, Du Pre was condemned to lose his head on the next ensuing Monday. The principal crimes objected against him were, that he had stolen and ravished the person he had since married, who was born, and resided within the jurisdiction of Bern; and that he had made an attempt to assassinate one or more of the English gentlemen that were protected by their excellencies. He denied that he had taken his wife away in a violent manner, or that he designed to take away the life of any other Englishman except me. He said also, That having resolved to use him thus, they might have acquainted him sooner with their intentions, and not have encouraged him to such a mispending of his time as they had done. And indeed, though this could not justly be objected to their excellencies, who designed no more than that he might be civilly entertained till the time of his trial, yet divers of the magistrates of Yverden can by no means be excused, who drank and played at cards with him in the prison. The day appointed for his execution being come, he was brought down; but the terrors of death, with the dismal reflections upon his past life, seized upon him to such a degree, that he fell into a rage, throwing himself on the ground, biting and kicking those that stood near, and asking if there were no hopes of pardon. He was told that he ought to remember, that if he had been taken in his own country, where he had murdered his brother-in-law, and had been broken in effigy on the wheel, he should not have been used so gently. He refused to go to the place of execution any otherwise than by force; so that about two hours were spent before he arrived at the place where he was to die, though it was within musket-shot of the prison. Here the executioner put a cap on his head, and placed a chair that he might sit; but he took off the cap and threw it away, and kicked down the chair among the people. When the executioner saw this, he tied his hands between his knees, and having assured him, that if he persisted in his resistance, he would cut him into forty pieces, after about an hour's contest, he at last performed his office.

SOON after this, Mr. treasurer Steiger, accompanied by our bailiff and some gentlemen of Bern, was pleased to make us a publick visit, leaving the officers that attended him, who were fifteen or sixteen in number, at our gate,

to the end, as he informed us, that the people observing the consideration and favour we received, might be quickened in their duty upon any occasion that might happen. He gave us an account of the proceedings against Du Pre, and informed us, that when the watermen of Morges had carried his mother back to Tunno, and those of that place had taken the liberty to censure the justice of Bern; madam de la Fleschere, the widow of our good friend, and sister to Du Pre, coming to meet her mother at the water-side, had presently silenced them, and openly said, That though he was her brother, yet she acknowledged their excellencies had done nothing in relation to him but that which was most just. In this conversation he informed us also, that being in Italy in the year 1643, when the war between the late king and the parliament was, as he expressed it, most inflamed, he had there seen a bull from the Pope, for encouraging all good catholicks to take arms for the king against the parliament, promising that those who should lose their lives on his side in that quarrel, should go forthwith to heaven. Which is so plain that it needs no comment.

By this time, my friends in Holland began to think they had been deluded with vain hopes from that people; but being unwilling to take the shame of their credulity upon themselves, they resolved to lay the blame upon me; alleging, that those of the States who had treated with them, having enquired why I was not come to Holland, and receiving no satisfactory answer, had concluded we had not agreed among ourselves, and on that account would not proceed to finish the treaty. Whereas indeed the true reason was, that they were still in hopes of patching up a peace with England, or if that should fail, they promised themselves the assistance of France, whose interest seemed to be very different from ours. Accordingly the king of France being solicited by the Dutch to make good the last treaty with that state, and finding he could not procure a peace for them, withdrew his ambassador from London, and declared war against England: soon after which a declaration of war was also published in London against the French king, and entertained by the people with great joy, the mayor and aldermen attending on the proclamation in their habits of ceremony.

ON occasion of this war, one monsieur Stuppa, a native of the Grisons, formerly a minister, and at that time, an officer in the French service, was sent into his own country to raise men; and having performed his commission, resolved to pass by Vevay in his return to Paris. Being come to this place, he procured some of my friends to desire me to give him a meeting, to which I consented. After some general discourse upon the present conjuncture, he acquainted me, that though he had no express orders either from France or Holland to make any proposition to me; yet he acknowledged, that the Dutch ambassador then residing at Paris, had so far opened himself, as to tell him, that his masters designing nothing more in this war than to secure themselves from such double dealing, as they had met with from the English court; and their quarrel not being against the people, but only against the king of England, he hoped I might be brought to act in conjunction with them for the

good of my own country. Then he proceeded to ask what grounds there might be to hope that the commonwealth-party, with a moderate number of forces to join with them, would be able to carry their point, professing himself to be as well in judgment as interest disposed to wish them well: and on this head we went over many particulars, though I durst not be so free with him as was requisite to a full clearing of such matters. Some days after this, we had another conference, in which, by the persuasion of a particular friend, I acquainted him, That if any just and honourable way should be proposed for the restitution of the republick in England, I would readily use the best of my endeavours, and hazard my life in that service. He seemed well satisfied with this answer; and having assured me that a great sum of money would be advanced to give life to the interest of our friends, and to assist them in their preparations for action, we agreed on a way of correspondence, and so parted.

THE next morning, one Mr. Constance came to me from the count of Donagh, with a message to desire me to meet him privately at Laufanna, which I promised to do the more willingly, because the said count had lately given proof of his kindness to us, by sending me advice, that his lady's father passing through Chatillion (the principal place of our enemy's rendezvous) had been certainly informed, that those who had murdered Mr. Lisle, were come again into these parts with intentions to assassinate us; and more particularly me, assuring, that I might give credit to the thing, because it had been imparted to his father-in-law, on supposition that he approved the design. The gentleman informed me also, that the count had a commission from the States of Holland to raise three thousand men in these parts; that the heer John de Witte had advised him to see me, and that he hoped the levies he was to make, might be employed for the restitution of the commonwealth in England. To which I answered, as I had done before to monsieur Stuppa, That I was always ready to lay down my life in so good a cause.

FEW days after this, I received a letter from Holland to inform me, that our friends were entering into new measures, and that the heer John de Witte, together with the heer Nieuport, and others who seemed most affectionate to us, had advised, that for several reasons, the treaty between Holland and our friends might be carried on at Paris; that colonel Algernon Sidney and I would repair to France for that purpose, where we should be lodged at the house of the Dutch ambassador, promising that we should have passports in the best form, requiring all magistrates and other officers in that kingdom to be serviceable and assisting to us. In the same packet I had another from England to inform me, that the condition of our friends there was not contemptible, and that they thought no hazards too great to be ventured in order to deliver themselves from the evils they suffered, and greater which they had just cause to fear. They exhorted me therefore to lay aside all scruples and former prejudices, and to improve the present favourable conjuncture to the advantage of the commonwealth. These letters were accompanied with three more; one from colonel Algernon Sidney, inviting me to give him a meeting at Basle, in order to continue our journey from thence to Paris. The other

two were written by Mr. Say, and colonel Bisco, to press me to engage in this undertaking, promising, that if I would resolve to go, all the exiles would not fail to accompany me; and adding, that if I refused, they believed no man would stir. I found by these letters that there had been some heats and jealousies between colonel Sidney and Mr. Say, the former charging Mr. Say with having privately dissuaded me from engaging in this enterprize, and Mr. Say accusing colonel Sidney of using all the means he could to discourage me; but to do them justice, I must needs say, that they both endeavoured to the utmost of their power to engage me in this affair.

THESE things brought me into great doubts and difficulties. For on the one hand, if I should neglect the present offers, and the design should miscarry, I foresaw that my friends, who had solicited me to engage, would not fail to attribute the fault to me, by whatever means the ill success should happen. On the other side, if I should resolve to enter upon such a treaty, besides my own want of ability for the management of so great an affair, the unsuitableness of my principles and circumstances, together with the aversion I had to treat in France, and perhaps with that king's ministers, who had all along favoured those bloody designs which had been contrived against my life, I could not see how I might come to any resolution what to offer, demand, promise or perform. Being under this perplexity, I was attacked again on the same account by two of our friends, who made a journey from Holland on purpose to persuade me to take part in this affair; so that finding myself thus pressed on all hands, I told them, That the lord Jermyn being lately arrived at Paris, with orders from the court of England, to treat of an accommodation with the king of France, in which he would not fail to be powerfully assisted by the queen-mother of England; this treaty might take effect, as that of the bishop of Munster with the States had already done; by which means it would certainly fall out, that, though we should not be betrayed by the French, which I doubted, yet the lords of Bern would no longer think themselves obliged to protect us as they had hitherto done; that if the levies of Swiss soldiers which the States were about to make, should be designed for England as we had been informed, I thought my present stay in these parts might be of more use to the publick, than if I should take the journey that was proposed; and that for many reasons I was very unwilling to put myself into the hands of the king of France. Yet that they might see I would go as great a length in this business as I could, I offered, That if the States should think fit to publish a declaration to acknowledge the error of delivering up our three friends; promise to use their endeavours to restore the commonwealth to the exercise of their authority; furnish such a number of troops of the reformed religion as might be probably sufficient to protect our friends in coming in to them, and oblige themselves not to leave us in a worse condition than we were at that time, I would heartily engage in the enterprize. With this answer my two friends returned to Holland, and being on their way sent me word, that the person who resided for the king of France at Mentz, and is brother to his ambassador at Ratisbon, had been at Frankfort on purpose to meet

meet colonel Sidney and me, supposing we had both been at that place; where in a conference with the colonel, he had communicated to him a letter from monsieur De Lyonne, secretary of state, written in cypher, by the order of the king of France, in which he was commanded to acquaint us, that if we would go to Paris, we should have all the security the government could give, or we could desire, for the safety of our persons.

THE court of England having received some obscure informations of a design carried on by the Dutch to land some forces to assist their enemies at home, published a proclamation to require colonel John Desborough, colonel Thomas Kelsey, colonel John White, major John Grove, Sir Robert Honynwood junior, captain John Nicholas of Monmouth, and divers other persons, to return into England, and to surrender themselves into the hands of some justice of the peace in the county where they should land, before the 23d of the next ensuing July, on pain of being proceeded against as traitors. But not being contented with this, they employed a Jesuit to procure the pensioner John De Witte to be murdered, who not only undertook that employment, but promised to get me to be assassinated also. Myn heer Nieupoort, who had formerly been ambassador for the States in England, sent his son to Mr. Say to acquaint him with this matter, assuring him that the Jesuit was already come to Holland, and that they hoped to seize him; but lest other persons might be engaged with him in the design against me, of whom they had no information, he desired that I might be forthwith advised of what they had discovered: which Mr. Say punctually performed.

OUR friends began now to perceive the effects of Jermyn's negociation, and that the French king would rather chuse to procure to himself the management of the court of England at any rate, than either to do an honourable thing for men in distress, or to give his allies common satisfaction in the smallest things that might disgust his brother of England in this conjuncture. For the Dutch ambassador having demanded that Te Deum might be sung in the great church at Paris for the late victory they had obtained against the English fleet commanded by Monk and prince Rupert; he refused to permit it for three reasons. First, On account that they differed in religion. In the second place, That having had no forces in the engagement, he could have no share in the victory. And thirdly, That it would be of little advantage to either of the States to triumph over their enemies. Our friends had been made to believe that they should have the assistance of France in a great sum of money; but few of them approved of their sending forces, as was last proposed, suspecting their fidelity in case of success. And I think the event shewed that this last proposition was made by the French (who had been lately intriguing with the court of England) in confidence that it would not be accepted.

BUT however affairs might stand in France, yet our friends in Holland had not lost all hopes, as may appear by the following letter which I received from thence.

“ S I R,

“ S I R,

“ **W** E cannot look upon the frequent and earnest applications of so many
 “ of our friends for your coming into these parts to be lost. We are
 “ fully satisfied of our interest with you, and have heard with joy the report
 “ of those gentlemen who were lately at Vevay, how much you are concerned
 “ for the publick cause. We cannot but be sensible of the difference between
 “ treating with a monarch, and engaging with a free state, and are glad to
 “ find that the same principles which arm you against the one, cause you to
 “ incline to the other upon reasonable terms; which we doubt not would be
 “ offered, if you would appear among us. They have here received such an
 “ account of the condition of our friends in England, that they are inclined
 “ to give us considerable succours of all things necessary for our enterprise.
 “ This is the second time that the States have caused a great body of land-forces
 “ to be shipped on board their fleet purely on our account, protesting in the
 “ most solemn manner, that they have no other design than to give the good
 “ people of England a seasonable and effectual aid. If we lose this opportu-
 “ nity, we may probably repent our folly, but shall hardly redeem our credit.
 “ For these reasons we renew our most affectionate desires that you would
 “ hasten to us, and hope for your speedy answer, rather in person than by
 “ writing, lest this also be added to all our former afflictions, that another
 “ opportunity be lost.”

THIS letter being subscribed by many persons, was sent to me by the way of Germany, and a duplicate being dispatched at the same time through France, I received both. From all which, considering that so much weight was laid upon my presence in Holland, though I could see little reason for their opinion, I resolved to insist no longer upon any thing to be done by the States previous to my engagement, but only that they would disclaim that action which had passed in relation to our three friends, and promise to make provision, in any treaty they should make with our enemies, for all those who should engage with them, or at least to leave them in as good a condition as they were at the time of their engagement. If this could be effected, I determined to make use of the following passport, which I had received from the count D'Estrades ambassador for the king of France to the States-general of the United Provinces.

“ Le Comte D'Estrades Lieutenant-General en chef dans les Armées du Roy,
 “ gouverneur de Donquerque, Maire Perpetuel de Bourdeaux, Vice-Roy de
 “ l'Amerique, Chevalier des Ordres de sa Majesté, & son Ambassadeur
 “ extraordinaire en Hollande.

“ **N** OUS requerons tous Gouverneurs, Commandeurs, Capitaines, Lieu-
 “ tenants, Maires, Eschevins, Juges, & autres officiers tant de mer
 “ que de terre, a qui il appartiendra, de laisser seurement & librement passer,
 “ chacun

“ chacun par les lieux de ses pouvoirs & jurisdictions, le Sieur Edmond Lud-
 “ low & quatre Valets, sans aucun trouble ou empeschement, mais plutost
 “ toute faveur, aide & assistance, & ils nous feront un singulier plaisir. Fait
 “ a la Haye le 2 jour de Mars, 1666.

His seal of Arms
 was here affixed.

“ D’Estrades.”

The same in English.

The Count D’Estrades, Lieutenant-General in chief of the King’s Armies, Governor of Dunkirk, perpetual Mayor of Bourdeaux, Vice-Roy of America, Knight of his Majesty’s Orders, and his extraordinary Ambassador in Holland.

WE require all Governors, Commanders, Captains, Lieutenants, Mayors, Sheriffs, Judges, and other officers to whom it may belong, as well by sea as by land, to permit ——— with four servants, to pass freely and safely through the places of their respective powers and jurisdictions, without any trouble or impediment, but rather all manner of favour, aid and assistance. Given at the Hague the second of March, 1666.

D’Estrades.

SOME time after this, an engagement happening between the English and Dutch fleets, though both parties made bonfires for the victory, yet the court of England conceiving the advantage to have been on their side, resolved to improve the opportunity for the advancement of the prince of Orange. To this end the earl of Arlington, who was then secretary of state, wrote a letter to one Buat a Frenchman, with whom he had correspondence; and knowing him to be well affected to the prince, acquainted him that he judged this to be the time of promoting that interest. Buat, who, though he had a military command in Holland, yet pretended to serve that State with intelligence from foreign parts, having on that account some paper to present to the pensionary John de Witte, put the lord Arlington’s letter by mistake into his hands. Upon this, Buat was seized with his papers; which, as was said, gave them so much light, that Trump with his brother-in-law the sieur Kuivoit of Rotterdam, were removed from their employments, and forbidden to appear in any publick council; the latter, with one Vanderhulst of the same place, departing the country. Many others were seized, and orders being given to prosecute Buat for treason, he was found guilty and condemned to lose his head.

head. Trump was confined to his house, and the baron de Ghent was appointed to succeed him in his command by sea.

ABOUT the middle of September 1666, the count of Donagh sent me advice by M. Constance, that having been at Chatillion, the usual place of our enemies rendezvous, he had obliged the master of the inn where they met, to promise, that if he should discover any persons to have a design against us for the future, or if those who formerly frequented his house on that account should at any time return thither, he would not fail to inform him forthwith. This message was the more seasonable, because within few days, our good friend monsieur Torneri, upon whom alone, since the death of monsieur de la Fleschere, we depended for intelligence from Savoy, was murdered by Du Fargis, one of those who with Du Pre attempted to assassinate us in the year 1664. It was said, that monsieur Torneri had spoken some words concerning Du Fargis, which containing too much truth, and therefore most offending, Du Fargis having waited some time for an occasion of revenge, at last shot him in the head, as he was on horseback taking leave of his sister at her house in Yvian; of which wound he died the same day.

THE court of England having procured from the parliament a grant of about eighteen hundred thousand pounds, under colour of carrying on the war against Holland and France, began immediately after the prorogation of the parliament, to discover their intentions to make peace with their neighbours. Presents and offices of civility passed frequently between Paris and London; and the king of France sent orders to all his ports, that if any English ships should be forced into them by stress of weather or otherwise, they should be received and assisted with all things necessary. The king of England acquainted the ambassador of Sweden, that as mediator he might intimate to the States, that upon an invitation from them, they should not find him averse from peace, and that he was contented the Hague should be the place of treating. But the pensionary John de Witte, who well knew what opportunities of sowing divisions among them the Hague would afford, calling to mind that the king had formerly pretended he would never be brought to treat in any other place than at London, and therefore suspecting that by this seeming condescension he might propose to himself to do that by little arts, which he could not compass by open force, procured the States to excuse themselves from treating at the Hague, under colour that being an open town, they could not so well protect such ministers as should be sent to treat, from the insults of the people, as they had formerly experienced to their great regret, and to offer Utrecht, Breda, or Maestricht, for the place of treating, at the choice of the king of England. When the Swedish ambassador had communicated this answer to the king, he fell into a great passion, not so much on account of their refusal, but because he saw his designs discovered. However, being resolved not to set out the fleet, and therefore constrained to be calm, he swallowed the bitter draught, and made choice of Breda for this purpose. He nominated Mr. Denzil Hollis, who for his merits in helping to bring about the late change, was now called lord Hollis, together with one Mr. Coventry, to be his commissioners

missioners for treating the peace, putting on an appearance of caressing the Dutch, calling them his allies, offering that each party should keep what they possessed, and that the treaty concluded between them in the year 1662, should be the foundation of this. The seamen wanting employment, entered themselves for the most part into the service of the merchants; and some of them into that of the States; by which means it became impossible to man out a fleet upon any occasion however pressing.

THE Dutch being well informed of what passed in England, and thinking this opportunity not to be neglected, made as great preparations for war as they had ever done. De Ruyter was appointed to command the fleet, and four thousand land-men were put on board under the conduct of one colonel Doleman, an experienced officer, and who for not rendering himself within the time limited by the late proclamation, had incurred the penalty of treason by virtue of a late act passed at Westminster, and on that account believed to be more firm to their interest. In this conjuncture, my friends and countrymen in Holland attacked me again with letters, assuring me, that nothing could hinder the speedy dispatch of this fleet but the expectation of my arrival; that the States had resolved to land a considerable force in a certain place in England by their advice, and that our friends in England should have timely notice of their intentions; that colonel Doleman was to command those troops as general, unless I should arrive before the sailing of the fleet, and in such case it was ordered that he should have the next post under me. But having received no satisfaction touching those things upon which I had formerly insisted; being of opinion that it lay within the power of the court of England to make peace with the Dutch when they pleased, and conceiving that the great preparations made by the Dutch, and the correspondences kept on foot with our friends, were only in order to constrain the king to a compliance with them; I returned for my answer, That I thought colonel Doleman, who was in the actual service of the States, and an able officer, to be much fitter for that employment than myself. But if, contrary to my sense of things, the States and our friends should judge otherwise, I told them again, That if I might have satisfaction in the two points I formerly mentioned, I would not be wanting to contribute my best assistance to the service of the publick, though in the lowest degree of employment; and that if I might be assured that a journey to Holland at this time would not tend to deprive me of the protection I now enjoyed, I would not fail for their satisfaction to undertake it without delay, that we might debate these things together upon the place. It soon appeared that I had good ground for this caution; for upon the arming of the bishop of Munster, contrary to the late agreement he had made, and the restitution of Rhynberg, demanded by the elector of Colen, together with some other accidents, the Dutch shewed themselves ready to treat with England, upon the foot of the treaty concluded between them in the year 1662, with little alteration in the articles touching the king's enemies, and none at all in that relating to the late king's judges.

THE English plenipotentiaries, notwithstanding the ill condition of affairs at home, spent a whole month at Breda without entering into conference with those of Holland, which with the quarrels that happened between these two ministers, gave the States a farther occasion to improve the present conjuncture to the best advantage; many of them declaring openly, that they would protect the most obnoxious of the king's enemies. In this resolution they sent their fleet to sea, and made directly for the river of Thames with their land-forces on board. The court of England having made no preparations for the defence of the nation, was alarmed to the last degree with the news of their approach; and at the first meeting of the council, a proposition was made to assemble the parliament with all possible expedition, though they had been adjourned to the tenth of October, that by their advice either a peace might be made to the satisfaction of the nation, or the war carried on to the best advantage. On the other side, the chancellor Hyde, knowing himself to be in danger from the parliament, did all that he could to oppose that motion; and conceiving an army more useful to promote the arbitrary designs of the court, took this occasion to propose the raising of twelve thousand men. And though the major part of the council carried it for assembling the parliament on the 25th of the next ensuing July, and that a proclamation should be forthwith published to that end, yet the design of raising an army was not laid aside.

THE Dutch admiral finding no enemies at sea, resolved to attack the English in their own harbours, and to that end made all sail for the river. The first English ships he saw were eight or nine outward bound merchantmen with their convoy, which upon discovery of the Holland fleet having tacked about, he chased them up to the Hope; but being suddenly becalmed, he was obliged to come to an anchor. Here he met with a storm, which ending in a favourable North-east wind, he stood towards the isle of Shepway, and being arrived there, he landed about eight hundred men, seized the island, and took the fort of Sheerness, a ship of war that lay for the guard of that fort, being taken by some of their great ships at the same time. Having possessed themselves of this fort, eighteen of their lesser vessels, with some fire-ships, under the conduct of vice-admiral Van Ghent, sailed the next day into the river of Chatham, and notwithstanding the ships that had been sunk to hinder their passage, came up to an iron chain that traversed the river, and had been made on this occasion, fought the Mathias and Charles the fifth, which were ordered to defend it, killed most of their men, burnt the ships and broke the chain. Then passing by Upnor-Castle they burnt the Mary, took the Unity and the Royal Charles, and placed their colours upon the latter in view of her master who stood on the shore, observing the effects of his prudent and vigilant government. On the third day they burnt the Royal Oak, the Royal James, and the Loyal London, with divers others smaller vessels. In this deplorable state of affairs, Monk being desirous to save the remaining ships, he caused them to be sunk in the river, and ordered five fire-ships to fall in among the Dutch

Dutch fleet, but without the success he expected. In the mean time, the trained bands from all the adjacent parts were marching towards Chatham, to endeavour to prevent farther mischief by land; nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall; and platforms furnished with artillery and works to defend them, were raised in divers places to hinder the enemy from coming up to London. But the Dutch, who had another game to play, having exacted a sum of money from the inhabitants of Shepway, and carried off the guns and ammunition they found at Sheerness, fell down with their fleet to the Buoy in the Nore, and Solebay; giving leisure to all parties to make their reflections upon this expedition; the court in the mean time taking hold of this occasion to colour the raising of land-forces.

THESE losses, and this dishonour falling upon the English, were not without effect at Breda. For their plenipotentiaries, who had hitherto been very slow in their negotiation, now applied themselves so effectually to the work, that in two or three days they made a considerable progress in the treaty, and agreed to the articles that were thought to contain the greatest difficulties. One article concerning Denmark retarded the conclusion for some days, the English ambassadors desiring time to know the king's pleasure in that matter. But he being compelled to submit to the present necessity, ordered them to sign all, expecting to take revenge at a more convenient time.

By this time it was manifest, that though the pensionary John de Witte, and the heer Nieupoort, with one or two more, might be sincere in their dealings with us; yet the far greater part of the States and their officers, had desired our conjunction with them for no other end than to procure better terms for themselves from our common enemy, chusing rather to see a tyranny than a commonwealth established in England, as knowing by experience that they could corrupt the former, and by that means possess themselves of the most profitable parts of trade. And therefore having procured from the English court some new advantages for their commerce, notwithstanding all that had passed, and their most solemn protestations made to our friends, they agreed to articles, touching the king's enemies, which were the same in substance with those of 1662, promising to deliver up those they call regicides into the hands of the king's ministers, or others appointed by him; and to deal with all persons who should be declared fugitives or rebels, as I have mentioned already in another place: only forsooth those who flee to them for matters of conscience shall not be judged to be comprehended in that article; as if the king would not be glad to clear his hands of all those who have any conscience, having pressed them long since to shew their peaceable disposition, by retiring into some of the American plantations, where they might enjoy the liberty of their consciences without interruption. Besides, if he should desire to reach any persons who might withdraw to Holland on this account, it is but charging them with some heinous crime, and then they are to be treated as rebels and fugitives. But having purchased the former peace with the price of blood, they resolved to strengthen the second with the same cement. So that I think it may be concluded without injustice, that the Dutch had no real intention to

do any good to those who were oppressed in England, and that it was in the power of that court to make peace with them whenever they pleased, though with the ruin of those who should engage on their side. And I conceive myself obliged to bless God for the caution I used in requiring them to deal plainly and openly in the things which I demanded, and they pretended to do for us, before I would join in the undertaking. If the Dutch had been necessitated by ill success to accept such terms as they could get from the court of England, I doubt not all the blame would have been thrown upon me; but since it pleased God to put it into their power to do us all the good imaginable, and our enemies all the hurt, it is past dispute that the defect was altogether in their will.

WHILST these things were in agitation, the parliament met on the 25th of July, according to the late proclamation; and entering immediately upon the debate of the army, which they resolved to break, spoke so clearly and freely touching that matter, that the court resolved to give them a little interruption, hoping in that time to take off some of those who had appeared with the greatest warmth by such means as they had in their hands, or if that design should not succeed, to think upon taking new measures. To this end they were acquainted by the chancellor Hyde, that it was the king's pleasure they should adjourn till the 29th of the same month: but before this message came to them, they had passed a resolution, that the king should be desired forthwith to disband the army he had lately raised. The day to which they had been adjourned being come, and the house full of members, their speaker appeared not, till the king came to the house of peers, where, having sent for the house of commons, he made a short speech touching the late peace, and then directed the chancellor to do as he had commanded; who, without any preamble, told them, That it was his majesty's pleasure they should be adjourned to the tenth of October next. But for all this, some of the council had the courage to oppose these violent courses, and to advise, that the army might be disbanded according to the desire of the house of commons, that the seal should be taken from Hyde, and that the parliament should meet at the time appointed, and be left to the liberty of providing for the publick safety in their own way. Pursuant to this advice, Monk was employed to demand the seal of the chancellor, and embraced this occasion of revenge with joy; for the chancellor had openly blamed his conduct in presuming to attack the whole Dutch fleet the last year, whilst prince Rupert with part of the English fleet was separated from him. The chancellor refused to deliver the seal to Monk, under pretence that some men had suffered for parting with it too easily, telling him, That he would bring it to the king in council the next day, being not without hopes by his interest and presence to prevail with them to change their resolution. But his master finding himself obliged to give way to the present torrent, persisted in his demand, and having received the seal from his hands, entrusted it to Sir Orlando Bridgman, with the title of lord-keeper.

AMONG the various reasons that were given to justify the king in abandoning

doing the chancellor to the resentment of the people, one was, that he had countermined the king in the design he had to be divorced from the queen, under pretence that she had been preingaged to another person; that she had made a vow of chastity before her marriage; and that she was incapable of having children. The person designed to fill her place, was one Mrs. Stuart, a young and beautiful lady, who had some office under the queen. The chancellor, who had procured his daughter to be married to the duke of York, and was therefore suspected of having made the match with the infanta of Portugal, that he might make way for the succession of the collateral line, sent for the duke of Richmond; and pretending to be sorry that a person of his worth, and near relation to the king, should receive no marks of his favour, advised him to marry Mrs. Stuart, as the most certain way he could take to advance himself. The young man unwarily took in the bait, and credulously relying upon what the old Volpone had said, made immediate application to the young lady, who was ignorant of the king's intentions, and in a few days married her. The king being thus disappointed, and soon after informed by what means this match had been brought about, banished the duke with his new dutchess from the court, and kept his resentment against the chancellor to a more convenient opportunity.

By letters from Paris I was informed, that the dutchess of Orleans, not at all discouraged by the unsuccessfulness of the attempts of her instruments against us, had openly declared, That she would not rest, till the design should be effected, if money would bring it about; and to that end had employed other persons than those who had formerly endeavoured to assassinate us. Few days after, a Swiss merchant, residing at Lyons, coming to Vevay upon business relating to his profession, acquainted me, That having observed an English gentleman of a reserved carriage to have taken a lodging in a private house at Lyons, and finding upon enquiry that he was no trader; thinking him to be too far advanced in age to travel either for pleasure, or to acquire experience, and disliking the company he frequented, he began to suspect him to be one of those who were employed in the design against us; and being desirous to know the truth, in order to do us what service he could, he soon found means to be introduced into his acquaintance. After two or three days conversation, the gentleman finding him to be a Swiss, and of the canton of Friburg, enquired of him whether Vevay were within that jurisdiction, whether the English gentlemen were still there, and in what number, and whether he had any acquaintance or interest in the place; and upon answer that he had many friends there, he began to make him great offers if he would enter into an engagement against us. He proceeded to tell me, That in order to draw out what he could of the design, he had objected the difficulty of the undertaking, by reason those gentlemen were so constantly upon their guard, and so well beloved by all persons in the town, that no stranger could come thither without being strictly examined and diligently observed: besides, that their excellencies of Bern, by so severely punishing one of those who had attempted to assassinate them, had sufficiently declared to the world what usage others might

might expect, who should engage in such an enterprize. To which the assassin made answer, That he was convinced there was no hope of carrying any of us off by force, or attempting against us in an open manner, but that the business might be done from a hedge or a wall by persons disguised; adding, That Riardo and others had foolishly squandered away the money of the dutchess of Orleans; but that now the design was so well laid that it could not easily miscarry. This person he described to be of a low stature, his hair of a dark brown beginning to turn gray, of quick apprehension, and of an active and strong constitution. He informed me also, that though some persons in Savoy had undertaken for a considerable sum to raise such a party of men as might seize us by open force; yet those who had engaged them, failing to supply them with money according to agreement, that design, and all others of that nature, he believed, were totally laid aside. He concluded with assuring me, That he would take pains to learn what he could of this or any other thing that might concern us, and not fail to give me timely and faithful advice of what he should discover.

THE part in this scene, on which our enemies laid most weight, was to be acted by one Roux, a quick-witted, nimble-tongued and confident Frenchman, who upon recommendation from France was entertained at the house of one colonel Balthazar, in the country of Veaux, as others had been who were engaged in the same villanous design. He gave himself out for a considerable person, and pretended to be commissioned from the king of England, to treat about affairs of great importance with the four protestant cantons of Switzerland, and more particularly with their lordships of Bern. Colonel Balthazar had lived for some time in the Palatinate under mean circumstances; but putting himself into the armies of the king of France, he in a short time by plunder and rapine had accumulated great riches. Between these two it was concerted, That colonel Weifs, a senator of Bern, whom I have had occasion to mention before, being at Geneva, by order of their excellencies, for adjusting some matters in difference between that republick and the duke of Savoy, should, after he had dispatched his affairs, be invited to the house of colonel Balthazar. Which being accordingly done, Roux was introduced into his company, and after some discourse, informed him, That the king of England was desirous to entertain a more particular correspondence with the protestant cantons, and especially that of Bern, than he had done for the time past, if on their part they would make him the compliment to desire it by an agent to be sent into England on that account, and preliminary to this treaty, would withdraw their protection from those who had contributed to the death of his father; expressing himself amazed that their excellencies should favour those whom France and the Low Countries had delivered up, and all other nations had abandoned. An account of this business being sent to Bern, was imparted by Mr. treasurer Steiger, to our true friend Mr. John Henry Humelius, with advice to inform me forthwith of what was doing. In the mean time, Roux made it his business wheresoever he came, to endeavour by aspersions to render us odious, and to justify those who had killed Mr. Lisle at

Laufanna,

Laufanna, affirming they had been most liberally rewarded both in England and France, and that the king of England wanted not means to gratify all those who should do him service. Of this I had certain and speedy information by divers persons, who at several times had heard these and the like discourses from Roux; which I may not let pass without observing, that what he said concerning those who murdered Mr. Lisle was so far from being true, that one of them died not long after he had committed that villany, in extreme want, at a mean lodging in Westminster; and the other, though advanced to be a captain in France, complained of the ingratitude of those who had employed them, protesting they had never received any other reward than three hundred pistoles from the dutchess of Orleans, of which two hundred had been spent in laying the design, and waiting an occasion of putting it in execution.

Roux having informed himself as well as he could of things in these parts, addressed himself to some of the government of Zurich, pretending to be sent from the king of England with a commission to propose that the four protestant cantons would enter into the alliance lately made by the king of England, the States of Holland, and the crown of Sweden, for securing the peace between the kings of Spain and France. Which proposition being communicated to the council, they having been informed concerning the pretended agent, and the condition annexed to his business, "That their excellencies of Bern should abandon the English," refused him audience, under pretext that he had not any letters of credence, which he would have persuaded them he had left at a place in Burgundy called St. Claud. Having met with this cold reception at Zurich, he resolved to make trial of the government of Bern; and accordingly procured one of their number to acquaint them with his propositions; but they used him more roughly, and ordered the person he had engaged to inform them of his business, to let him know, that they approved neither of his person, nor of his propositions, and that he might return by the same way he came. Yet all this was not enough to check the impudence of this fellow. For upon the return of colonel Weiss from Geneva, (who had left the differences between that state and the duke of Savoy in a fair way of accommodation) he attacked him again, in hopes by his means to procure some interest at Bern; protesting that the king of England had a great desire to enter into a more particular alliance with that canton than any other, provided they would deliver those who had adjudged his father to death into his hands, or at least withdraw the protection they had granted to them, tempting him with assurances, that whoever should carry the news of their concurrence to the king, should receive fifty thousand crowns for a gratuity. To which the colonel made answer, with more than ordinary indignation, That he could not think of the proposition without horror, that it was derogatory to the honour of their excellencies, and that it was not the custom of the Swiss to betray those who had put themselves under their protection. This attempt was seconded by a letter pretended to be written from the court of England, by one who would be thought a great friend to the Swiss interest, dated in August 1668, and addressed to one of the Syndics of Geneva, in order to be communicated to the
governors

governors of Bern. Having obtained a sight of this paper, I found in it the following words :

“ **Y**OU are desired to give immediate notice to the lords of Bern, that
 “ their enemies have endeavoured to persuade his majesty, that they
 “ have neither the respect nor affection for his person, that he might justly
 “ expect from them ; that they have not only taken the murderers of the late
 “ king into their protection, but have publickly honoured them with extraor-
 “ dinary favours. This report I have endeavoured to discredit, even in the
 “ presence of the person who killed Mr. Lisle at Laufanna, assuring his ma-
 “ jesty, That if any such persons were within the territories of Bern, the
 “ government was not informed of their crimes : and that I firmly believed,
 “ if his majesty should desire it, they would not only banish them, but deli-
 “ ver them up, as the Hollanders had done, to receive the just punishment of
 “ so horrible a crime.”

UPON this letter, and other artifices used by our enemies, colonel Balthazar openly gave out, that this would be the last year of our residence at Vevay ; but their excellencies of Bern having perused the letter, and finding no name subscribed, concluded it to be written by some mercenary fellow, who had been hired to that purpose ; and some of them did us the favour to promise that they would endeavour to find out the authors of the contrivance. Colonel Weifs also sent to inform me of the late conversation he had with Roux, and to assure us, That though he had been deluded into a good opinion of him, by the false pretences of Balthazar ; yet being sufficiently convinced of his mistake, he should be always ready to serve us to the utmost of his power, and would answer, that general D'Erlach should also do the same, with as many of the senate as he could make to be our friends. These assurances were accompanied with a message from the advoyer, by one captain Bartholomeo Turene, who had been an active officer in the defence of his countrymen of the vallies of Piedmont, against the tyranny of the duke of Savoy. The contents of this message were to let us know, that though we might have some enemies, yet we had many more friends at Bern ; promising to continue his care of us, and to do his best to defeat the designs of our enemies.

ABOUT the same time, Mr. treasurer Steiger coming to Vevay about the publick affairs, made us another visit, and did us the honour to dine at our quarters, accompanied by the bailiff of the town, and other principal persons of the country. In this conversation he informed us, That when application was made to their excellencies, that they would appoint some persons to treat with Roux, or at least give him an audience, he had taken the liberty to say in the council, That though there were no ground to suspect him of ill designs, as there were but too much, and that the king of England should send to them with all the ceremony and forms requisite, to desire them to withdraw their protection from us, he could never prevail with himself to give his consent to such a resolution ; because the protection having been granted after serious deli-

deliberation, and the English gentlemen having done nothing to forfeit their excellencies favour, it ought in his opinion to be esteemed sacred. He told us, that the person who had moved the council to take Roux's business into consideration, had been publicly reprimanded for his forwardness in that matter; and that their excellencies had refused to receive an agent from the king of England to reside among them, returning for answer, That they had no business with that king for the present; but if at any time they should have affairs to treat with him, they would address themselves by their own ministers.

ROUX having met with the repulses above-mentioned, and receiving information from the bailiff of Nyon, that monsieur Gabriel de Diesbach, at that time bailiff of the jurisdiction of Vevay, had threatened to treat him according to his merits if he should presume to come within his power, retired to St. Claud, in the free county of Burgundy; having made great complaints of the usage he had received at Bern and Zurich; boasting of his correspondencies with the ministers of Sweden and Holland, as well as of his present employment from the king of England, and shewing letters from Don Diego de Castel-Rodrigo, governor of Flanders, to the governor of the county of Burgundy, desiring him to furnish money and whatever might be necessary to his undertaking. From hence he went to Geneva, and was there seen frequently in the company of a certain stranger, who, by the description we received of his person, we found to be the same that had been for some time at Lyons, and of whom I had an account by the Swiss merchant at Friburg. After a short stay at Geneva, he returned to St. Claud, and appearing in better equipage than he had formerly done, he sent one of his companions to the bailiff of Nyon to inform him, that having received fresh instructions from the king of England, he had propositions to make to their excellencies of Bern, which would be of great advantage to their republick, particularly in the way of trade; desiring leave to be admitted to impart the heads of his negociation to him. The bailiff who had been sufficiently informed touching his person and designs, soon dismissed his messenger with this answer, That being abundantly satisfied, his principal errand was to attempt something against those English gentlemen, whom their excellencies had taken into their protection, and were resolved to defend, he would have nothing to do with him. But this proving not sufficient to oblige him to desist, he sent his messenger a second time to the bailiff, to propose that he would surrender himself into the hands of the government of Bern for caution, that he intended no mischief to our persons; but indeed confessed, That being charged by the king of England with propositions to those of Bern, tending highly to their advantage, he should not consult the honour of his master, by treating with them, whilst his most dangerous and avowed enemies were openly protected in their territories. Which being in effect the same with what he had said before, the bailiff contented himself to return the same answer, and immediately dispatched his son-in-law to give me notice of what had passed, and to advise me, though there seemed to be little probability of his daring

to attempt us openly, and that Balthazar would not be thought to correspond with him, yet that we would be upon our guard against the private designs of both.

IN the mean time monsieur Mouliere, who was then resident for the king of France in Switzerland, having received information from some persons (as I think I have reason to believe) that wished well to us, that this Roux, though a native of France, had solicited the cantons to enter into measures prejudicial to that king's interest, he presently dispatched advice of what he had heard to the court; upon which orders were given to one monsieur Martel, who had served under the marechal Turenne, to surprize and seize him. Martel having traversed the country for some months, before he could find an opportunity to compass his design, at last fell acquainted with and easily corrupted a priest of St. Claud, who was a great confidant of Roux, procuring him to send a messenger to Balthazar's house, where Roux then was, with a letter to invite him to the house of another priest at Roussaire, on the frontier of Burgundy, where he promised a great regale should be provided for his entertainment. Roux would by no means disappoint his friend the priest, and therefore attended only by one servant, and the priest's man, he set forward in the morning, that he might reach the place of appointment in convenient time. But Martel with his party having placed themselves in the way by which he was to pass, as soon as he saw him approaching, rode up to him and seized him. Roux's servant made his escape and left his master to shift for himself. But the priest's man, who was ignorant of the design, supposing them to be robbers, made what resistance he could, and received a shot in the shoulder, of which he died in a few days at Nyon. Roux being thus seized, Martel ordered his hands to be tied to the pommel of the saddle, and his feet under the horse's belly, and in this posture carried him off. As they passed by the abbey of Beaumont, which is situated within the territories of Bern, he began to call for aid, but a handkerchief being presently put into his mouth, his voice was not heard. In three days they arrived at Lyons, and secured their prisoner in the castle of Pierre en Scize, where after he had remained some days, he was transported to Paris, and imprisoned in the Bastile.

FOR this service the king of France rewarded monsieur Martel with a thousand pistoles in money, and a promise of the first company that should be vacant in his guards. The second person in this party received six hundred pistoles, and a promise of a foot company. The rest had fifty pistoles a man, and assurances of preferment according to their capacity. During the confinement of Roux, monsieur De Lyonne, secretary of state, went frequently to him in the prison; but though it had been reported that he had contributed much to the making of the league called the triple alliance, yet he could draw nothing from him concerning any negotiations in which it was said, he had been concerned. Only he told him, that he had things of great importance to discover, which he resolved not to communicate to any person but the king. In the mean time despairing of life, and dreading the punishment of the wheel with which he had been threatened, he gave himself a wound in the small guts with a knife

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he had procured from one of his keepers; hoping by that means and an obstinate refraining from eating, he might put an end to his fears. On the 21st of June finding himself very weak, and as he thought almost ready to expire, he sent to acquaint monsieur De Lyonne with his condition, and to let him know that he had hesitated too long. Upon this the secretary went immediately to the king, and having informed him of the message he had received from Roux, the king sent one of his physicians to him; who returning with all possible expedition, and representing the danger he was in, a letter was immediately drawn by monsieur Colbert, signed by the king, and directed to the lieutenant-criminal to proceed without delay to his trial. Being brought before his judges, the witnesses deposed, That he had said, there were thirty Ravallacs in France, which the king should find before the next August; with other things tending to prove that he had engaged in designs against the king's person. But he denied all, and refused, as before, to make any discovery of the things he knew, unless to the king himself. He was condemned upon the evidence to be broken alive on the wheel, and afterwards to be thrown into the common shore for endeavouring to kill himself in the prison; which sentence was ordered to be put in execution at the end of the Pont Neuf; but by reason of his weakness it was performed before the prison of the Chastellet, whither he had been removed from the Bastile. This Roux alias Font-covert, and St. Marcelle, was a native of Nismes in the province of Languedoc, and had been a spy for the court in the time of cardinal Mazarin; for which service he had been rewarded with a patent for licensing stage-coaches and other publick carriages in the said province. But the cardinal upon some information having suppressed that grant, and removed his brother from another employment, he became so discontented, that he quitted the kingdom, and procured himself to be naturalized in Holland. During his imprisonment, Spain, Holland and Switzerland demanded him of the king of France; the first, because he was employed in their service; the Hollander for the same reason, and on account of his naturalization; the Swiss, only to lay claim to their right, he having been seized within their jurisdiction. But the court of England was by this time become so entirely French, that they said not one word in his behalf.

OUR friends at Bern, according to their accustomed vigilance, gave us notice that a certain Englishman going by the name of Thomas Schugar, had applied himself to some of the magistrates, to procure them to recommend him to teach the mathematicks in that place, pretending to have been converted first from Popery to Lutheranism, and then from that to Calvinism, acknowledging that he had been a priest and a servant to the queen-mother of England, and that he had been in arms for the late king to the year 1646, at which time, upon the dissipation of that party, he had transported himself beyond the seas, and continued abroad till the year 1660. They described him to be of low stature, ill looks, speaking seven or eight languages, and that he was very inquisitive after the English gentlemen, who had put themselves under their excellencies protection. This person, under pretext that he could find no

employment at Bern, came to Vevay, and used all possible means to become acquainted with some of our company, denying to them that he had ever been either a papist, priest, or servant to the queen-mother. But being told that we had too good information from Bern to doubt of that matter, he finding himself suspected, and therefore not likely to succeed in his designs, departed from Vevay the next morning after this discourse. We understood afterwards that passing by Aufburg he had been entertained for eight or ten days at the house of Mr. Oliver St. Johns, who had been formerly chief justice of the common-pleas in England, and that having gotten the name of the person by whose means he received his letters, he had procured his correspondence to be interrupted; which caused us to suspect that he had found means to serve us in the like manner, our intercourse with England being for some months wholly cut off, till we had taken new measures to renew it.

ABOUT this time Henrietta Maria, queen-mother of England, and aunt to the present king of France, having been formerly an active instrument in contriving and fomenting the long and bloody civil war in England, and encouraging the barbarous massacre of the protestants in Ireland; and more lately from a spirit of revenge and malice, a principal adviser of the cruelties acted in England upon the alteration of the government, died at Paris. Her distemper at first seemed not to be dangerous, but upon taking something prescribed by the physicians to procure sleep, the potion operated in such a manner that she waked no more. She received threescore thousand pounds yearly from England, and yet left many and great debts unpaid. She was our particular enemy, and had constantly favoured the designs that had been carried on against our lives.

THE parliament in England having been prorogued for about eighteen months, met on the 20th of October, and the house of commons being sent for to the lords house, after the king had acquainted them with his joy to see them again after so long absence, he desired they would consider his debts, and exhorted both houses to union. Which last admonition was thought to arise from a pamphlet that had been published by the lord Hollis, touching the case of one Mr. Skynner a merchant of London, against the East-India company, in which discourse he seemed to outdo the highest of all those who had ever written for the privileges of the lords. This was a strange reverse of the medal; especially to those, who knew, that when he was a member of the house of commons, he had so far despised the privileges of the lords, that at a conference between the two houses, in which the lords shewed themselves unwilling to comply with the commons, he had openly said, That if they persisted to refuse their concurrence, the commons would do the thing in dispute without them. However, one of the members of the house of commons answered Hollis's pamphlet with such force and sharpness, that upon debate they came to three resolutions to this effect: that divers things affirmed in his book were false and scandalous: that from this time the lords shall never originally intermeddle with the cause of any commoner: and that what the lords have done in the business of Mr. Skynner shall be razed out of their books.

books. These votes being carried to the lords for their approbation, they returned for answer, That they would shortly send them a bill touching this matter.

THE king of France having resolved to visit his late acquisitions in the Low-Countries, put himself at the head of a great body of troops to that purpose; of which the States of Holland having received information, and that the dutchess of Orleans would accompany the king to the sea-coast, and then pass over to meet her brother at Dover, they began not only to dislike the personal neighbourhood of the king of France, but vehemently to suspect that this interview was designed to unite the two kings against them. And that they might not be wanting to themselves in this conjuncture, they immediately dispatched an ambassador to compliment the king of France in his progress, and sent the heer Van Beuningen into England, to endeavour to dissipate the clouds that threatened from that side. The court of France, who were not ignorant of the designs carried on by the king of England, to subvert the laws and liberties of the English nation; and well understood how much the establishment of an arbitrary power in the crown would contribute to weaken that force which had been so formidable under a free government, had instructed the dutchess of Orleans not only to offer money to her brother, in case the usual way of supplying his luxury by parliamentary aids should fail, but also to give him assurances of whatever number of forces he should judge requisite to render the monarchy absolute and uncontrouled. To these she herself had added another argument to be proposed, no less prevalent where it was to be applied than the former. For she had in her train one Mrs. Queroualle, of a family in Low-Britany, who, besides her French education and carriage, was young, and had passed in France for a great beauty. With such baits the monarch was easily taken, and for this tinsel ware was contented to barter the affections and good of the people, together with the quiet of almost all Europe. Puffed up with success the dutchess returns to Paris, and found such a reception from the king as so great services seemed to deserve. But her husband the duke of Orleans, either upon suspicion of her too great familiarity with her brother, or of some other gallantry, to which she was not a little inclined, did not shew himself so well contented with her negociation. However it was, she being at St. Cloud, a palace belonging to the duke, few weeks after her return, having taken a glass of limonade, or other cooling liquor, was suddenly seized with such violent convulsions that she died at two of the clock the next morning.

THE death of the dutchess of Orleans being signified to the king her brother, he at first seemed to be highly dissatisfied with the conduct of her husband, and full of suspicion that she had been used in a manner not uncommon among princes. But having resolved that nothing should disturb the measures lately taken between the two courts, he soon cooled, and sent the duke of Buckingham with the character of his ambassador to the court of France, in appearance to condole with them for the death of the dutchess, but indeed to confirm the late agreement made at Dover, and to concert the methods of pursuing

suings their design. The duke was received with all possible demonstrations of esteem and favour. The forces about Paris were exercised in his presence; balls and comedies were prepared to divert him; the king gave him divers rich presents, and made a publick feast on the day of St. Louis, principally on his account. Soon after his arrival, things began to proceed vigorously. A great sum of money was sent into England; the French army was ordered to break up, and to march towards the new conquests; draught-horses were bought, and dispatched to them with all expedition, and no man doubted any longer either of the league between France and England, or of their intentions to employ their joint forces against the commonwealth of Holland. The Dutch ambassador at Paris was so alarmed with this news, that he went in great haste to monsieur de Lyonne, and desired to be informed whether the French army were to be employed against his masters. But the secretary assured him, there was no ground for any such apprehensions, and that if those troops were used in an expedition, the storm would fall far enough from their territories. And accordingly the mareschal de Crequi at the head of about twenty-five thousand men entered Lorrain, seized Nancy, and all the places that lay on his way, and was within half an hour of surprizing the duke himself at Espinal. The French king pretended for the reason of this sudden invasion, that the duke of Lorrain had, contrary to a late treaty, fortified some of his own towns, and had endeavoured in a clandestine manner to be admitted into the triple alliance; declaring that he intended not to retain the dutchy in his possession, but designed to put it into the hands of some other person of the Lorrain family who should be more worthy. In the mean time the mareschal de Crequi having driven the duke out of his territories, published an order, forbidding his subjects to yield him obedience; commanding those who had been in arms for him, to quit his service, and to put themselves into that of the king, and requiring all orders of men in that country to do homage and swear allegiance to him, under pain of death and confiscation of estate.

THE duke of Lorrain being in this manner dispossessed of his dutchy, without any preceding declaration of war on the part of France, filled all Europe with his complaints, and dispatched a minister to the king of England, to desire his good offices with the French king in this conjuncture; which he thought he had no reason to doubt, on account of the obligations he had formerly laid upon him, in offering to serve him with his person and troops during the time of his exile. But instead of the favour expected, his minister received no other answer, than that he was sorry for what had happened, and that the present violence, like the mischiefs of a sudden inundation, must be endured at this time.

THE duke of Buckingham, after he had finished the business of his embassy and received many extraordinary favours and presents of great value from the king of France, returned to England; soon after which, in order to find new pretences of breaking with the Dutch, a message was sent to the English minister residing at the Hague, to demand the surrender of cornet Joyce, who
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having formerly, by command of the army, seized the late king at Holmby, where he was treating with the parliament's commissioners, had since the late revolution withdrawn himself from the fury of his enemies, and retired with his family to Rotterdam. The pretext used by the court of England to colour this demand was, that Joyce being told that a shot had been lately made at the king, answered, That though that had missed, another might prove more successful; to which they added, That they had received information that he had actually engaged himself in a design against the present government in England. By this means they hoped it would come to pass, either that the States by refusing to deliver him, according to an article of the late treaty, might justly be charged with breaking the peace; or by surrendering his person, would totally disoblige the commonwealth-party, and make them less averse to the intended war. Pursuant to his instructions, the minister of England makes his demand; and the States perceiving the snare that was laid for them, immediately signed an order to the magistrates of Rotterdam for seizing the cornet, and delivered it into his hands; but so contrived the matter, that the officers who were appointed to take him in custody, walked so long before his door, that he had time to go out by a back way, and by that means made his escape.

OUR ancient and hearty friend Mr. treasurer Steiger falling into a paralytical distemper, of which he soon after died, surrendered his employments into the hands of their excellencies, and one monsieur Velden was chosen to succeed him, who being well informed of the many favours we had received from his predecessor, assured us upon his first journey into our parts, That he would do us all the good offices that should be in his power, and would be as careful of our concerns as the late treasurer had been. And here I may not omit, that one La Rue of Lyons, who had been engaged with Du Pre in his attempt to assassinate us, having some acquaintance with monsieur Du Four a merchant of Geneva, wrote a letter to let him know that he had heartily repented of that action, and would be more ready to serve us for the future than he had been to take part in so base a design. He informed him also, that the Irishman, who had passed under the name of Riardo, and was one of the principal instruments that were employed against us by the dutchess of Orleans, had lately been at Lyons, and had told him, That if he had known how many well-wishers I had among the best of his friends, he would not have entered into any engagement against me; that he had quitted the service of the king of England on account of his ingratitude, and that he desired above all things to have my good opinion, and to keep a constant correspondence with me; that he had been with Mr. Richard Cromwell, where he had met with so good reception, that he had resolved never more to apply himself to the court, and that he would serve the honest party in England with the last drop of his blood; all which being communicated to me by monsieur Du Four, I concluded, that Riardo (if not La Rue also) designed, according to the best of his understanding, to act the devil's part, first to ensnare and then to accuse.

IN the mean time, colonel Balthazar who had entertained this Riardo at his house whilst the design of our assassination was forming, and had received Roux also with the same familiarity, finding himself disappointed in the hopes he had conceived, and openly published, of our removal from Vevay, resolved to take new measures, and to employ artifices to persuade their excellencies to withdraw their protection from us. To this end he went to commissary-general Godart, who was a member of the council of Bern, and pretending to have received letters from England, informed him, that the ambassador of the duke of Savoy, then in that court, had offered to the commissioners appointed to treat with him, that if the king of England would, by his interest and other means, endeavour to procure the restitution of such places as were kept from him by the canton of Bern, his master would undertake to deliver us dead or alive into his hands. The commissary-general coming to Vevay by order of their excellencies to terminate some matters in dispute between the baron de Chasteler and his tenants, was pleased to give me an account of this business; and upon conference we agreed, that there was no probability of any such offers made, for many reasons, and particularly that the duke had refused to countenance the design against us, when he had been solicited by Riardo and others to that purpose; concluding it to be a contrivance of Balthazar to persuade the government that the favour extended to us might prove prejudicial to the publick safety. But he who had endeavoured to bring us into danger, could not without difficulty preserve himself. For the court of France, upon information that Roux, who had been executed at Paris, as I have already related, had left his papers in Balthazar's house, sent a party of between twenty or thirty horse into the Pais de Gex, who hovering about that country for some time, put him in so great a fright that he burnt the papers. He had at first slighted the report; but being informed by one Beauregard his wife's brother, that some of them were the same who had assisted monsieur Martel in seizing Roux, he made the best provision he could for his defence.

As the memory of those men whose lives have been remarkable for great and generous actions, ought to be transmitted to posterity with the praises they have deserved, that others may be excited to the imitation of their virtues; it is as just that the names of those who have rendered themselves detestable by the baseness of their crimes, should be recorded, that men may be deterred from treading in their steps, lest they draw upon themselves the same infamy. For this reason I think it necessary to insert in this place the true names of some of those assassins who were employed by the court of England, and others, to take away our lives, as I received them from an English gentleman who was well acquainted with their affairs, and who having passed some time in Italy, made me a visit at Vevay in his return to England. He assured me, that the villain who murdered Mr. Lisle, by shooting him into the back, is an Irishman, and named O Croli; that the name of his companion, who waited with a fresh horse to carry him off, is Cotter, and that he is a native of the same country; that the assassin who goes under the name of Riardo is
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also an Irishman, and his true name Mac Carty, who having murdered one colonel Dillon his countryman at Paris, had been punished with death, if the queen-mother of England had not interceded for him and procured his pardon, for the good services he had already done, and others that he promised to do for the time to come. Which favour that he might farther merit, he went into Holland soon after he was discharged from prison, where he attempted to assassinate one Mr. William Carr, who having been a servant to the king, had taken liberty to write some things that displeased the court, and on that account had been obliged to retire from England.

THE king of France making great preparations for war, obtained a new levy of Switzers from the cantons, and procured six thousand men to be raised in England to be employed in his service. And that he might divide the strength of the empire, and render them incapable of assisting the Hollanders when he should think fit to attack them, he sent an agent into Hungary to foment the discontents of that people who had been invaded in their privileges, and persecuted for religion by the influence of the emperor's bigotted council. He caused his brother the duke of Orleans, to marry the daughter of the elector Palatine, and on that account made many large promises to that prince which were never performed. He tampered with divers other princes of Germany; and knowing that the elector of Cologne had a design to seize and subvert the rights and privileges of that city, he tempted him with offers of his assistance. The court of England on their part recalled Sir William Temple from his employment in Holland, suspecting him not to favour the French interest, but rather to be zealously inclined to maintain the triple alliance which they were resolved to break, and sent Downing to supply his place, who was a much fitter instrument to carry on the designs they had on foot. And since my subject has led me to speak of this gentleman, I must here acknowledge, That though Downing had acted contrary to his faith, former pretences and obligations, in betraying our friends, as I mentioned before; yet none of those who remained in Holland, or afterwards retired thither, were ever molested during his ministry, which was as much as could reasonably be expected from a person in his post. To this was added an attempt, which for the singularity of the thing deserves to be remembered. For upon notice that a considerable number of Dutch men of war were riding in the channel, the king, to procure by any means some pretences for the intended war, gave orders to the commander of a yacht to pass through the fleet, and to oblige the admiral to take down his flag. The captain, pursuant to his instructions, sets sail with his yacht, and encountering the whole Dutch fleet, who would not be brought to take down the flag, falls upon them and fired on all sides till his powder and ball was quite spent. But the Dutch well understanding the design of this insult, chose rather to suffer patiently the tearing of their tackle, than to return one shot. Thus they endeavoured by all means to keep fair weather with their neighbours: and that they might prevent the city of Cologne from falling into the hands of those who might make use of it to their prejudice, they treated with the magistrates of that

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place, and finding them disposed to receive their assistance, they sent them a regiment of foot commanded by colonel Bampfild.

THE canton of Bern having raised two thousand four hundred men for the service of the king of France, in twelve companies, proceeded to nominate the officers that were to command ten of them, leaving to that king the nomination of officers for the other two, according to the agreement made between them. They stipulated in their treaty, That none of their forces should be employed against any people of the reformed religion; which condition was readily accepted by the king of France, who knew that if he should break with the king of Spain or the emperor, he might use the protestant Switzers against them, whilst those that were furnished by the popish cantons should be employed against the Dutch. This contract with France was made without consulting the other cantons, and at a lower rate than had been settled by the last treaty with that crown; on which last account chiefly some members of this union shewed themselves much disgusted. But upon the whole matter, though I have heard many arguments brought to justify the way used by the Switzers for keeping their people continually exercised to arms, yet it were to be wished, that some means might be found to cause this traffick to cease, and to persuade those who have authority, to examine the justice of every cause in which they engage, and not to suffer their subjects to make a trade of war. The king of France was much displeased with the government of Zurich for refusing to permit any levies of men to be made among them at this time; but he sent letters of thanks to those of Bern for their ready compliance with his demands, confirming what had been promised on his part, and offering (as they had desired) his mediation to compose the differences between them and the bishop of Basle, with assurances of his assistance to constrain the bishop to accept reasonable conditions. He promised to maintain them in possession of the Pais de Veaux, and to pay all the arrears of pensions that should appear to be due to any of them.

IN the mean time the Dutch with the utmost diligence prepared to send out their fleet. They nominated Michael Adrian de Ruyter to be their admiral, and the heer Cornelius de Wit to be commissioner for the States at sea, allowing a guard of twelve halberdiers to attend his person. They hoped to prevent the conjunction of the English and French fleets, but could not: for the English having notice that the count D'Estrees, who commanded the French, was arrived with his ships at the Isle of Wight, found means to join them in that road, yet not without the loss of one of their frigates which carried thirty-eight guns, and was taken by the Zelandia, almost without resistance, the seamen being generally unwilling to be employed in this war. On the seventh of June 1672, the two fleets engaged near Solebay, the French squadron against admiral Bankert; the English blue squadron, commanded by the earl of Sandwich, against the heer Van Ghent, admiral of Amsterdam; and the red squadron commanded by the duke of York, against the Dutch admiral de Ruyter. The fight was bloody, and continued from eight in the morning to sunset. The French behaved themselves as if they desired to be spectators rather

rather than actors in this tragedy: the duke of York was obliged to shift his ship, either because she was disabled, or the better to provide for his own safety. But the greatest loss fell upon the blue squadron; the admiral of which was burnt by a Dutch fire-ship, the earl of Sandwich drowned, many volunteers and officers killed, with a great number of private seamen. On the Dutch side, the admiral of Amsterdam, the vice-admiral of Zealand, and captain Brakel were killed. Three of De Wit's guard were shot by his side, and a fourth lost both his legs by a cannon-ball. After this fight the French set sail for Brest, and the English retired into port, leaving the Dutch masters at sea for that time.

THE States of Holland well knowing that the alliance between the English court and the king of France was not at all pleasing to the people of England, published a declaration, to shew that they had been constrained to make war against the king and his private council, who had designed and endeavoured to deprive them of their commerce and liberty, and to render the crown of England absolute and independent. But that they were ready to consent that the people of England might trade freely either with them or others. They discharged and set at liberty such ships, men and merchandize, belonging to the English nation, as they had seized in their ports, in requital of the attempt made by the court of England to surprize their homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, before any declaration of war had been published against them. These things obliged the king to promise restitution of what had been unjustly taken from the Dutch before the date of the said declaration. But whatever advantages the Dutch might have by sea, they were infinitely overbalanced by their losses at land.

THE king of France having drawn together one hundred and twenty thousand effective men, divided them into three bodies: the first, consisting of seventy thousand, he took under his own peculiar command. At the head of the second, which was of forty thousand, he placed the prince of Conde; and gave about ten thousand men more to the count of Chamilly to serve as a flying camp. All these forces directing their march towards Mastricht, a council of war was held in the king's quarters, and a debate arising about besieging that place, it was adjudged to be an enterprize so full of hazard and difficulty, by reason of the numerous garrison and good fortifications about the town, that they resolved to turn their march towards the Rhine, where the places were not in so good condition. Yet it was thought convenient to leave Chamilly near Tongeren to prevent the excursions of the garrison of Mastricht, which was done. The two armies commanded by the king and prince of Conde marched several days without seeing an enemy, except only about two hundred men who had intrenched themselves on the side of the Rhine, and rendered themselves prisoners after little resistance. From thence the prince of Conde was sent to besiege Wesel, whilst the king besieged Orsoy, and the mareschal Turenne Burick. These three sieges being undertaken at the same time caused a general alarm. But when they saw that Orsoy had hardly held out twenty-four hours, and that Burick and Wesel had been surrendered

in little more than the same time, the consternation greatly encreased. The governor of Wesel, which was accounted a strong place, was sentenced to lose his head; but having some friends about the prince of Orange, the executioner was ordered only to pass the sword over him. The count Desfrades was, in consideration of his services and particular correspondencies in Holland, made governor of this place. Reez, Emerick, Beavize, and Dedekom, followed the example; and an Irishman who commanded at Rhijnberg, finding himself besieged by the king of France, was so frightened, that he delivered the town without a shot; and was afterwards beheaded for his cowardice. The king designing to pass the Yffel, in order to attack the places on the other side of that river, communicated his design to the prince of Conde and to the mareschal de Turenne, who having dissuaded him from the attempt as too dangerous, it was resolved to try to pass the Rhine, which they thought more practicable. In pursuance of this resolution, they procured the best advice they could get, and were informed by a betrayer of his country, that there was a place where the water was low and the passage safe: which being tried and found to be according to the information, the king expressed more than ordinary satisfaction, because he could as well enter the country that way as by the Yffel, and fall upon the enemies rear. The Dutch suspecting this place, had already sent an officer to secure the passage; but he finding himself too weak, abandoned the post with the approbation of the States deputies; and lieutenant-general Wurtz was sent by the prince of Orange with a greater force. By this means much time was lost, and the king of France had leisure to erect batteries, which galled the horse of Wurtz in such a manner, that they found themselves obliged to shelter in the woods. All things being prepared by the French, part of a regiment of horse passed the river, and were received so warmly by Wurtz, that they were forced back into the water: but being seconded by more of their companions, they soon became strong enough to make good their ground, and to put the Dutch horse to flight. However, in this passage the duke of Longueville, nephew to the prince of Conde, was killed, and the prince himself wounded in the wrist by a musket-ball. After this the French took the castle of Tolhuys, and laid a bridge of boats over the Rhine; which so terrified the Dutch, that they abandoned all their entrenchments: so that the king, who had designed to attack them, finding that work over, repassed the river, and sent the mareschal Turenne to command the prince of Conde's army during his absence. Then the king resolved to pass the Yffel, and was not a little surprized to find the passage so easy, and quite otherwise than had been represented to him. Having besieged and taken Doesburg, deputies arrived in his camp from Utrecht, offering to deliver the town and dependencies. The duke of Orleans took Zutphen in Gelderland; and the king himself advanced to Utrecht, having sent a lieutenant-general with some troops to take possession before. Here he received the Dutch ambassadors who were sent by the States to know upon what terms he would treat. In the mean time the mareschal Turenne possessed himself of Arnheim, the fort of Knotsemburg and Nimeguen; which last place was better defended than
any

any other had been. Upon this news the Dutch abandoned Graven, which Turenne seized. Bommel and the Sckincken Scans fell also into the hands of the French: the bishop of Munster took Grol and Deventer: and the marquis De Rochfort made himself master of Naerden and some other places.

THIS astonishing success attending the French in every attempt, drove the common people of Holland into rage and despair. Disasters came so thick upon them, that they could not discern the inequality of their forces when compared to the united strength of France and England. They would not reflect upon the natural impetuosity of the French nation, or the suddenness of the invasion: but in spite to common sense would needs believe that men of republican principles had conspired to betray the commonwealth to one or both of the confederated monarchs. And though I am not concerned to defend those who at that time had the principal part in the administration of affairs in Holland; yet the king of England himself shall be their compurgator, not only on his own account, but also in respect of his brother of France. His words are these: “ * The insolencies, and continual contrivances against me, of certain persons, who for some time past have had the principal direction of affairs in the government of the United Netherlands, have necessitated me to make an alliance with the most christian king, who also has the same grounds of complaint against them, having no other end, than to suppress the insupportable greatness of the Louvestein faction; and to secure ourselves from the like insults and affronts for the time to come, &c.” But the people being deaf to all reason, things every where tended to sedition and tumult; divers of the clergy, particularly one Lantman at the Hague, and Borstius at Rotterdam, exciting the populace both by printing and preaching, against their governors. In this unhappy state of affairs it fell out, that on the 20th of June 1672, the pensionary John de Wit coming out of the council in the Hague at eleven a clock at night, accompanied only by one servant who carried a torch in his hand, was assaulted by four persons, wounded, and left for dead. The next day one of the assassins, by name Jacob Vander Graef was seized, tried, condemned, and in a few days executed, the States of Holland judging this expedition to be absolutely necessary for the security of their own persons in the exercise of their employments. On the 24th of July in the same year, Cornelius de Wit, ancient burger-master of Dort, grand baily of Putten, and elder brother to the pensionary, was brought prisoner to the Hague, upon the accusation of one Tichelaar a barber-surgeon, who deposed, That the prisoner would have hired him to poison the prince of Orange. He was several times put to the rack, and constantly asserted his innocence. Yet he was sentenced to lose his offices and dignities, and to be banished for ever from Holland, and West-Friesland. This sentence being published, caused men to murmur, as their passions variously inclined them. Some said, that if he were guilty, the punishment was too little; and if innocent, too much. Others said, that he

* Letter written by King Charles II.

was certainly guilty, because his judges had set the accuser at liberty. Tiche-laar in the mean time went about the Hague, and told the people that he had convicted the grand baily; which suggestion brought great numbers of them about the prison-doors. In the mean time his brother John de Wit came in his coach to take him out of the prison, upon which one of the populace cried out, "That now the two traitors were together, they should not escape." In this instant a false report was spread among the people, that some thousands of Boors were coming to plunder the Hague, by which means the two brothers were deprived of all hopes of safety. For upon this report, the guards that had been placed by the council of state about the prison for the defence of the prisoner, took occasion to draw off, and left them to the mercy of the rabble; who growing impatient of any farther delay, immediately broke open the doors of the prison, and divers of them rushed into the chamber where the two brothers were. John de Wit, who was sitting on the bed-side with a book in his hand, demanded of them what they would have; and receiving for answer, that they should see if they would go down, he took his brother by the hand and led him down to the street; where they were no sooner arrived, but the enraged multitude fell upon them, and with a thousand wounds most barbarously murdered them. The particulars of this cruelty are so abominable and so exceeding all example, that I purposely omit any farther mention of this tragical story.

THE king of France, in pursuance of the agreement he had made with the canton of Bern, procured the differences between them and the bishop of Basle to be adjusted according to their excellencies desire. But that part of the treaty by which he had promised not to employ their subjects against any of the reformed religion was not so well observed; for he had used them in the war against the States of Holland, and obliged them to serve on all occasions without distinction, contrary to his promise, and to the oath that both officers and soldiers had taken before their departure from Switzerland. This usage the Swiss officers and soldiers resenting, deputed one monsieur De Beur, an officer of their body, to acquaint their excellencies, that they had been constrained against their inclinations to do what they had done. Of which the French having notice, they caused him to be seized at Metz, where he was put into a dungeon. And though upon the solicitation of his friends in Switzerland, their excellencies desired his liberty, they could not for some time obtain any more than a better accommodation for him in the prison; the late successes of France having carried that court to such a height, that they caused a letter to be written by monsieur Stuppa to the canton of Bern, to let them know, that the king accounted himself little obliged to them for the men they had raised under pretence of serving him; and that he was better satisfied with the refusal of the canton of Zurich, than with their grant which was accompanied with such restrictions and regret. The government of Bern finding their affairs with France to be in this uncertain condition, were doubtful what measures to take in the dispute which had been on foot for some time, and still continued between

the duke of Savoy and those of Geneva on account of a fort which had been built by the duke within half a league of that city, under colour of a magazine for the vessels he had built, and to secure a port for their use; positively requiring all those of Geneva who possessed lands within the jurisdiction of Savoy, to hear mass on pain of forfeiture. However, the protestant cantons having seriously considered the importance of this affair, sent to the duke of Savoy, to demand, whether he would have peace or war, and whether he would in all things make good the treaties that had been concluded with them by his ancestors, or not. But before the duke had determined what answer to give to this message, an accident happened which served to secure those of Geneva from any apprehensions from Savoy at that time. For the duke of Savoy having corrupted the governor of Savona (which belongs to the republic of Genoa) and received his promise to put him into possession of the place, had raised forces, and ordered them to march thither. But the officers not agreeing, either concerning the manner, or the time of putting the enterprise in execution, it was so long delayed that the government of Genoa had notice of their march; and suspecting their design, immediately removed the governor and changed the garrison. The duke finding his project defeated, was yet unwilling to have it believed that he designed any clandestine attempt (for no sort of men will avow an unsuccessful treachery) and therefore he published a declaration of the reasons that moved him to make war against Genoa; which were so slight and trivial, that it plainly appeared he rather sought to cover his design upon Savona, than that he had any just cause of quarrel to pretend, it being notorious to all persons concerned, that the duke had received offers of satisfaction to the utmost of what he could demand. In consequence of the declaration, his forces possessed themselves of Pieve, a place belonging to the Genoese, but of no great strength or importance. On the other side, the government of Genoa sent to complain to the king of France, that contrary to the agreement, which he by his agent had made between the duke of Savoy and them, the duke's forces had attacked them in a hostile manner; but yet they omitted not, at the same time, to draw together what force they could to do themselves right, if other means should fail. The duke's army finding Pieve not to be tenable, quitted the place and marched to Castelvechio, with intention to fortify it by reason of its advantageous situation. But the Genoese well knowing the importance of Castelvechio, drew together about nine thousand men, and seized all the avenues, before the Savoyards had made any provision for their subsistence. So that the governor with about three hundred officers and soldiers found no other way to prevent falling into the hands of the enemy but by withdrawing privately, which they effected, leaving the rest to shift for themselves, and the next day the Genoese possessed themselves of the place, killing and taking prisoners all those that were within. From thence they went to Oneglia, resolving to storm the town by sea and land; but the Savoyards prevented them, and capitulated to leave both officers and soldiers to be prisoners of war. In these actions the marquis of Parella
with

with many of the principal nobility, were taken and carried prisoners to Genoa: which, with some other successes obtained by that commonwealth against the duke of Savoy, obliged him to entertain cooler thoughts than he had done, and to hasten his answer to the demands of the protestant cantons; in which he professed, he would have no difference with them, being sincerely desirous of their friendship; that indeed, he had been much surprized they should take any umbrage on account of a house he had built in his own territories, and interest themselves in the differences which had happened between him and those of Geneva, who, he said, had broken the treaty of St. Julian, which yet, for their excellencies sake, he would observe, as if it were still in full force.

A
COLLECTION of LETTERS,
AND OTHER
P A P E R S,

RELATING TO

Divers important Passages of the preceding Memoirs.

The KING's Letters to the QUEEN.

I.

Dear Heart,

¹⁵
Oxford, Jan. 9.

SINCE my last, which was by Talbot, the Scots commissioners have sent to desire me to send a commission to the general assembly in Edinburgh, which I am resolved not to do; but to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to London, and that I may have the more time for the making a handsome negative, I have demanded a passport for Philip Warwick, by whom to return my answer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that Lenthall the speaker brags, That cardinal Mazarin keeps a strict intelligence with him; though I will not swear that Lenthall says true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for Sabran, I am confident that either he or his instructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

EVEN now I am advertised from London, that there are three or four lords, and eight commons (besides four Scotch commissioners) appointed to treat, and they have named Uxbridge for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised that general Goring prospers well where he is, and since Monday last hath taken eighty of the rebels horse; and upon his advance they have quitted Peterfield and Coudry.

Q q q

P O S T.

P O S T S C R I P T.

“ THE settling of religion, and the militia, are the first to be treated on:
 “ and be confident, that I will neither quit episcopacy, nor that sword
 “ which God hath given into my hands.”

^{29.} Copy to my wife, ^{15.} 9 Jan. 1644, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

II.

Dear Heart,

^{31.} Oxford, Sunday 30 March.

SINCE my last (which was but three days ago) there are no alterations happened of moment, preparations rather than actions being yet our chiefest business, in which we hope that we proceed faster than the rebels, whose levies both of men and money (for certain) goes on very slowly; and I believe, they are much weaker than is thought even here at Oxford. For instance, a very honest servant of mine, and no fool, shewed me a proposition from one of the most considerable London rebels, who will not let his name be known until he have hope that his proposition will take effect; it is this, That since the treaty is so broken off, that neither the rebels nor I can resume it without at least a seeming total yielding to the other, the treaty should be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance that the rebels will submit to reason. The answer that I permitted my servant to give, was, That thou art the much fittest person to be the means of so happy and glorious a work as is the peace of this kingdom; “ but that upon no terms thy name was to be prophaned,” therefore he was to be “ satisfied of the rebels willingness to yield to reason, “ before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee, “ and particularly concerning religion and the militia, that nothing must be “ insisted upon but according to my former offers.” This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

“ I MUST again tell thee, That most assuredly France will be the best way
 “ for transportation of the duke of Lorrain’s army, there being divers
 “ fit and safe places of landing for them upon the western coasts, besides
 “ the ports under my obedience, as Shelfey near Chichester and others,
 “ of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.

“ By

“ By my next I think to tell thee when I shall march into the field, for
 “ which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is
 “ eternally thine.”

To my wife, ^{18.} 30 March, ^{31.} 1645, by Petit.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

III.

Dear Heart,

^{30.} Oxford, Thursday 27 March.

I WROTE to thee yesterday by Sakefield, the subject of it was only kindness to thee; which, I assure thee, shall ever be visible in all my actions: and now I come to Jermin's account, given me by thy command, which is very clear, hopeful in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care and industry. As for the main impediment of the duke of Lorraine's business (which is his passage) why may thou not procure him passage through France? (if that of Holland be stuck at) it will much secure and facilitate the sea-transportation in respect of landing on the western coast, which I believe will be found the best, there being not so many places to chuse on, any where else. But this an opinion, not a direction.

THE general face of my affairs methinks begins to mend, the dissensions at London rather increasing than ceasing, Montrose daily prospering, my western business mending apace, and hopeful in all the rest. So that if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other) I am confident to be in a better condition this year, than I have been since this rebellion began; and possibly I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto me. And so farewell, dear heart.

“ I INTEND (if thou like it) to bestow Percie's place on the M. of Newcastle,
 “ to whom yet I am no ways engaged, nor will be before I have thy answer.
 “ As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of
 “ making him master of the wards: for Cottington had it long ago before
 “ thou went hence, and I intended it to secretary Nich, if he then would
 “ have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

“ I DESIRE thee to command lord Jer. to read to thee the D.'s letter, which
 “ goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the transportation
 “ of the duke of Lorraine's army.”

To my wife, ^{23.} 27 Mar. ^{30.} 1645, by P. A.

This is a true Copy examined by

Miles Corbet.

IV.

Dear Heart,

Oxford, Sunday 4 May.^{39.}

THE rebels new brutish general hath refused to meddle with foreign passes, so as yet I cannot dispatch Adrian May to thee, by the way of London, which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the west; and now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I would have but few melancholy thoughts, for I thank God my affairs begin to smile upon me again, Wales being well swept of the rebels. Farrington having relieved itself; and now being secured by Goring's coming, my nephews likewise having brought me a strong party of horse and foot, these quarters are so free that I hope to be marching within three or four days, and am still confident to have the start of the rebels this year: I am likewise very hopeful that my son will shortly be in the head of a good army; for this I have the cheerful assurance of Culpeper and Hyde: of late I have been much pressed to make Southampton master of my horse, not so much for good will to him, as out of fear that Hamilton might return to a capacity of recosening me; wherein if I had done nothing, both jealousy and discontents were like to arise, wherefore I thought fit to put my nephew Rupert in that place, which will both save me charge, and stop other men's grumblings: I have now no more to say, but praying for, and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest eternally thine.

To my wife, 4 May 1645, by Malin St. Ravy.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

V.

Dear Heart,

Oxford, 2 Jan.^{13.}

HAVING decyphered thine which I received yesterday, I was much surprized to find thee blame me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to thee; and I assure thee never any dispatch went from either of my secretaries without one from me, when I knew of it.

“ As for my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to
 “ Digby for particular satisfaction; this in general; if there had been but
 “ two (besides myself) of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument
 “ that prevailed with me, was, That the calling did no ways acknowledge
 “ them to be a parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it
 “ and no otherways, and accordingly it is registered in the council-books,
 “ with

“with the council’s unanimous approbation; but thou wilt find, that it was
“by misfortune not neglect that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it.”

As for the conclusion of thy letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didst not know, thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction, hath been presented to thee in the ugliest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it; the fear of some such mischance made me the more careful to give thee a full account by Tom. Eliot, of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to London, which if it come soon enough I am confident will free thee from much trouble; but if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou hearest the reasons of them from me, thou mayest be often subject to be doubly vexed, first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, esteem me as thou findest me constant to those grounds thou left me withal, and so farewell dear heart.

Copy to my wife, ^{21.} 2 Jan. 1645, by P. A. ^{13.}
4.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

VI.

Dear Heart,

^{21.}
Oxford, 19 Feb. O. S.

I CANNOT yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of our treaty; only the unreasonable stubbornness of the rebels, gives daily less and less hopes of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours shall hinder thee from hastening all thou may’st, all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the duke of Lorrain’s; concerning which I received yesterday good news from Dr. Goffe, that the prince of Orange will furnish shipping for his transportation, and that the rest of his negotiation goes hopefully on; by which, and many other ways, I find thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their several kinds) to esteem most; but I will say no more of this, lest thou may think that I pretend to do this way what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of my life. Though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, That even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyle by Montrose; who upon surprize totally routed those rebels, and killed 1500 upon the place. Yesterday I received thine of 27 Jan. by the Portugal agent, the only way (but expresses) I am confident on, either to receive letters from thee, or to send them to thee; indeed Sabran sent me word yesterday, besides,
“some

“some compliments of the embargo of the rebels ships in France, (which I likewise put upon thy score of kindness)” but is well enough content that the Portugal should be charged with thy dispatches. As for trusting the rebels, either by going to London, or disbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly: for I esteem the interest thou hast in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit (at least by the sympathy that is betwixt us) than to put myself into the reverence of perfidious rebels. So impatiently expecting the express thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine.

“I CAN now assure thee, That Hertogen the Irish agent, is an arrant knave, which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending pacquets.”

11. 21.
To my wife, 19 Feb. 1645, by P. A.
4.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

VII.

Dear Heart,

20.

THE expectation of an express from thee (as I find by thine of the 4 Febr.) is very good news to me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As for our treaty, there is every day less hopes than other, that it will produce a peace. But I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return. For I avow, that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within myself. The limited days for treating, are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one article. Wherefore I have sent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world. And I assure thee, that thou “needest not doubt the issue of this treaty; for my commissioners are so well chosen, (though I say it) that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them; which (upon my word) is according to the little note thou so well remembers.” And in this not only their obedience, but their judgments concur. I confess in some respects thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to London: for indeed some amongst us had a greater mind that way than was fit; of which persuasion Percy is one of the chief, who is shortly like to see thee, of whom having said this, is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee concerning our proceedings here. “In short, there is little or no appearance but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet: and

“be

“ be confident, that in making peace, I shall ever shew my constancy in adhering to bishops, and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual parliament. But as thou loves me, let none persuade thee to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine, C. R.”

^{15.}
Oxford, 25 Feb. ^{4.} 1645.

^{3.}
To my wife, ^{20.} 15 Feb. 1645. by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

VIII.

Dear Heart,

22.

NOW is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to a present peace) of this treaty; but I am still confident, that I shall find very good effects of it: for besides that my commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured reason, and the rebels have stuck rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the world, that the English rebels, (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have, as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the crown of England to the Scots, which (besides the reflection it will have upon these rebels) will clearly shew, that reformation of the church is not the chief, much less the only end of the Scotch rebellion; but, it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use “ all lawful means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, than hitherto thou hast had: it is that I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman-catholicks in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it.” But if thou ask what I call that assistance; I answer, That when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this business requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee; for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else but in this which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us; “ and yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this.” I trusting thee (though it concern religion) as if thou wert a protestant, the visible good of my affairs so much

much depending on it. I have so fully intrusted this bearer Pooly, that I will not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new cypher (assuring thee, that none hath or shall have any copy of it but myself) to the end thou mayest use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me; and so likewise from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

To my wife, the ^{20.} 5 ^{23.} March 1645, by Pooly.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

IX.

The little that is here in cypher, is in that which I sent to thee by Pooly.

^{33.} Oxford, Wed. 9 April 1645.

Dear Heart,

THOUGH it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow messenger, yet all occasions, of this (which is now the only) way of conversing with thee, are so welcome to me, as I shall be loth to lose any; but expect neither news or publick business from me, by this way of conveyance; yet judging thee by myself even these nothings will not be unwelcome to thee, though I should chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too sudden taking alarms; I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is unseparably conjoined with thine, must not all my actions tend to serve and please thee? "If thou knew what a life I lead, (I speak not in respect of the common distractions) even in point of conversation, which in my mind is the chief joy or vexation of one's life, I dare say thou would pity me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busy, others too reserved, many fantastick. In a word, when I know none better (I speak not now in relation to business) then 398. 270. 55:5:7:67:18. 294:35:69:16:54:6:38:1: 67: 68: 9: 66: thou may easily judge how my conversation pleaseth me." I confess thy company hath perhaps made me in this hard to be pleased, but not less to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this disease. The end of all is this, to desire thee to comfort me as often as thou can with thy letters, and dost not thou think, that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou spendest thy time, are pleasing subjects unto me, though thou hast no other business to write of? Believe me, sweet heart, thy kindness is as necessary to comfort my heart, as thy assistance is for my affairs.

To my wife, 9 April 1645, by Binion.

This is a true copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

X.

Dear Heart,

Oxford, Thursday 20 March.

UPON Saturday last I wrote to thee by Sabran (but this I believe may come as soon to thee) and I have received thine of the seventh, upon Monday last, which gave me great contentment both in present and expectation, (the quick passage being likewise a welcome circumstance) and yet I cannot but find a fault of omission in most of thy latter dispatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though I confess, that in this no news is good news, yet I am not so satisfied without a more perfect assurance; and I hope thou wilt by satisfying me confess the justness of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation (I pray God send me a good unlading) for I look daily for some blow of importance to be given about Taunton or Shrewsbury; and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from Ireland, likewise the refractory horse (as the London rebels call them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none; if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me; howsoever I doubt not, but if they stand out (as it is probable) good use may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having sent to try their pulses; Petit came yesterday, but he having at London thrust his dispatches into the States ambassador's packets, I have not yet received them, and I would not stay to lengthen this in answer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good Western news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within these three or four days; only I congratulate with thee for the safe arrival of thy tinn adventure at Callis: and so farewell, sweet heart.

THINE of the 10th I have newly received, whereby I find that thou much mistakes me concerning Ir. for I desire nothing more than peace there, and never forbid thy commerce there; only I gave thee warning of some Irish in France, whom I then thought, and now know to be knaves.

To my wife, 20 of March 164 $\frac{3}{4}$, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

XI.

Dear Heart,

Droit Wiche, Wednesday 14 May.

MARCHING takes away the conveniency of sending my letters so safe and quick to thee, as when I was at Oxford; however I shall not fail to do what I can to send often to thee; there is so little news for the present, as I will leave that subject for others, only upon Saturday last I received a dispatch

R r r

from

from Montrose, which assures me his condition to be so good, that he bids me be confident that his countrymen shall do me no great harm this year; and if I could lend him but 500 horse, he would undertake to bring me 20,000 men before the end of this summer. For the general state of my affairs we all here think to be very hopeful; this army being of a good strength, well ordered, and encreasing; my son's such, that Fairfax will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himself. 'Tis true that I cannot brag for store of money, but a sharp sword always hinders starving at least; and I believe the rebels coffers are not very full (and certainly we shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they) or they must have some greater defect, else their levies could not be so backward as they are, for I assure thee that I have at this instant many more men in the field than they. I am not very confident what their Northern forces are, but except they are much stronger than I am made believe, I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a complaint to thee of my son Charles, "which troubles me the more, that thou mayest suspect I seek by equivocating to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee: It is this, he hath sent to desire me, That Sir John Greenfield may be sworn gentleman of his bedchamber, but already so publickly engaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace both to my son and the young gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his father's merits, his own hopefulnes, besides the great power that family has in the West:" Yet I have refused the admitting of him until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee first to chide my son for engaging himself without one of our consents; then, not to refuse thy own consent; and lastly, to believe that, directly or indirectly, I never knew of this while yesterday at the delivery of my son's letter. So farewell, sweet heart, and God send me good news from thee.

To my wife, May 14, 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

XII.

Dear Heart,

I KNOW thy affection to me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble to find my reputation as my life in danger: therefore least the false sound of my offering a treaty to the rebels upon base and unsafe terms should disturb thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy mind from such rumours) to tell thee the ways I have used to come to a treaty, and upon what grounds. I shall first shew thee my grounds, to the end thou may the better understand and approve of my ways; then know (as a certain truth) that

that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged me so much the more (at all occasions) to shew my real intentions to peace: " And likewise I am put in very good hope (some hold it a certainty) that if I " could come to a fair treaty, the ring-leading rebels could not hinder me from " a good peace: First, because their own party are most weary of the war, " and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are " amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independants in religion, and " general against general in point of command: upon these grounds a treaty " being most desirable (not without hope of good success) the most probable " means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and " safety; amongst the rest (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably " counselable) the sound of my return to London was thought to have so much " force of popular rhetorick in it, that upon it a treaty would be had, or if " refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantageous to " me; yet lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this, as to proceed " from fear or folly, I have joined conditions with the proposition (without " which this sound will signify nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of " the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace." Then observe, if a treaty at London, with commissioners for both sides, may be had without it, it is not to be used; nor, in case they will treat with no body but myself, so that the conditions save any aspersions of dishonour, and the treating at London the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse into this treaty upon this subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours; and though I judge myself secure in thy thoughts, from suspecting me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know as well as thyself, this certain truth, that no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the state of my present affairs I refer thee to 92. concluding (as I did in my last to thee) by conjuring thee, as thou lovest me, that no appearance of peace (and now I add) nor hopeful condition of mine, make thee neglect to haste succour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my wife, Decemb. 1644. by Tom. Elliot.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

XIII.

Dear Heart,

Oxford, 13 March, old-style.

WHAT I told thee the last week concerning a good parting with our lords and commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed; and now if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault, for I confess when I

wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the treaty, (knowing that there were great labourings to that purpose :) but now I promise thee, " If it be renewed, (which I believe will not " without some eminent good success on my side) it shall be to my honour and " advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous " motions (that is to say, our mungrel parliament here) as of the chief causers, " for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee " to be vexed by them," Wilmot being already there, Percy on his way, and Suffex within few days taking his journey to thee. But that I know, thou carest not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniencies, yet I must tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect steadiness of thy love to me, I might reasonably apprehend that their repair to thee would rather prove a change than an end of their villanies; and I cannot deny, but my confidence in thee, was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.

I HAVE received thine of the third of March, by which thou puts me in hope of assistance of men and money, and it is no little expression of thy love to me, (that because of my business) festivals are troublesome to thee, " But I " see that assemblies in no countries are very agreeable to thee," and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their companies, and excuse me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder, that meer statesmen should desire to be rid of thee; therefore I desire thee to think whether it would not advantage thee much to make a personal friendship with the queen regent, (without shewing any distrust of her ministers, though not wholly trusting to them) and to shew her, that when her regency comes out (and possibly before) she may have need of her friends, so that she shall but serve herself by helping of thee; and to say no more, but certainly if this rebellion had not begun to oppress me when it did, a late great queen had ended more glorious than she did. In the last place I desire thee, to give me a weekly account of thy health, for I fear lest in that alone thou takest not care enough to express thy kindness to him who is eternally thine.

THE Northern news is rather better than what we first heard, for what by Sir Marmaduke Langdale's, and Montrose's victories, Carlisle and the rest of our Northern garrisons are relieved, and we hope for this year secured, and besides all this, the Northern horse are already returned and joined with my nephew Rupert.

To my wife, 13 March 164⁴.

By P. A. This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

XIV.

Dear Heart,

Daintry, Sunday 8 June.

OXFORD being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee than otherwise I could have expected, which makes me believe, that my good news will not be very stale, which in short is this: since the taking of Leicester, my marching down hither to relieve Oxford, made the rebels raise their siege before I could come near them, having had their quarters once or twice beaten up by that garrison, and lost four hundred men at an assault before Bostoll-House; at first I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far as Brackley, but are since gone aside to Brick-hill, so as I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be; whether by their distractions, (which are certainly very great) Fairfax and Browne having been at cudgels, and his men and Cromwell's likewise at blows together, where a captain was slain, or wasting their men, I will not say: besides, Goring hath given a great defeat to the Western rebels, but I do not yet know the particulars; wherefore I may (without being too much sanguine) affirm, that (since this rebellion) my affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way, though among ourselves we want not our own follies, which is needless, and I am sure tedious to tell thee, but such as I am confident shall do no harm, nor much trouble me: yet I must tell thee, that it is thy letter by Fitz Williams, assuring me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted kindness, which make me capable of taking contentment in these good successes; "for as divers men purpose several recompences to themselves for their pains and hazard in this rebellion; so thy company is the only reward I expect and wish for."

To my wife, 9 June, 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

XV.

Dear Heart,

SUNDAY last I received three letters from thee; one a duplicate of the 30 Dec. another of the 6 Jan. and the last of the 14 Jan. and even now one Petit is come with a duplicate of the last; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of me, so I must extremely wonder, that any who pretends to be a friend to our cause, (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lies, that thou hast had

had ill offices done to me by any; or that thy care for my assistance hath been the least suspected, it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of, but with greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance: but I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more than a bare suspicion: and indeed, if I were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of my assistance, at least not giving me so often account of it as I desire; these three last, making no mention of thyself. Now as for the treaty (which begins this day) I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety; of which I will say no more, because, knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me.

I SEND thee herewith my directions to my commissioners, but how I came to make them myself without any others, Digby will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning military as cabalistical matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things (only not answering for words) truly shew myself to be eternally thine.

THE Portugal agent hath made me two propositions; first, concerning the release of his master's brother, for which I shall have 50,000*l.* if I can procure his liberty from the king of Spain; the other is for a marriage betwixt my son Charles and his master's eldest daughter: for the first I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will "give such an answer, "as shall signify nothing."

I DESIRE thee not to give too much credit to Sabran's relations, nor much countenance to the Irish agents in Paris, the particular reasons thou shalt have by Pooly (whom I intend for my next messenger). In the last place I recommend to thee the care of Jersey and Guernsey, it being impossible for us here to do much, though we were rich, being weak at sea.

To my wife, 30 Jan. 164⁺₅, by Legge.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

XVI.

Ormond,

THE impossibility of preserving my protestant subjects in Ireland, by a continuation of the war, having moved me to give you those powers and directions; "which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, "and the same growing daily much more evident, that alone were reason enough
"for

“ for me, to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point
 “ more positive. But besides these considerations, it being now manifest that
 “ the English rebels have (as far as in them lies) given the command of Ire-
 “ land to the Scots; that their aim is at a total subversion of religion and
 “ regal power, and that nothing less will content them, or purchase peace
 “ here, I think myself bound in conscience, not to let slip the means of settling
 “ that kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to lose that
 “ assistance which I may hope from my Irish subjects, for such scruples as in
 “ a less pressing condition might reasonably be stuck at by me: for their satis-
 “ faction, I do therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Irish,
 “ whatever it cost, so that my protestant subjects there may be secured, and
 “ my regal authority preserved; but for all this, you are to make me the best
 “ bargain you can, and not discover your enlargement of power till you needs
 “ must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary work
 “ entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poining’s
 “ act for such bills as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present
 “ taking away of the penal laws against papists, by a law will do it, I shall
 “ not think it a hard bargain; so that freely and vigorously they engage them-
 “ selves in my assistance against my rebels of England and Scotland, for which
 “ no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour.”

Copy to Ormond, 27 Feb. 164 $\frac{4}{5}$.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

XVII.

To O R M O N D.

Ormond,

Oxford, 16 Feb. 1644.

I SHOULD wrong my own service, and this gentleman Sir Timothy Fether-
 ston, if I did not recommend him and his business to you; for the particulars
 of which I refer you to Digby: and now again I cannot but mention to you the
 necessity of the hastening of the Irish peace, for which I hope you are already
 furnished by me, with materials sufficient: but in case (against all expectation
 and reason) peace cannot be had upon those terms, you must not by any means
 fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the cessation (according to a
 postscript in a letter by Jack Barry (a copy of which dispatch I herewith send
 you). So I rest.

P O S T S C R I P T.

In case upon particular men’s fancies, the Irish peace should not be pro-
 cured; upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give
 you

you this further order (which I hope will prove needless) to seek to renew the cessation for a year, for which "you shall promise the Irish (if you can have it no cheaper) to join with them against the Scots and Inchequin;" for I hope by that time my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept less, "or I be able to grant more."

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

XVIII.

To ORMOND.

Ormond,

Oxford, 7 Jan. 164⁴/₅.

UPON the great rumours and expectations which are now of peace, I think it necessary to tell you the true state of it, lest mistaken reports from hence might trouble my affairs there.

"THE rebels here have agreed to treat; and most assuredly, one of the first and chief articles they will insist on, will be, to continue the Irish war; which is a point not popular for me to break on;" of which you are to make a double use: first, to hasten (with all possible diligence) the peace there; the timely conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience which otherways I may be subject to, by the refusal of that article, upon any other reason. Secondly, by dextrous conveying to the Irish, the danger there may be of their total and perpetual exclusion from those favours I intend them, in case the rebels here clap up a peace with me, upon reasonable terms, and only exclude them; which possibly were not counselable for me to refuse, if the Irish peace should be the only difference betwixt us, before it were perfected there: these I hope are sufficient grounds for you to persuade the Irish diligently to dispatch a peace upon reasonable terms, assuring them that you having once fully engaged to them my word (in the conclusion of a peace) all the earth shall not make me break it.

"BUT not doubting of a peace, I must again remember you to press the Irish for their speedy assistance to me here, and their friends in Scotland: my intention being to draw from thence into Wales (the peace once concluded) as many as I can of my armed protestant subjects, and desire that the Irish would send as great a body as they can to land about Cumberland, which will put those northern counties in a brave condition; wherefore you must take speedy order to provide all the shipping you may, as well Dunkirk as Irish bottoms; and remember that after March it will be most difficult to transport men from Ireland to England, the rebels being masters of the seas: so expecting a diligent and particular account in answer to this letter, I rest

Your most assured constant friend,

CHARLES R.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

XIX.

To O R M O N D.

Ormond,

15 Decemb. 1644.

I AM sorry to find by colonel Barry the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot find so good and speedy remedy as the peace of Ireland, it being likewise to redress most necessary affairs here; wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which I hope my publick dispatch will give you sufficient instruction and power; yet I have thought it necessary for your more encouragement in this necessary work, to make this addition with my own hand. As for Poining's act I refer you to my other letter: and for matter of religion, though I have not found it fit to take publick notice of the paper which Brown gave you, yet I must command you to give him, my L. Muskery, and Plunket particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it, there could have been no peace; and that sticking to it, their nation in general, and they in particular, shall have comfort in what they have done, "and to shew that this is more than words, I do
 " hereby promise them, (and command you to see it done) that the penal
 " statutes against Roman Catholicks shall not be put in execution, the peace
 " being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that
 " when the Irish give me that assistance which they have promised, for the
 " suppression of this rebellion, and I shall be restored to my rights, then I
 " will consent to the repeal of them by a law; but all those against appeals to
 " Rome, and premunire must stand;" all this in cypher you must impart to none, but those three already named, and that with injunction of strictest secrecy: so again recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Ireland, and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private letter, I rest.

A true copy. Zouch Tate.

XX.

The earl of Glamorgan's instructions to me, to be presented to your majesty.

THAT (God willing) by end of May, or beginning of June, he will land with 6000 Irish.

THAT the gentlemen of the severall counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Carmarthen, will very speedily, for your majesty's service in securing these parts, raise and arm four thousand men.

S f f

THAT

THAT with the ships which shall bring over the Irish, his lordship designs to block up Milford Haven, at which time he doubts not to draw these Welch forces into Pembrokeeshire.

THAT to advance these his undertakings, he hath thirty thousand pounds ready, ten thousand muskets, two thousand case of pistols, eight hundred barrels of powder, besides his own artillery, and is ascertained of thirty thousand pounds more which will be ready upon his return.

THAT he hath intelligence from his ships, that divers Hollanders and Dunkirkers come in daily to him.

IN order to this service, he commanded me humbly to put your Majesty in mind of his commission, and that he may in fitting time have such command in these counties as may be suitable to his employment, and conducing to the service in hand: these being counties in which (if other designs of landing fail) he can land in; and that your Majesty will seriously consider the services he hath done you in composing the distractions of the county of Monmouth: and that you will be pleased to countenance Sir Thomas Lunsford, and graciously relieve the country in such things, as without prejudicing your service may ease them.

Concerning the county of Monmouth only.

THAT by his lordship's means (who hath now raised two regiments himself) Sir Thomas Lunsford's forces will be one thousand eight hundred foot, and seven hundred horse, which horse is intended to be quartered in the forest of Dean, in places of secure quartering, as Langot, attempted to have been taken by Sir John Winter, a place of great concernment, both for the reducing the forest, and securing Monmouthshire.

THAT by his lordship's intervention and endeavours, your Majesty really sees he hath much qualified the sense of the grievances of the county, and moderated their complaints by subducting the intended petition, and therefore hopes your Majesty will so specially commend their humble suit to prince Rupert, as it may be successful.

THAT though the prayer of their petition is to reduce the contribution to the proportion set by the parliament at Oxford, yet his lordship hath so wrought, as these petitioners have under their hands obliged themselves to continue the double payment for two months more, and doubts not but in relation to the exigence of your Majesty's service to prevail for further time.

HIS humble suit is, That I may carry with me into the country your Majesty's order, that the forces of Sir Thomas Lunsford may not be removed, but upon urgent occasion, until his return; and that only upon your Majesty's or prince Rupert's special order; otherwise it will be a great obstruction and discouragement in raising or continuing the number proposed.

THAT your Majesty will be pleased, in their favour, to write your letter to prince Rupert, and that the country may have the honour to present it,
to

to the end they may be eased of free quarter, exactions above their contribution, and unnecessary garrisons, that Chepstow and Monmouth may be the better strengthened.

THAT Sir Thomas Lunsford may be qualified with authority, to protect them according to such order as the prince shall make.

March 21.
1644.

These presented by your loyal subject,

Edward Bosdon.

This a true copy. Zouch Tate.

XXI.

Colonel Fitz-William humbly prays, and propounds to the queen
as followeth :

THAT your sacred Majesty will vouchsafe to prevail with his Majesty, to condescend to the just demands of his Irish subjects, the confederate catholicks in his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, at least in private.

THAT upon the consideration thereof, colonel Fitz-William humbly propounds and undergoeth (with the approbation of Mr. Hardegan, now employed agent for the said confederate catholicks in France) to bring an army of ten thousand men, and more of his Majesty's subjects in his kingdom of Ireland, for his Majesty's service into England.

THAT colonel Fitz-William undertakes for the sum of ten thousand pounds sterl. to levy, ship, and arm the said ten thousand men, and so proportionably for more or less; and that the said money may be put into such hands as may be safe for his Majesty, as well as ready for the colonel, when it shall appear the said army shall be in a readiness to be transported into England.

THAT upon the landing the said men, there shall be advanced to the colonel one month's pay for all the army, according to the muster, for the present support of the army.

THAT colonel Fitz-William may be commander in chief thereof, and dispose of all the offices, and only be commanded by his Majesty, his highness the prince of Wales, and prince Rupert, and qualified with such commissions as hath been formerly granted to his Majesty's generals that have commanded bodies apart from his Majesty's own army, as the marquis of Newcastle, the earl of Kingston and others, hereby the better to enable him in the levies as well as in the general conduct of the business; and that in respect the parliament gives no quarter to his Majesty's Irish subjects, therefore that the said forces shall not by any order whatsoever be divided.

THAT the colonel may be supplied with a body of horse, of at least two thousand, to be ready at the place of landing.

THAT the colonel may be provided with ammunition and artillery, or with money requisite for himself to provide necessary proportions to bring with him.

THAT the army shall be paid as other armies of his Majesty.

HAVING taken these propositions into consideration, we have thought fit to testify our approbation and agreement thereunto under our sign manual, assuring what hath been desired of us therein, shall be forthwith effectually endeavoured, and not doubting to the satisfaction of the confederate catholics of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, and to the said colonel Fitz-William, so that we may justly expect an agreeable compliance and performance accordingly from all parties in these several concernments.

This is a true copy of the original sent by her majesty to the king, May 16, 1645.

A. Lowly, secretary to the right honourable
the Lord Jermine.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

XXII.

To my wife, 14 Jan. 164 $\frac{4}{5}$. by Choquen.

Dear Heart,

POOLY came the $\frac{11}{22}$ Jan. to whose great dispatch, though for some days I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy letter, not without relating to something of his discourse.

As I confess it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftner from me, so excuse me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentions, if their affections were so real, as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each letter will shew my diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to find out ways of sending, wherefore if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty; but to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every one should know (excuse me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it, though he say it: and for my affection to thee, it will not be the miscarrying of a letter or two that will call it in question; but take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their weariness of thy company, than the true image of their thoughts; and of this is not the proposal of thy journey

journey to Ireland, a pretty instance? for seriously of itself, I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard, thy giving ear to it, being most assuredly only to express thy love to me, and not thy judgment in my affairs: as for the business itself, (I mean the peace of Ireland) to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it, I have sent thee the last dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thyself; only thou mayest in general let the Q. Regent and ministers there understand, That I have offered my Irish subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue, which I really believe. But for God's sake, let none know the particulars of my dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholden to the Portugal agent (and little to the French) it being by his means that I have sent thee all my letters (besides expresses) since I came hither, though I expected most from Sabran.

“ I WILL not trouble thee with repetitions of news, Digby's dispatch which I have seen being so full, that I can add nothing; yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his superstitious observation: it is this, nothing can be more evident, than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's just judgments upon this nation by a furious civil war, both sides hitherto being almost equally punished as being in a manner equally guilty; but now this last crying blood being totally theirs, I believe it is no presumption hereafter to hope that his hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed by our faults.”

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

XXIII.

Copy to the D. of R.

Richmond,

I THANK you for the account you sent me by this bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you that my going to West. is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a treaty with Com. there or thereabouts, and that you mention the security I ask with my coming to West. And I hope I need not remember you to cajole well the independants and Scots; this bearer will tell you how well our Western and Northern associations go on, to whom I refer you for other things. I rest.

This is a true copy..

Zouch Tate.

XXIV.

Memorials for secretary Nicholas concerning the treaty at Uxbridge.

Oxford, Feb. 1644.

1. **F**OR religion and church-government I will not go one jot further than what is offered by you already.
2. **A**ND so for the Militia more than what ye have allowed by me; but even in that you must observe that I must have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteen; yet if they (I mean the English rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.
3. As for gaining of particular persons besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services, not sparing to engage for places; so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but as much profit as you will: with this last you are only to acquaint Richmond, Southampton, Culpeper, and Hyde.

This is a true copy.

Zouch Tate.

XXV.

Directions for my Uxbridge commissioners.

First, concerning religion.

IN this the government of the church (as I suppose) will be the chief question, wherein two things are to be considered, conscience and policy. For the first, I must declare unto you that I cannot yield to the change of the government by bishops; not only as I fully concur with the most general opinion of christians in all ages, as being the best, but likewise I hold myself particularly bound by the oath I took at my coronation, not to alter the government of this church from what I found it. And as for the church's patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure sacrilege, and likewise contrary to my coronation-oath; but whatsoever shall be offered, for rectifying of abuses, if any have crept in, or yet for the ease of tender consciences (so as that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto. For the second, as the king's duty is to protect the church, so it is the church's to assist

assist the king, in the maintenance of his just authority; wherefore my predecessors have been always careful (and especially since the reformation) to keep the dependency of the clergy entirely upon the crown; without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the king's head; therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

Next concerning the Militia.

AFTER conscience, this is certainly the fittest subject for a king's quarrel; for without it the kingly power is but a shadow; and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known laws of the land: yet because to attain to this so much wished peace by all good men, it is in a manner necessary that sufficient and real security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon. I permit you either by leaving strong towns or other military force in the rebels possession (until articles be performed) to give such assurance for performance of conditions as you shall judge necessary to conclude a peace: provided always that ye take (at least) as great care by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to me: "And to make sure that the peace once settled, all things should return into their ancient channels."

Thirdly, for Ireland.

I CONFESS, they have very specious popular arguments to press this point, the gaining of no article more conducing to their ends than this: and I have as much reason both in honour and policy to take care how to answer this as any: all the world knows the eminent inevitable necessity which caused me to make the Irish cessation, and there remains yet as strong reason for the concluding of that peace; wherefore ye must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear way be shown me how my protestant subjects there may probably (at least) defend themselves; and that I shall have no more need to defend my conscience and crown from the injuries of this rebellion.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

XXVI.

At Uxbridge on Wednesday the 29th of January, 1644, the protestation under-written was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all his majesty's commissioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded peace.

I A. B. being one of the commissioners assigned by his majesty for this present treaty at Uxbridge, do protest and promise, in the sight of almighty God, that I will not disclose nor reveal unto any person or persons whatsoever (who is not a commissioner) any matter or thing that shall be spoken of during the

the treaty, by any one or more of his majesty's commissioners, in any private debate among ourselves, concerning the said treaty; so as to name or describe, directly or indirectly, the person or persons that shall speak any such matter or thing, unless it be by the consent of all the said commissioners that shall be then living.

MEMORANDUM, That it is by all the said commissioners agreed, that this shall not bind where any ten of the commissioners shall agree to certify his majesty the number of assenters or dissenters, upon any particular result in this treaty, not naming or describing the persons.

This is a true copy, examined by

Zouch Tate.

XXVII.

The queen to the king from York, March 30, 1644. Also April.

My Dear Heart,

I NEED not tell you from whence this bearer comes; only I will tell you, That the propositions which he brings you are good, but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution: therefore find some means to send them back, which may not discontent them, and do not tell who gave you this advice. Sir Hugh Cholmely is come with a troop of horse to kiss my hands: the rest of his people he left at Scarborough, with a ship laden with arms, which the ships of the parliament had taken and brought thither, so she is ours; the rebels have quitted Tadcaster upon our sending forces to Whetherby, but they are returned with twelve hundred men: we send more forces to drive them out, though those we have already at Whetherby are sufficient, but we fear lest they have all their forces thereabout, and lest they have some design; for they have quitted Selby and Cawood, the last of which they have burnt: between this and to-morrow night we shall know the issue of this business; and I will send you an express. I am more careful to advertise you of what we do, that you and we may find means to have passports to send; and I wonder that upon the cessation you have not demanded that you might send in safety: this shews my love. I understand to-day from London, that they will have no cessation, and that they treat at the beginning of the two first articles, which is of the forts, ships and ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the army: certainly, I wish a peace more than any, and that with greater reason, but I would the disbanding of the present parliament first, and certainly, the rest will be easy afterwards. I do not say this of my own head alone; for generally both those who are for you and against you in this country, wish an end of it; and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the first,

first, in case it be not granted, Hull is ours, and all Yorkshire, which is a thing to consider of: and for my particular, if you make a peace and disband your army, before there is an end to this perpetual parliament, I am absolutely resolved to go into France, not being willing to fall again into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remain with them, that it will not be well for me in England. Remember what I have written to you in three precedent letters, and be more careful of me than you have been, or at the least dissemble it; to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu: the man hastens me so that I can say no more.

York, this 30th of March.

XXVIII.

THIS letter should have gone by a man of master Denedsdale, who is gone, and all the beginning of this letter was upon this subject: and therefore by this man it signifies nothing, but the end was so pleasing, that I do not forbear to send it to you. You now know by Elliot the issue of the business of Tadcaster, since we had almost lost Scarborough, whilst Cholmely was here, Browne Bushell would have rendered it up to the parliament: but Cholmely having had notice of it, is gone with our forces, and hath retaken it: and hath desired to have a lieutenant and forces of ours to put within it; for which we should take his: he hath also taken two pinaces from Hotham, which brought 44 men to put within Scarborough, 10 pieces of cannon, 4 barrels of powder, and 4 of bullet. This is all our news; our army marches to-morrow to put an end to Fairfax's excellency. And I will make an end of this letter, this third of April. I have had no news of you since Parsons.

A true copy.

P. W.

30 March, 3 April.

XXIX.

The queen to the king from Bath. April 21, 1644.

My Dear Heart,

FRED. Cornwallis will have told you all our voyage as far as Adburie, and the state of my health: since my coming hither, I find myself so ill, as well in the ill rest that I have, as in the increase of my rhume.

I HOPE that this day's rest will do me good: I go to-morrow to Bristol, to send you back the carts; many of them are already returned. My lord Dillon

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told

told me, “ not directly from you, though he says you approve it, That it was
 “ fit I should write a letter to the commissioners of Ireland to this effect, That
 “ they ought to desist from those things for the present, which they had put
 “ in their paper, and to assure them, that when you shall be in another con-
 “ dition than you are now, that you will give them contentment.”

I THOUGHT it to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not do
 it without your command; therefore if it please you that I should do so, send
 me what you would have me write, that I may not do more than what you
 appoint: and also that it being your command, you may hold to that which I
 promise: for I should be very much grieved to write any thing which I would
 not hold to, and when you have promised it me, I will be confident. I believe
 also, that to write to my lord Muskery without the rest will be enough; for
 the letter which I shall write to him shall be with my own hand: and if it be
 to all your commissioners, it shall be by the secretary. Farewel, my dear
 heart, I cannot write any more, but that I am absolutely Yours.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

XXX.

The queen to the king from Paris. Jan. 164⁴/₅.

Paris, January.

I HAVE received one of your letters, dated from Marleborow of an old date,
 having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer: I
 will say nothing concerning this, but only concerning the affair of (Gor.) if it
 be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not
 believe before. I understand that the commissioners are arrived at London; I
 have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour; and that if you
 have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise,
 “ that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do for-
 “ sake you in your need.” Also I do not see how you can be in safety with-
 out a regiment of guard; for myself I think I cannot be, “ seeing the malice
 “ which they have against me, and my religion, of which I hope you will
 “ have care of both;” but in my opinion religion should be the last thing upon
 which you should treat: “ for if you do agree upon strictness against the catho-
 “ licks, it would discourage them to serve you: and if afterwards there should
 “ be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland, or any
 “ other catholick prince, for they would believe you would abandon them
 “ after you have served yourself.” I have dispatched an express into Scotland
 to Montrosse, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done.

This

This week I send to Mr. de Lorraine and into Holland; I lose no time: if I had more of your news, all would go better. Adieu, my dear heart.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

My wife, $\frac{16}{20}$ Decem. Jan. 164 $\frac{4}{5}$.

XXXI.

The queen to the king. Paris, January 27, 164 $\frac{4}{5}$. Also
March 13.

My Dear Heart,

Paris, Jan. $\frac{17}{27}$.

TOM. Elliot two days since has brought me much joy and sorrow: the first, to know the good estate in which you are; the other, the fear I have that you go to London. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsel, unless it be to hazard your person to save theirs: but thanks be to God, to-day I received one of yours by the ambassador of Portugal, dated in January, which comforted me much to see that the treaty shall be at Uxbridge: for the honour of God trust not yourself in the hands of these people. And if you ever go to London before the parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are lost. "I understand that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the army; if you consent to this, you shall be lost," they having the whole power of the militia, they have done and will do whatsoever they will. "I received yesterday letters from the duke of Lorraine, who sends me word if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men." Dr. Goffe whom I have sent into Holland shall treat with him in his passage upon this business; and I hope very speedily to send good news of this, as also of the money. Assure yourself I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire; and that I will hazard my life, that is, to die by famine, rather than not to send to you: send me word always by whom you receive my letters, for I write both by the ambassador of Portugal, and the resident of France. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the bishops as the poor catholicks. Adieu; you will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to do it yet myself in cyphers. Shew to my nephew Rupert, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reason why I write not to him. I know not how to send great packets.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

My wife, $\frac{27}{17}$ Jan. 166 $\frac{4}{5}$.

T t t 2

XXXII.

My Dear Heart,

Paris, this 13th of March.

SINCE my last, I have received one of your letters marked 16, by which you signify the receipt of my letters by Pooly, which hath a little surprized me, seeming to me that you write as if I had in my letter something which had displeased you: if that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I only did believe that it was necessary you should know all. There is one other thing in your letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to myself your dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shew them to any only to lord Jermyn to uncypher them, my head not suffering me to do it myself: but if it please you I will do it, and none in the world shall see them; be kind to me or you kill me. I have already affliction enough to fear, which without you I could not do, but your service surmounts all. Farewel, my dear heart; behold the mark which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest +, and I pray begin to remember what I spake to you concerning Jack Barkley for master of the wards. I am not engaged nor will not be for the places of lord Percy and others, do you accordingly.

13 March 1664.

XXXIII.

My Dear Heart,

Newark the 27 of June.

I RECEIVED just now your letter by my lord Savile, who found me ready to go away, staying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two days stop, it is to have Hull and Lincoln. Young Hotham having been put in prison by order of parliament, is escaped, and hath sent to 260 that he would cast himself into his arms, and that Hull and Lincoln should be rendered, he is gone to his father, and 260. writes for your answer, so that I think I shall go hence Friday or Saturday, and shall go lie at Werton, and from thence to Ashby, where we will resolve what way to take, and I will stay there a day, because that the march of the day before, will have been somewhat great, and also to know how the enemy marches; all their forces of Nottingham at present are gone to Leicester and Derby, which makes us believe, that it is to intercept our passage; as soon as we have resolved, I will send you word. At this present I think it fit to let you know the state in which we march, and what I leave behind me for the safety of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. I leave 2000 foot, and wherewithal to arm 500 more, 20 companies of horse, all this to be under Charles Cavendish, whom the gentlemen of the country have desired me not to carry with me against his will, for he desired extremely to go. The enemies have left within Nottingham 1000. I carry with me
3000.

3000 foot, 30 companies of horse and dragoons, 6 pieces of cannon, and 2 mortars. Harry Jermyn commands the forces which go with me, as colonel of my guard, and Sir Alexander Lesley the foot under him, and Gerard the horse, and Robin Legg the artillery, and her She-Majesty Generalissima, and extremely diligent, with 150 waggons of baggage to govern, in case of battle. Have a care that no troop of Essex his army incommode us, for I hope that for the rest we shall be strong enough, for at Nottingham we have had the experience, one of our troops having beaten six of theirs and made them fly. I have received your proclamation or declaration, which I wish had not been made, being extremely disadvantageous for you; for you shew too much fear, and do not what you had resolved upon. Farewel, my dear heart.

The queen to the king, 27 June 1643.

XXXIV.

Instructions to ———, sent to the court of France, the 12th of July 1626.

C H A R L E S Rex.

IT is not unknown both to the French king and his mother, what unkindnesses and distastes have fallen between my wife and me, which hitherto I have born with great patience (as all the world knows) ever expecting and hoping an amendment, knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty counsels of her servants, for advancing of their own ends, rather than her own inclination: for at my first meeting of her at Dover, I could not expect more testimonies of respect and love, than she shewed; as to give one instance, her first suit to me was, That she being young and coming to a strange country, both by her years and ignorance of the customs of the place, might commit many errors, therefore that I would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance, before I had with my instructions learned her to eschew them, and desired me in these cases to use no third person, but to tell her myself when I found she did any thing amiss. I both granted her request, and thanked her for it, but desired that she would use me as she had desired me to use her, which she willingly promised me, which promise she never kept. For a little after this, madam St. George taking a distaste because I would not let her ride with us in the coach, when there was women of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due, (which in England we think a strange thing) set my wife in such an humour of distaste against me, as that from that very hour to this, no man can say that ever she used me two days together with so much respect as I deserved of her; but by the contrary, has put so many disrespect on me, as it were too long to set down all; some I will relate. As I take

take it, it was at her first coming to Hampton Court, I sent some of my council to her, with those orders that were kept in the queen my mother's house, desiring she would command the count of Tilliers, that the same might be kept in hers: her answer was, she hoped that I would give her leave to order her house as she list herself. (Now if she had said that she would speak with me, not doubting to give me satisfaction in it, I could have found no fault with her, whatsoever she would have said of this to myself, for I could only impute it to ignorance; but I could not imagine that she should affront me so, as to refuse me in such a thing publicly.) After I heard this answer, I took a time (when I thought we had both best leisure to dispute it) to tell her calmly both her fault in the publick denial, and her mistaking of the business itself. She, instead of acknowledging her fault and mistaking, gave me so ill an answer, that I omit, not to be tedious, the relation of that discourse having too much of that nature hereafter to relate. Many little neglects I will not take the pains to set down, as her eschewing to be in my company. When I have any thing to speak to her, I must manage her servants first, else I am sure to be denied; her neglect of the English tongue, and of the nation in general. I will also omit the affront she did me, before my going to this last unhappy assembly of parliament, because there has been talk enough of that already, &c. The author of it is before you in France. To be short, omitting all other passages, coming only to that which is most recent in memory; I having made a commission to make my wife's jointure, &c. to assign her those lands she is to live on, and it being brought to such a ripeness that it wanted but my consent to the particulars they had chosen; she taking notice that it was now time to name the officers for her revenue, one night when I was a-bed, put a paper in my hand, telling me it was a list of those that she desired to be of her revenue. I took it and said I would read it next morning; but withal told her, That by agreement in France I had the naming of them. She said, there were both English and French in the note. I replied, That those English I thought fit to serve her I would confirm; but for the French, it was impossible for them to serve her in that nature. Then she said, all those in the paper had breviats from her mother, and herself, and that she could admit no other. Then I said, it was neither in her mother's power, nor hers, to admit any without my leave, and that if she stood upon that, whomsoever she recommended, should not come in. Then she bad me plainly take my lands to myself, for if she had no power to put in whom she would in those places, she would have neither lands nor house of me, but bad me give her what I thought fit in pension. I bad her then remember to whom she spake, and told her, That she ought not to use me so. Then she fell into a passionate discourse, how she is miserable, in having no power to place servants, and that businesses succeeded the worse for her recommendation; which when I offered to answer, she would not so much as hear me. Then she went on, saying, she was not of that base quality to be used so ill. Then I made her both hear me and end that discourse. Thus having had so long patience, with the disturbance of that that should be one of my greatest contentments, I can no longer suffer those

those that I know to be the cause and fomenters of these humours, to be about my wife any longer, which I must do if it were but for one action they made my wife do, which is, to make her go to Tyburn in devotion to pray, which action can have no greater invective made against it, than the relation. Therefore you shall tell my brother the French king, as likewise his mother, that this being an action of so much necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with it, especially since he hath done the like himself, not staying while he had so much reason: and being an action that some may interpret of harshness to his nation, I thought good to give him an account of it, because that in all things I would preserve the good correspondency and brotherly affection that is between us.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

XXXV.

Dear Heart,

Oxford, Jan. 1644⁴/₅.

I RECEIVE it as a good augure thus to begin this new year, having newly received thine of the 30 Decemb. which I cannot stay to decypher, for not losing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short accompt. This day I have dispatched Digby's secretary, fully relating the state of our affairs, therefore I shall only now tell thee, that the rebels are engaged into an equal treaty without any of those disadvantages which might have been apprehended when Tom. Elliot went hence, and that the distractions of London were never so great, or so likely to bring good effect as now. Lastly, That assistance was never more needful, never so likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my wife, 1 Jan. 1644, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

XXXVI.

Harry,

Oxford, Thursday 24 April.

LEST my wife should not yet be fit for any business, I write this to you; not to excuse my pains but ease hers; and that she may know but not be troubled with my kindness. I refer to your discretion, how far to impart my letter to her or any other business, that so her health in the first place be cared for,

for, then my affairs. And now I must tell you that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to Digby's sanguine complexion (not to be rebated from sending good news) you would not have found fault with him for sending mistaken intelligence, for if he should strictly tie himself to certain truths in this kind, you must have nothing from him but by proclamations or ordinances from the pretended houses. But tell me, can you not distinguish between what we send you upon certainty and what upon uncertain reports, without making an oath the mark of distinction? and are you obliged to publish all the news we send you? Seriously I think news may be sometimes too good to be told in the French court. And certainly there is as much dexterity in publishing of news, as in matters which, at first sight, may seem of greater difficulty; for as I would not have them think that all assistance bestowed upon me were in vain, so I would not have them believe that I needed no help, lest they should underhand assist any rebels to keep the balance of dissention among us equal.

For matter of news and present state of my affairs, I refer you to Digby; only this in general, that if it shall please God to assist us this year but half so miraculously as he did the last (my present state compared with what it was this time twelvemonth) I am very hopeful to see a joyful harvest before next winter: nor do I think this in any human probability possible, except my wife can procure me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to despair, your last giving me good hope concerning Lorrain: and tho' I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149 in hers the 10th of March, says, "J'ay une affaire assure qui vous donnera 40000 pistoles, que je vous eusse envoye si j'eusse eu mon navire revenu avec l'estain."

In the last place I will impose that upon you that is not reasonable to expect from my wife, which is to give me a continual account what letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or come slowly; to which end take notice, that all my letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this is with 37. and likewise I now begin the same with you: So farewell.

In your next let me know particularly how my wife is, which tho' it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worse than she is; if well, then every word will please me. I have commanded Digby to write to you freely concerning William Murry, which I hold to be necessary as concerning Montrosse's business.

To the lord Jermyn, 24 April 1645. concerning France.

This is a true copy.

Zouch Tate.

XXXVII.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my last by Choquen I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter: that which is now, is the progress of the treaty, of which these enclosed papers will give thee a full account; but if thou have them sooner from London than me, thou hast no reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to send by, in respect of the other: for the business itself, I believe thou wilt approve of my choice of treaters; and for my propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last; wherefore I need to say nothing of them, and for my instructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them. Now upon the whole matter I desire thee to shew the queen and ministers there, the improbability that this present treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the rebels propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little assistance, by thy means, will soon make them; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable sum of money would do) they would be easily brought to reason. Concerning our interferences here at Oxford, I desire thee to suspend thy judgment (for I believe few but partial relations will come to thee) until I shall send some whom I may trust by word of mouth; it being too much trouble to us both to set them down in paper.

Copy to my wife, 22 Jan. 1644.

This is a true copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

XXXVIII.

Dear Heart,

I NEVER till now knew the good of ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape; we having had a pleasing false report, of thy safe landing at Newcastle, which thine of the 19 Jan. so confirmed us in, that we at least were not undeceived of that hope, till we knew certainly how great a danger thou hast past, of which I shall not be out of apprehension, until I may have the happiness of thy company, for indeed I think it not the least of my misfortunes, that for my sake thou hast run so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to me that I confess it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can do,

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much

much less by words; but my heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee, of the 23 Feb. has bred great discourse in several persons, and of several kinds, as my saying I was persecuted for places, is applied to all, and not only those that I there name to be sutors; whereas the truth is I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time enough to name as well as some there mentioned; for I confess 174. and 133. are not guilty of that fault. Some find fault as too much kindness to thee (thou may easily vote from what constellation that comes) but I assure such that I want expression, not will, to do it ten times more to thee on all occasions. Others press me as being brought upon the stage; but I answer that having professed to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it. As for our treaty (leaving the particulars to this inclosed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it as concerning my part in it, for all the soldiers are well pleased with what I have done; but expect no cessation of arms, for the lower house will have none without a disbanding, and I will not disband till all be agreed. Lastly, for our military affairs, I thank God that here and in the West they prosper well. As for the North I refer thee to 226. 140. Information. So daily expecting and praying for good news from thee, &c.

Copy to my wife, 13 Feb. 1643.

Oxford, 13 Feb. 1643.

A true copy,

Zouch Tate:

XXXIX.

Instructions to colonel Cockran to be pursued in his negociation to the king of Denmark.

YOU are to inform the king of Denmark, that by his Majesty's command, as to the nearest ally of his crown, his uncle, and whom he believes will not be unconcerned in this affair, as well in interest as affection, you are sent to give a particular account of the state of his Majesty's affairs; to renew the ancient league and amity that hath been between the two kingdoms and families royal, and to reduce it to more exact particulars, such as might be useful to the present affairs of England, and all occurrences in the future of those of Denmark.

THAT the present affair of your negociation, is to demand an assistance, from his Majesty, such a one as the present state of the affairs in England requires,

requires, against a dangerous combination of his Majesty's subjects, who have not only invaded his Majesty in his particular rights, but have laid a design to dissolve the monarchy and frame of government, under pretences of liberty and religion, becoming a dangerous precedent to all the monarchies of Christendom, if attended with success in their design.

THAT the nature of their proceedings hath been such as hath not admitted any foreign treaty to be interested in suppressing their design, without giving them advantage of scandalizing his Majesty's intentions, and drawing away universally the hearts of his people, whom they had insinuated under pretence of reformation of particular abuses of government, and ministers of estate, to concur generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous consequence and design were visible to his Majesty) a present compliance was necessary, lest any publick opposition on his Majesty's part, that might seem to defeat the great expectations which they had raised in the commons in those plausible particulars, might have occasioned a general revolt throughout the kingdoms, great jealousies being dispersed and fomented among them of his Majesty's foreign treaties, and force to be used to oppose and suppress those their desires and the movers therein.

UPON the credit they had herewith built on the people's opinions, they proceeded under pretence of reformation of religion to dissolve the government of the church, according to its constitution in England, a chief column and support to that monarchy and crown.

THEY lastly invaded his Majesty in all the prerogatives of his crown, and under pretence of ill ministers and counsellors of estate, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to invest in themselves in all times for the future the denomination of all ministries of estate, and of his Majesty's family; withdrew all his revenues into their own hands, and to confirm themselves in an absolute power of disposing his estate, entered upon possessing themselves of the militia of the kingdom, his navy and magazines; in which his Majesty being forced to appear in opposition, dangerous tumults were raised against him, so that he was forced to forsake London, for preservation of his person, his queen and children.

THAT since for the safety of the queen he hath been forced to send her into Holland, and to retire himself to the best affected party of his subjects, from whence by declarations setting forth the sinister proceedings of that faction, discovering their designs of innovating the government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to him, he hath the advantage generally to undeceive his people, to draw to him universally the nobility and gentry of the kingdom. But the other faction still keeping up some interest and credit with the commons, in the desperate estate they find themselves begin to make head against him, have appointed a general, and are levying forces to maintain their party, committing divers acts of hostility, violence and rebellion.

THAT his Majesty having great encouragements given him by the exceeding numbers of gentry and noblemen that resort to him, is already advanced near them with 6000 horse, and 60,000 foot.

THAT the states of Holland have condescended to give her Majesty the queen a convoy of the greatest part of their fleet now at sea, for her return into England.

THAT divers forts and counties upon his Majesty's personal appearance, have declared for him, so that his affairs at home grow daily into a better estate, as he likewise expects and hopes, that all his neighbour princes and allies will not look upon so dangerous a precedent to their own crowns and monarchies, without contributing to suppress this so pernicious a design begun within his kingdom.

THAT to give his (Danish) Majesty the juster ground to reflect upon the dangerous consequences, in relation to his own interest, of their success, it hath been by them publickly moved in the commons house long since, to interpose in the accommodation of the Dutch, and to set out a fleet to take away his customs of the Sound.

THAT they have since imputed to his Majesty as a ground to scandal him with his people, that he did negotiate the introducing by his uncle the king of Denmark a foreign power to settle his affairs, and under that pretext have given a large commission and particular instructions to the fleet, to visit, search, and intercept all such Danish ships, as they should meet, and to fight with, sink or destroy, all such as should resist them, not permitting the same, or to take and detain them, having any arms or ammunition on board; according to which they have searched, visited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the Norway trade driven commonly in this kingdom in their own bottoms; and that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation, being bound for the West-Indies, and put in by stress of weather in the West of England.

THAT in pursuance of their great design of extirpating the royal blood and monarchy of England, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon his royal family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his sister, at once to cut off the interest and pretensions of the whole race; which their most detestable and scandalous design they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances and times to colour their pretensions in so great a fault; and which, as his sacred majesty of England in the true sense of honour of his mother doth abhor, and will punish; so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a sister of so happy a memory, and by whom so near an union, and continued league of amity, hath been produced between the families and kingdoms.

THAT the particulars in which his majesty doth desire his assistance, are in the loan and raising of men, money, arms and ships, all or such of them as may consist best with the convenience of his own affairs: and of such in the first place as may be most requisite and wanting to his majesty.

THAT to set his levies on foot, and put him in a posture to protect his subjects in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution, 100,000 l. will be necessary for him, which his Majesty desires by way of loan. And for the restitution of it, besides his kingly word and solemn engagement upon this treaty,

treaty, he is contented, of such his crown-jewels as are in his disposure, to leave his royal pledge, if it shall be desired.

THE particulars of arms that he desires, are 6000 musquets, 1500 horse-arms, and 20 pieces of field-artillery mounted.

ASSISTANCE of men he desires only in horsemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

THAT the Holy Island, or Newcastle, are designed for the landing of the said horse and magazine of the said provisions; for reception likewise, and protection of such his ships as he shall think fit to employ for the countenance and security of those his subjects that shall trade upon these coasts, and for ascertaining the correspondence and intelligence between the two kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may best sort and agree with his own affairs. And for which the Holy Island is conceived one of the aptest harbours in his majesty's dominions, being capable of any ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent road at the entrance, a ready outlet, and a strong fort under his majesty's command.

THAT in lieu of this assistance contributed by the king of Denmark, his Majesty will oblige himself, and ratify in express articles, to restore into the magazines of Denmark, a like proportion of arms and ammunition, to repay and defray the charges of the money lent, and levies of horse, and so soon as his affairs shall be settled, and himself in a condition to do it, upon all occasions, to contribute the assistance of his fleet, in maintaining his right and title to the customs of the Sound against all persons whatsoever; to ratify the treaty that was made last by Sir Thomas Roe, and to enter into a league offensive and defensive against intestine rebellions. In pursuance of which treaty, while the negotiations and articles may be severally perfected, his Majesty doth expect this first supply of monies and arms, present affairs not admitting a delay in the same.

THAT in case the king of Denmark will lend money upon jewels, there is in Holland a great collar of rubies, and another of rubies and pearl, that may be sent to him or deliver'd to his agent there; who may have order to pay the money here, or any other jewels.

THAT there have been in discourses several propositions of accommodation made by them to the king, to which the king hath at all times made more advances on his part, than in reason could have been expected from him, and the difficulties have still risen on theirs.

AND that whereas his Majesty doth understand, that a person is addressed to the king of Denmark from his parliament, to insinuate misunderstandings abroad with his Majesty's allies, as they have done at home among his people, his Majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his dominions, to become an intelligencer and spy upon the treaty and negotiations between their Majesties, but that he be dismissed and sent away so soon as ever he shall arrive.

KING

KING Charles I. in a printed declaration dated from Newark, March 9, 1641. says to the parliament, "Whatsoever you are advertised from Rome, Venice, Paris, of the Pope's nuncio soliciting France, Spain, &c. for foreign aids, we are confident no sober honest man in our kingdom can believe that we are so desperate or so senseless to entertain such designs, as would not only bury this our kingdom in certain destruction and ruin, but our name and posterity in perpetual scorn and infamy."

If this passage be compared with the preceding letters and instructions, all equitable men may judge whether the King did not pass sentence against himself, and absolve the high court of justice.

An order sent to the king's printer, with the proclamation against the Irish rebels.

IT is his Majesty's pleasure, That you forthwith print in very good paper, and send unto me for his Majesty's service, forty copies of the proclamation inclosed, leaving convenient space for his Majesty to sign above, and to affix the privy signet underneath: and his Majesty's command is, That you print not above the said number of forty copies, and forbear to make any further publication of them, till his pleasure be further signified; for which this shall be your warrant.

Whitehall, 2 Jan.
1641.

Edward Nicholas.

For his Majesty's printer.

Propositions delivered to his Majesty by the Earl of Strafford, for securing of his Majesty's estate and bridling of parliaments, and for increase of his revenue much more than it is.

TOUCHING the first, having considered divers means, I find none so important to strengthen your Majesty's regal authorities against all oppositions or practices of troublesome spirits, as to fortify your kingdom, by having a fortress in every chief town and important place thereof, furnished with ordnance, munition and faithful men, as they ought to be, with all other circumstances fit to be digested in a business of this nature.

ORDERING withal, the trained soldiers of the country to be united in one dependency with the said forts, as well to secure their beginnings, as to secure them in any occasion of suspect, and keep their arms for more security, whereby the countries are no less to be brought into subjection than the cities them-

themselves, and consequently the whole kingdom; your Majesty having, by this course, the power thereof in your own hands.

The reasons of these suggestions.

FIRST, That in policy, it is a greater tie of the people by force and necessity, than meerly by love and affection; for by the one government resteth always secure; but by the other, no longer than the people are well contented.

SECONDLY, It forceth obstinate subjects to be no more presumptuous than it pleaseth your Majesty to permit them.

THIRDLY, That to have a state unfurnished is to give bridle thereof to the subject, when by the contrary it resteth only in the prince's hand.

FOURTHLY, That modern fortresses take long time in winning, with such charge and difficulty as no subjects in these times have means probable to attempt them.

FIFTHLY, That it is a sure remedy against rebellious and popular mutinies, or against foreign powers, because they cannot well succeed, when by this course the apparent means is taken away to force the king and state upon a doubtful fortune of a set battle, as was the cause that moved the pretended invasion against the land attempted by the king of Spain, 1588.

SIXTHLY, That your Majesty's government is now secured by the people's more subjection, and by their subjection your parliament must be forced consequently to alter their stile, and to be conformable to your will and pleasure, for their words and opposition importeth nothing, where the power is in your Majesty's own hands to do with them what you please; being indeed the chief purpose of this discourse, and the secret intent thereof fit to be conceal'd from any English at all, either counsellor of state or others.

FOR these and other weighty reasons, it may be consider'd in this place to make your majesty more powerful and strong, some orders be observed, that are used in fortify'd countries, the government thereof importeth as much as the states themselves, I mean in times of doubt and suspect, which are these.

IMPRIMIS, That none wear arms or weapons at all, either in city or country, but such as your majesty may think fit to privilege, and they to be enrolled.

SECONDLY, That as many highways, as conveniently may be done, may be made passable through those cities and towns fortify'd, to constrain the passengers to travel through them.

THIRDLY, That soldiers of fortresses be sometimes chosen of another nation, if subjects to the same prince, but howsoever not to be born in the same province, or within forty miles of the fortress, and not to have friends or correspondency near it.

FOURTHLY, That at the gates of such walled towns be appointed officers, not to suffer any unknown passenger to pass without a ticket shewing from whence he came, and whither he goeth: And that the gates of each city be shut

shut at night, and the keys be kept by the mayor or governor: also that the inn-keepers do deliver the names of all unknown passengers that lodge in their houses, and if they stay suspiciously at any time, to present them to the governor: whereby dangerous persons seeing these strict courses, will be more wary of their actions, and thereby mischievous attempts will be prevented. All which being referred to your Majesty's wise consideration, it is meet for me withal to give you some satisfaction of the charge and time to perform what is proposed, that you may not be discouraged in the difficulty of the one, or prolongation of the other; both which doubts are resolved in one and the same reason, in respect that in England each chief town commonly hath a ruined castle well seated for strength, whose foundation and stones remaining may be both quickly repair'd for this use, and with little charge, and made strong enough, I hope, for this purpose in the space of one year, and by adding withal bulwarks and rampiers, according to the rules of fortification.

THE ordnance of these forts may be of iron, and not to disfurnish your Majesty's navy, or be at a greater charge than is needful to maintain yearly the forts.

I MAKE account in ordinary pay three thousand men will be sufficient, and will require forty thousand pounds charge per annum or thereabouts, being an expence that inferior princes undergo for their necessary safety: all which prevention, added to the invincible sea-forces your Majesty hath already, and may have, will make you the most powerful and obeyed prince of the world, which I could likewise confirm by many examples, but I omit them for brevity, and not to confuse your Majesty with too much matter. Your gracious Majesty may find by the scope of this discourse the means shewed in general to bridle your subjects, that may either be discontented, or obstinate. So likewise am I to conclude the same intent particularly against the perverseness of your parliament, as well to suppress that pernicious humour, as to avoid their oppositions against your profit, being the second part to be discoursed on.

AND therefore have first thought fit, for better prevention thereof, to make known to your Majesty the purpose of a general oath your subjects may take, for sure avoiding of all rubs that may hinder the conclusion of those businesses.

IT is further meant, That no subject upon pain of high-treason may refuse the same oath, containing only matter of allegiance and not scruples or points of conscience, that may gain pretence to be denied.

The effect of the oath is this:

THAT all your Majesty's subjects do acknowledge you to be absolute king and monarch within your dominions, as is among the christian princes, and your prerogative as great, whereby you may and shall of yourself by your Majesty's proclamation, as well as any other sovereign princes doing the like,
make

make laws or reverse any made, with any other act so great a monarch as yourself may do; and that without further consent of parliaments, or need to call them at all, in such cases confirming that the parliament in all matters (excepting causes to be sentenced as the high court) ought to be subject unto your Majesty's will to give the negative or affirmative conclusion, and not to be constrained by their impertinencies to any inconvenience, appertaining to your Majesty's royal authority; and this notwithstanding any bad pretence or custom to the contrary in practice, which (indeed) were fitter to be offered a prince elected without any other right, than to your Majesty born successively king of England, Scotland and Ireland, and your heirs for ever; and so resumed, not only of your subjects, but also of the whole world. How necessary the dangerous supremacy of parliament-usurpation is to be prevented, the example of Lewis XI. king of France doth manifest; who found the like opposition as your Majesty doth, and by his wisdom suppress'd it, and that to the purpose here intended, which is not to put down altogether parliaments, and their authority, being in many cases very necessary and fit, but to abridge them so far as they seek to derogate from your Majesty's royal authority or advancement of your greatness.

THE caution in offering the aforesaid oath may require some policy, for the easier passage of it at first, either by singular or particular tractation, and that so near at one time over the land, as one government may not know what the other intendeth, so it may pass the easier by having no time of combination or opposition.

THERE is another means also more certain than this to bring to pass this oath more easily: as also your profit, and what is pretended, which here I omit for brevity, requiring a long discourse by itself, and have set it down in particular instructions to inform your Majesty.

THE second part of this discourse is touching your Majesty's profit, after your state is secured; wherein I shall observe both some reasonable content to the people, as also consider the great expences that princes have now-a-days more than in times past to maintain their greatness and safety of their subjects, who if they have not wit or will to consider their own interest, so much your Majesty's wisdom must repair their defects, and force them by compulsion. But I hope there shall be no such cause in points so reasonable.

To increase your Majesty's revenue I set down divers means for your gracious self to make choice of either all or part at your pleasure, and to put it in execution by such degrees and conditions as your great wisdom shall think fit in a business of this nature.

IMPRIMIS, the first course or means intended to increase your Majesty's revenues or profit withal, is of greatest consequence: and I shall call it a Decima, being so termed in Italy where in some parts it is in use, importing the tenth part of all subjects estates to be paid as a yearly rent to the prince, and as well monied-men in towns, as landed-men in the countries, their value and estates esteemed justly as it is to the true value, (though with reason) and this paid yearly in money; which course apply'd in England for your Majesty's

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service

service may serve instead of subsidies, fifteens and such like, which in this case are fit to be released for the subjects benefit and content, in recompence of the said Decima, which will yield your Majesty more in certainty, than they do casually by five hundred thousand pounds per annum, at the least.

ITEM, That when your Majesty hath gotten money into your hands by some courses to be set down, it would be a profitable course to increase your Intrato, to buy out all estates and leases upon your own lands in such sort that they may be made no losers; whereby having your lands free, and renting them out to the true value as it is most in use, and not employed as heretofore at an old rent and small fines, you may rent it out for at least four or five times more money than the old rent comes to; so that if your Majesty's lands be already but threescore thousand pounds per annum, by this course it will be augmented at least two hundred thousand pounds per annum; and to buy out the tenants estates will come to a small matter by the course, to make them no losers, considering the gains they have already made upon the lands; and this is the rather to be done, and the present course changed, because it hath been a custom merely to couzen the king.

ITEM, Whereas most princes do receive the benefit of salt in their own hands as a matter of great profit, because they receive it at the lowest price possible, and vent it with double gains yearly; the same course used by your Majesty were worth an hundred and fifty thousand pounds at least. It is likewise in other parts, that all weights and measures of the land, either in private houses, shops or publick markets, should be viewed to be just, and sealed once a year, paying to the prince for it; which in England apply'd to your Majesty, with order to pay six-pence for the sealing of each said weight or measure, would yield near threescore thousand pounds per annum.

ITEM, That all countries pay a Gabella for transportation of cloth, and so likewise in England; yet in Spain there is an impost upon the wools, which is so great a benefit and wealth to the sheep-masters, as they may well pay you 5 l. per cent. of the true value of their shearing, which I conceive may be worth 15,000 l. per annum.

ITEM, Whereas the lawyers fees and gains in England be excessive to your Majesty's subjects prejudice, it were good to your Majesty to make use thereof, and to impose on all causes sentenced with the party to pay 5 l. per cent. of the true value that the cause had gained him; and for a recompence thereof to limit all lawyers fees and gettings, whereby the subject shall save more in fees and charges than he giveth in the Gabella, which I believe may be worth one year with another fifty thousand pounds.

ITEM, Whereas the inns and victualling-houses in England are more chargeable to travellers than in other countries, it were good for your Majesty to limit them to certain ordinaries, and raise besides a large imposition, as it is used in Tuscany and other parts; that is, prohibiting all inns and victualling-houses, but such as shall pay it; and to impose upon the chief inns and taverns to pay ten pounds a year to your Majesty, and the worst five pounds per annum; and all the alehouses twenty shillings per annum, more or less as they are

are in custum of all forts : there are so many in England that this impost will yield 100,000 l. per annum to your Majesty.

ITEM, In Tuscany and other parts there is a Gabella of all cattle or flesh, or horses sold in the market, paying three or four pounds per cent. for what they are sold for, which by conjecture may be worth in England 20,000 l. per annum ; using the like custom upon fish and other victuals (bread excepted). And for this cause all flesh and fish, and victuals to be praised and sold by weight, whereby the subject saveth more in not being couzened, than the imposition importeth them.

ITEM, In Tuscany is used a taxation of 7 l. per cent. upon all alienations of lands to the true value ; as also seven pounds per cent. upon all dowries or marriage-monies the like ; if it be justly used in England were worth at least 100,000 l. per annum ; with many other taxations upon meal, and upon all merchandize in all towns, as well port-towns, which here I omit, as not fit for England. And in satisfaction to the subjects for these taxes, your Majesty may be pleased to release them of wardships, and to enjoy their estates at 18 years old, and in the mean time their profit to be preserved for their own benefit. And also in forfeitures of estates by condemnation, your Majesty may release the subject, as not to take the forfeiture of their lands, but their goods (high-treason only excepted) ; and to allow the counsel of lawyers in cases of life and death, as also not to be condemned without two witnesses ; with such like benefits, which import much more their good than all the taxations named can prejudice them.

ITEM, That some of the former taxations be used in Scotland and Ireland, as may easily be brought about by the first example thereof used in England, may very well be made to increase your revenue there more than it is by 200,000 l. per annum.

ITEM, All offices in the land, great and small, in your Majesty's grant may be granted with condition to pay you a part yearly according to the true value. This in time may be worth, as I conceive, an hundred thousand pounds per annum. Adding also notaries, attornies, and such like, to pay some proportion yearly towards it, for being allowed by your Majesty to practise, and prohibiting else any to practise in such places.

ITEM, I know an assured course in your Majesty's navy, which may save at least forty thousand pounds per annum ; which requiring a whole discourse by itself, I omit ; only do promise you to do it whensoever you command.

ITEM, To reduce your Majesty's household to board-wages, as most other princes do, reserving some few tables. This will save your Majesty 60,000 l. per annum, and ease greatly the subjects besides, both in carriages and provision, which is a good reason that your Majesty in honour might do it.

ITEM, Whereas your Majesty's laws do command the strict keeping of fasting-days, you may also prohibit on those days to eat eggs, cheese, or white meats, but such only as are contented to pay 18 d. per annum for their liberty to eat them ; and the better sort 10 s. The employment of this may be for the

defence of the land in maintaining the navy, garrisons and such like, much after the fashion of Cruzado in Spain, as your Majesty knoweth.

LASTLY, I have a course upon catholicks, and very safe for your Majesty, being with their good liking, as it may be wrought to yield you presently at least 200,000 l. per annum, by raising a certain value upon their lands, and some other impositions, which requiring a long discourse by itself, I will omit it here, setting it down in my instructions: it will save your Majesty at the least 10,000 l. per annum, to make it pain of death and confiscation of goods and lands for any of the officers to couzen you, which now is much to be feared they do, or else they could not be so rich; and herein to allow a fourth part benefit to them that shall find out the couzenage.

HERE is not meant officers of state, as the lord treasurer, &c. being officers of the crown. The sum of all this amounteth to two millions two hundred thousand pounds per annum. Suppose it to be but one million and a half, as surely your Majesty may make by the courses set down; yet is more than I promised in my letter for your Majesty's service, besides some sums of money in present by the courses following.

IMPRIMIS, By the prince's marriage.

SECONDLY, To make all the earls in England grandes, as in Spain and Principi, with such like privileges, and to pay 20,000 l. apiece for it.

THIRDLY, Also if you make them feodaries of the towns belonging to their earldoms, if they will for it-----besides, as they do to the king of Spain in the kingdom of Naples. And so likewise barons to be made earls and peers, to pay nineteen thousand pounds apiece, I think it might yield five hundred thousand pounds, and oblige them more sure to your Majesty.

FOURTHLY, To make choice of two hundred of the richest men in England in estate that be not noblemen, and make them titular, as it is used in Naples, and paying for it: that is, a duke thirty thousand pounds, a marquis fifteen thousand pounds, an earl ten thousand pounds, a baron or viscount five thousand pounds.

IT is to be understood that ancient nobility of barons and earls are to precede these as peers, though these be made marquesses or dukes. This may raise a million of pounds, and more to your Majesty. To make gentlemen of low quality, and franklins or rich farmers esquires to precede them, would yield your Majesty also a great sum of money in present.

I KNOW another course to yield your Majesty three hundred thousand pounds in money, which as yet the time serveth not to deliver until your Majesty be resolved to proceed in some of the former courses, which till then I omit.

OTHER courses also that may make present money, I shall study for your Majesty's service; and as I shall find them out acquaint you withal.

LASTLY, To conclude all these discourses by the application of this course used for your profit, that is, not only the means to make you the richest king that ever England had, but also your safety augmented thereby to be most secure.

secure. Besides what is shewed in the first part of this discourse, I mean by the occasion of the taxation, and raising of monies, your Majesty shall have cause and means to employ in all places of the land so many officers and ministers to be obliged to you for their own profit and interest, as nothing can be attempted against your person and royal state over the land, but some of these shall in all probability have means to find it out and hinder it. Besides this course will repress many disorders and abuses in the publick government, which were hard to be discovered by men indifferent.

To prohibit gorgious and costly apparel to be worn but by persons of good quality, shall save the gentry of the kingdom much more money than they shall be taxed to pay your majesty.

THUS withal I humbly take my leave, and kiss your gracious hands, desiring pardon for my errors I may commit herein.

A copy of the commission produced by the Irish for justification of their rebellion.

CHARLES by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our Catholick subjects within our kingdom of Ireland, greeting: know ye, that we for the safeguard and preservation of our person have been forced to make our abode and residence in our kingdom of Scotland for a long season, occasioned by the obstinate and disobedient carriage of our parliament in England against us, who have not only presumed to take upon them the government and disposing of those princely rights and prerogatives that have justly descended upon us from our predecessors both kings and queens of the said kingdom for many hundred years past, but also have possessed themselves of the whole strength of the said kingdom, in appointing governors, commanders and officers, in all parts and places therein at their own will and pleasure, without our consent, whereby we are deprived of our sovereignty, and left naked without defence. And forasmuch as we are in Ourself very sensible that these storms blow aloft, and are very likely to be carried by the vehemency of the puritan party into our kingdom of Ireland, and endanger our regal power and authority there also: know ye therefore that we reposing much care and trust in your duty and obedience, which we have for many years past found, do hereby give unto you full power and authority to assemble and meet together with all the speed and diligence that a business of so great consequence doth require, and to advise and consult together by sufficient and discreet numbers at all times, days and places, which you shall in your judgments hold most convenient and material, for the ordering, settling and effecting of this great work (mentioned and directed unto you in our letters) and to use all politick ways and means possible to possess yourselves (for our use and service) of all the forts, castles and places of strength and defence within the said kingdom, (except the places, persons
and

and estates of our loyal and loving subjects the Scots) and also to arrest and seize the goods, estates and persons of all the English protestants within the said kingdom to our use. And in your care and speedy performance of this our will and pleasure, we shall perceive your wonted duty and allegiance to us, which we shall accept and reward in due time. Witness Ourselves at Edinburgh the first day of October, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

Carolus Princeps Gregorio PP. 15.

Sanctissime Pater,

BEATITUDINIS vestræ literas non minore gratitudine & observantia accepimus, quam exigit, ex qua novimus exaratas, insignis benevolentia & pietatis affectus: atque illud imprimis gratum fuit nunquam satis laudata majorum exempla inspicienda nobis a vestra sanctitate atque imitanda fuisse proposita; qui licet multoties omnium fortunarum & vitæ ipsius discrimen adiverint, quo fidem christianam laturo propagarent, haud tamen alacriori animo in infestissimos Christi hostes crucis Christi vexilla intulerunt, quam nos omnem opem & operam adhibebimus, ut quæ tam diu exulavit pax & unitas, in christianam rempublicam postliminio reducatur. Cum enim discordiarum patris malitia inter illos ipsos qui christianam profitentur religionem tam infelicia seminarit dissidia, hoc vel maxime necessarium ducimus ad sacro-sanctam Dei & salvatoris Christi gloriam feliciter promovendam. Et non minori nobis honori futurum existimabimus tritam majorum nostrorum vestigiis insistentes viam, in piis ac religiosis susceptis illorum æmulos atque imitatores extitisse quam genus nostrum ab illis atque originem duxisse. Atque ad idem nos istud plurimum inflammat perspecta nobis domini regis ac patris nostri voluntas, & quo flagrat desiderium ad tam sanctum opus porrigendi manum auxiliatricem, tum qui regium pectus exedit dolor, cum perpendit quam sævæ exoriantur strages quam deplorandæ calamitates ex principum Christianorum dissentionibus. Judicium vero quod sanctitas vestra tulit de nostro cum domo ac principe catholico affinitatem & nuptias contrahendi desiderio, & caritati vestræ est consentaneum, nec a sapientia invenietur alienum. Nunquam tanto quo ferimur studio, nunquam tam arcto & tam indissolubili vinculo ulli mortalium conjungi cuperemus, cujus odio religionem prosequeremur. Quare sanctitas vestra illud in animum inducat, ea modo nos esse semperque futuros moderatione, ut quam longissime abfuturi simus ab omni opere quod odium testari possit ullam adversus religionem Catholicam Romanam: omnes potius captabimus occasiones quo leni benignoque rerum cursu sinistra omnes suspensiones e medio penitus tollantur: ut sicut omnes unam individuum Trinitatem & unum Christum crucifixum confitemur, in unam fidem unanimiter coalescamus: quod ut assequamur labores omnes atque vigilias, regnorum etiam atque vitæ pericula parvi pendimus. Reliquum est ut quas possumus maximas pro literis quas insignis muneris loco ducimus, gratias agentes sanctitati vestræ omnia prospera & felicitatem æternam comprecamur. Datum Madridi 20 Junii, 1623.

Prince Charles to Pope Gregory 15.

Most Holy Father,

WE have received your holiness's letter with no less gratitude and respect than is due to the singular good-will and pious affection with which we know it was written. Nothing could be more acceptable to us than to find the renowned examples of our ancestors proposed to us by your holiness for our study and imitation; who though they frequently hazarded both lives and fortunes to propagate the christian faith, yet never more cheerfully carried the ensigns of the cross against the most mortal enemies of Jesus Christ, than we will endeavour to the utmost of our power to restore that peace and union which has been so long banished from the christian commonwealth. For since the malice of the father of discord has sowed such unhappy divisions among those who profess the christian religion, we think such endeavours to be absolutely necessary to promote the glory of God and of Christ our Saviour. Nor shall we esteem it less honour to tread in the same path, and to be their rivals and imitators in pious and religious undertakings, than to derive our descent from them. And to this we are very much encouraged by the known inclination of the king our father, who desires nothing more ardently than to lend a helping hand to so pious a work, and feels the greatest anguish of heart, when he considers the cruel slaughters and deplorable calamities that arise from the dissensions of christian princes. The judgment your holiness makes of our desire to contract an alliance and marriage with a catholick family and prince, is not only agreeable to your charity, but will also be found suitable to your great wisdom. For we would not so vehemently desire to enter into so close and undissolvable an engagement with any mortal creature, whose religion we hated. Therefore your holiness may rest assured that our moderation is and ever shall be such as will preserve us from any action that may testify the least hatred to the Roman catholick religion; and that by easy and gentle means we will rather embrace all occasions of removing those invidious impressions and suspicions which are among us: that as we confess one individual Trinity, and one Christ crucified, so we may unanimously reunite in one faith; for the attainment of which we shall not only employ our vigilant care and utmost diligence, but most readily hazard our life and kingdoms. It remains only to give your holiness our best thanks for your letter, which we esteem a most singular present, and to wish your holiness all manner of prosperity and eternal happiness. At Madrid, June 20, 1623.

A letter written by Robert Sidney earl of Leicester, to Algernon Piercy earl of Northumberland, touching the service of Ireland.

My Lord,

THOUGH I have written thrice to the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland since my coming from London, to give them account of my stay

at court, and that I have also written several letters to some particular friends, in hope that thereby the truth might be known and myself rightly understood; yet because those letters peradventure may have miscarried, and lest I should incur the censure of the parliament for negligence or slackness in that service to which I have been designed, I will truly and as briefly as I can relate to your lordship how I have behaved myself; and if your lordship please you may communicate it to the house of peers; as in your judgment and favour to me you shall think fit; and I hope it will appear that as I have been very impatient of this delay, so I have not wanted diligence in the solicitation of my dispatch.

WHEN I came to York, I told the king that I was come thither to receive his Majesty's commandments and instructions for that employment which he had done me the honour to confer upon me, and I did humbly beseech him that I might not be staid at court, because the parliament did desire my speedy repair into Ireland, and that his service, as I conceived, did require it; at least that some governor, if I were not worthy of that charge, should be presently sent into that kingdom. The king told me that he would think of it. But I must confess I did not find his Majesty so ready to dispatch me as I hoped and expected. From that time I did not fail to beseech his Majesty to send me away, upon every opportunity that I had of speaking to him; and I think there passed not a day that I did not desire the secretaries of state and some other persons about the king, to put his Majesty in mind of me, and to hasten my dismissal. Divers times I made it my petition to the king that he would dispatch me, or declare his intention that he would not let me go at all. The king said, My instructions should be drawn, and that he would give order to Mr. secretary Nicholas to do it as speedily as he could: in expectation whereof I staid about three weeks till the king came from York, at which time his Majesty appointed me to follow him to Nottingham, promising that there I should have my expeditions. I obeyed his Majesty, and came after him to this town, where I have attended ever since, perpetually soliciting to be dispatched, and beseeching his Majesty that I might either go to my employment, or have his leave to retire myself to my own house and private condition: that if he were unwilling to trust me in an employment of so great importance, I did beseech him that I might be no burden to his thoughts; and that he would be pleased to let me know his resolution; because I conceived myself to be under a heavy censure both of the parliament and of the whole kingdom, whilst possibly they might think it my fault that I was so long absent from that charge which I had undertaken. 'Tis to no purpose to tell you every passage; but this I protest to your lordship, that if it had been to save the lives of all my friends and of myself, I could not have done more to procure my dispatch. Nevertheless I have not been able to advance it one step; nor have I seen any thing to make me hope to have it quickly, till this morning Mr. secretary Nicholas gave me a draught of my instructions to peruse. So I hope that between this and Monday I shall have done that part, and I will do the best I can to procure some other thing, without which I know not how I shall be able to do any acceptable service in that kingdom. Your lordship knows I
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am a fervant, and I could not run away if I would, or at least it had been to little purpose, though I should have adventured to do so indecent and so undutiful an action. Therefore I hope it will be believed that I have not been to blame. Now with your lordship's leave I shall trouble you with another particular, wherein perhaps I suffer in the opinion of those who know not what has passed, though I be as innocent as a new-born child; nay, I have opposed it as much as I had power to do. The king being informed at York, by some officious persons, that certain draught-horses were provided to be sent into Ireland, his Majesty told me that he must needs have them for his own use. I did humbly beseech him not to take them away from his own service in Ireland, for which they were bought, and in which they were to be employed; and besides what I said myself, I used means by others to save the horses, so that I heard no more of it till I came hither; but then his Majesty told me again, That he must needs have those horses, and pressed me to send for them. I represented to his Majesty the inconsiderableness of those few horses, and that the parliament might take it very ill, in regard that the horses were bought with their money for the service of the poor kingdom of Ireland: therefore I did beseech him not to take them; or howsoever, that he would secure me from being an instrument in that which I conceived would much hurt his affairs; and that I being trusted by the parliament, could neither do it myself, nor consent that any other should do that which was a breach of trust, and a great disservice even to his Majesty himself. Notwithstanding this the king sent to me by Mr. Endymion Porter and Sir George Hay at several times to the same purpose, but I returned the same answer; adding this also, That I could not do it and be an honest man to his service, though it be true that the king said he would restore the horses or pay for them. But for all this it pleased his Majesty to employ one Errington, who served me, and gave him a warrant to fetch the horses. Errington told me of it; and I forbade him as far as I could, to do it, telling him that if he did, he must not look to have any thing to do with me for ever; and that I made no doubt the parliament would hang him for stealing their horses. This and more I said to Errington in the presence of James Battiere my secretary, who will witness it: and conceiving it to be an unjust thing in itself, displeasing to the parliament, and hurtful to the king's service, I protested against it; though Errington said, That his Majesty had commanded him upon his allegiance to execute the warrant. But indeed I told him that I did not believe him; nor could think that his Majesty would command a subject upon his allegiance to take away other men's horses. This I thought sufficient; but it seems I was deceived; for Errington without my consent or knowledge went from Nottingham towards Chester, as I heard afterwards, and I have never seen him since nor heard from him. What he hath done I know not, but I sent to Chester that the horses should be presently shipped away, and I caused my secretary to write to Master Hawkin to take care that neither Errington nor any body from him should receive any more money of Mr. Loftus or his deputy, to provide the rest of the horses; for as yet I think there has been only sixteen hundred pounds issued to buy two hundred of the six

hundred horses allowed by the parliament; and of that sixteen hundred pounds I will do the best I can to get a good account, whereof the parliament, God willing, shall be informed with my utmost care and diligence. Truly, my lord, I do the best I can to serve my country; they that are wiser may do more; but of any thing contrary to the duty of an honest man, the parliament upon strict examination shall never find me guilty. For the reputation of honesty and fidelity is, and I can say no more, as dear to me as your esteeming me

Your lordship's humble and

affectionate servant,

Nottingham, Sept.
1642.

R. Leicester.

A letter to the queen by the lord George Digby.

Madam,

I SHALL not adventure to write to your Majesty with freedom but by expresses, or till such time as I have a cypher, which I beseech your Majesty to vouchsafe me. At this time therefore I shall only let your Majesty know, that the humblest and most faithful servant you have in the world is here at Middleburg, where I shall remain in the privatest way I can, till I receive instructions how to serve the king and your Majesty in these parts. If the king betake himself to a safe place, where he may avow and protect his servants, from rage I mean and violence, for from justice I will never implore it, I shall then live in impatience and misery till I wait upon you. But if after all he hath done of late, he shall betake himself to the easiest and compliantest ways of accommodation, I am confident that then I shall serve him more by my absence than by all my industry: and it will be a comfort to me in all calamities, if I cannot serve you by my actions, that I may do it in some kind by my sufferings for your sake, having, I protest to God, no measure of happiness or misfortune in this world, but what I derive from your Majesty's value of my affection and fidelity.

Middleburg, 21 Jan.
1641.

Another letter to the queen, from the lord George Digby.

Madam,

'TIS the first contentment that I have been capable of this long time, that your Majesty is safely arrived in Holland, withdrawn from a country so unworthy of you. I should have waited the first upon you, both to have rendered my duty according to the precedence of my obligation above others, and

and to have informed your Majesty the earliest of the state of this place whether you are coming, both in point of affections and interests; but that there fly about such reports, that the parliament hath desired your Majesty not to admit me to your presence, as I dare not presume into it without particular permission. The ground of their malevolence towards me in this particular is said to be, upon some letters which they have presumed to open, directed to your Majesty from me; which I profess I cannot apprehend. For I am certain that I have not written to your Majesty the least word that can be wrested to an ill sense by my greatest enemies, having not so much as mentioned any business to your Majesty since I left England. To the king I confess I wrote once with that hardiness which I thought his affairs and complexion required; but that was sent by so safe hands, as I cannot apprehend the miscarriage of it. However, Madam, if my misfortune be so great, that I must be deprived of the sole comfort of my life, of waiting on your Majesty, and following your fortunes, I beseech you let my doom be so signified to me as that I may retire with the least shame that well may be, to bewail my unhappiness; which yet will be supportable, if I may but be assured that inwardly that generous and princely heart preserves me the place of,

Madam,

Your Majesty's most faithful,

and most affectionate

humble servant.

Hague, March 10,
1642.

The form of a bill for a new coronation oath, pursuant to the treaty in the Isle of Wight.

WHEREAS the solemn oaths and stipulations of the kings to their people at their inaugurations to their crowns, and the renewing and enlarging of them after civil breaches and wars, have been reputed and found a principal and most effectual means to preserve peace and amity between them and their people, and prevent unjust encroachments upon their subjects rights, laws, and liberties: and whereas by reason of some alterations made without authority of parliament in the oath which his Majesty took at his coronation, and of the late unhappy differences between him and his houses of parliament, there is just and necessary occasion administered to alter and enlarge the ancient oath and stipulation of the kings of England to their people, for the better composing of the present differences, and preventing all future breaches and encroachments upon the laws and liberties of the subject, and the introducing and exercising of all arbitrary and tyrannical power; be it therefore ordained and enacted by the king's most excellent Majesty, the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the

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king's Majesty, upon his return to this present parliament, and at all other times when both houses of parliament shall require the same, and his heirs and successors, kings and queens of this realm at their coronations, and at all times else when their parliaments shall think fit, shall take this ensuing oath before both houses of parliament, to be administered by the speaker of the lords house for the time being, in form following :

WE CHARLES king of England, in the name and presence of the most high God, do solemnly swear and protest to all our subjects and liege-people of this our realm of England, that we shall and will, to the uttermost of our skill and power all the days of our reign over them, inviolably keep, preserve, and maintain the true reformed religion and confession of faith therein established, and all just laws, customs, rights, franchises, and liberties, heretofore granted to all or any of our said subjects and people by our royal predecessors or Ourselves, together with the rights and privileges of parliament, and likewise endeavour to preserve entirely peace and amity between all our subjects and people, and cause equal justice to be administered to them in mercy and truth, without partiality, affection or delay.

THAT we will neither proclaim nor make any open war, foreign or domestick, nor raise any forces in, nor invite or introduce any foreign power into our said realm, nor conclude any publick truce or peace, nor impose nor levy any tax, talliage, contribution, aid, or benevolence, on our said subjects and people, nor embase nor inhaunce the current coin of this kingdom, nor alienate any honours, manors, lands, rents, demeasnes, castles, forts, jewels, ships, or ammunition, belonging to the crown of this our realm; nor dispose of Ourselves, nor of our heir apparent to the crown in marriage; nor confer any of the great offices of state or judicature within this our realm; nor create any new peer or baron thereof; nor erect or maintain any monopoly against law; nor grant any dispensation for the breach of any penal statute of this realm whiles in force, without common consent in parliament.

THAT we will duly cause a parliament to be summoned within this our realm once every year or three years at least, according to the statutes in that behalf provided; and will likewise give our royal assent from time to time for altering or repealing all such old laws as shall be held prejudicial, and passing all such new bills and statutes as shall be judged necessary and beneficial for our said subjects and people by both our houses of parliament, upon mature debate.

AND if we shall at any time (which God defend) wilfully violate this our solemn oath and protestation in all or any part of the premises, to the grievance and prejudice of our said subjects and people, and shall not, upon due information thereof by one or both houses of parliament, or by those entrusted by them with the militia of this kingdom, or by our great officers and council of state in the intervals of parliament redress the same, We do hereby freely and voluntarily protest before God and the world, that then and from thenceforth it shall and may be lawful for the said houses of parliament during

their

their session, and for the greatest part of those entrusted by them with the militia, or for our great officers and council of state in the intervals of parliament, and for all or any of our subjects and people by their direction and command, to assemble together in arms, and by open force or otherwise to redress the same, and to withstand and resist us, and to apprehend and surprize all such persons and forces as shall be aiding or assisting to us therein, without incurring the guilt of treason, sedition, insurrection, rebellion, breach of allegiance, or any other crime, forfeiture or penalty: it being done in defence of their just rights, laws and liberties, to which they are obliged by the law of God and nature.

AND that all and every person or persons who shall be willingly aiding, counselling or assisting to us in such cases and breaches of all or any clause of this our solemn oath, shall and may be presently proceeded against in due form of law, and adjudged and executed as traitors and publick enemies to us and this our realm, or otherwise punished according to the quality and degree of their offence.

AND all this we do cordially and sincerely swear and protest, without any equivocation or mental reservation; and that we will neither directly or indirectly seek to be absolved from this our oath.

So God us help.

Die Lunæ, 1 Decemb. 1645.

THE house of commons doth declare, that it shall be an acceptable service for any person or persons to inform this house of any member or members of this house, that by himself or others, directly or indirectly, hath taken or received any money or other thing of any person or persons, for any matter or thing depending in this house, or any committee of this house, since the beginning of this parliament. And the house hath appointed a committee to receive any such informations, who are to sit in the exchequer-chamber upon Thursday next in the afternoon, and so from time to time: and the members of this house are hereby enjoined, if any of them know of any such thing so taken, in manner as aforesaid, by any other of the members, that they do repair to the said committee and inform them of the same.

A letter written by command of king Charles the second, concerning the marquis of Antrim.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and well-beloved cousins and counsellors, &c. we greet you well. How far we have been from interposing on the behalf of any of our Irish subjects, who by their miscarriages in the late rebellion in that kingdom of Ireland, had made themselves unworthy of our grace and protection,
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is notorious to all men; and we were so jealous in that particular, that shortly after our return into this our kingdom, when the marquis of Antrim came hither to present his duty to us, upon the information we received from those persons who then attended us by a deputation from our kingdom of Ireland, or from those who at that time owned our authority there, that the marquis of Antrim had so misbehaved himself towards us and our late royal father of blessed memory, that he was in no degree worthy of the least countenance from us, and that they had manifest and unquestionable evidence of such his guilt. Whereupon we refused to admit the said marquis so much as into our presence, but on the contrary committed him prisoner to our Tower of London, where after he had continued several months under a strict restraint, upon the continued information of the said persons we sent him into Ireland, without interposing the least on his behalf, but left him to undergo such a trial and punishment as by the justice of that our kingdom should be found due to his crime, expecting still that some heinous matter would be objected and proved against him, to make him incapable, and to deprive him of that favour and protection from us, which we knew his former actions and services had merited. After many months attendance there, and, we presume, after such examinations as were requisite, he was at last dismissed without any censure, and without any transmission of charge against him to us, and with a licence to transport himself into this kingdom. We concluded that it was then time to give him some instance of our favour, and to remember the many services he had done, and the sufferings he had undergone for his affection and fidelity to our royal father and Ourselves, and that it was time to redeem him from those calamities, which yet do lie as heavy upon him since, as before our happy return; and thereupon we recommended him to you our lieutenant, that you should move our council there, for preparing a bill to be transmitted to us, for the reinvesting him the said marquis into the possession of his estate in that our kingdom, as had been done in some other places: to which letter you our said lieutenant returned us answer, that you had informed our council of that our letter, and that you were, upon consideration thereof, unanimously of opinion, that such a bill ought not to be transmitted to us, the reasons whereof would forthwith be presented to us from our council. After which time we received the inclosed petition from the said marquis, which we referred to the consideration and examination of the lords of our privy council, whose names are mentioned in that our reference, which is annexed to the said petition; who thereupon met together, and after having heard the marquis of Antrim, did not think fit to make any report known to us, till they might see and understand the reasons which induced you not to transmit the bill we had proposed, which letter was not then come to our hands. After which time we have received your letter of the 18th of March, together with several petitions which had been presented to you as well from the old soldiers and adventurers, as from the lady marchioness of Antrim, all which we likewise transmitted to the lords referees: upon a second petition presented to us by the lord marquis, which is here likewise inclosed, commanding our said referees

referees to take the same into their serious consideration, and to hear what the petitioner had to offer in his own vindication, and to report the whole matter to us, which upon a third petition herein likewise inclosed, we required them to expedite with what speed they could. By which deliberate proceedings of ours you cannot but observe, that no importunity, how just soever, could prevail with us to bring Ourselves to a judgment in this affair without very ample information. Our said referees, after several meetings and perusal of what had been offered to them by the said marquis, have reported unto us, that they have seen several letters, all of them of the hand-writing of our royal father to the said marquis, and several instructions concerning his treating and joining with the Irish in order to the king's service, by reducing them to their obedience, and by drawing some forces from them for the service of Scotland: that besides the letters and orders under his majesty's hand, they have received sufficient evidence and testimony of several private messages and directions sent from our royal father, and from our royal mother with the privy and with the directions of the king our father, by which they are persuaded, that whatever intelligence, correspondence or actions, the said marquis had with the confederate Irish catholics, was directed or allowed by the said letters, instructions and directions; and that it manifestly appears to them, that the king our father was well pleased with what the marquis did after he had done it, and approved the same. This being the true state of the marquis his case, and there being nothing proved upon the first information against him, nor any thing contained against him in your letter of March 18th, but that you were informed he had put in his claim before the commissioners appointed for executing the act of settlement, and that if his innocence be such as is alleged, there is no need of transmitting such a bill to us as is desired; and that if he be innocent, it consists not with the duty which you owe to us to transmit such a bill, as if it should pass into a law, must needs draw a great prejudice upon so many adventurers and soldiers, who are, as is alleged, to be therein concerned. We have considered the petition of the adventurers and soldiers, which was transmitted to us by you; the equity of which consists in nothing, but that they have been peaceably in possession for the space of seven or eight years of those lands which were formerly the estate of the marquis of Antrim and others, who were all engaged in the late Irish rebellion, and that they shall suffer very much and be ruined, if those lands should be taken from them. And we have likewise considered another petition from several citizens of London, near sixty in number, directed to Ourselves, wherein they desire, that the marquis his estate may be made liable to the payment of his just debts, that so they may not be ruined in the favour of the present possessors, who they say are but a few citizens and soldiers, who have disbursed very small sums thereon. Upon the whole matter; no man can think we are less engaged by our declaration and by the act of settlement, to protect those who are innocent, and who have faithfully endeavoured to serve the crown, how unfortunate soever, than to expose to justice those who have been really and maliciously guilty. And therefore we cannot in justice, but upon the petition of the marquis of

Antrim,

Antrim, and after a serious and strict inquisition into his actions, declare unto you, That we do find him innocent from any malice or rebellious purpose against the crown ; “ And that what he did by way of correspondence or compliance with the Irish rebels, was in order to the service of our royal father, “ and warranted by his instructions and the trust reposed in him ; and that “ the benefit thereof accrued to the service of the crown,” and not to the particular advantage and benefit of the marquis. And as we cannot in justice deny him this testimony, so we require you to transmit our letter to our commissioners, that they may know our judgment in this case of the lord of Antrim, and proceed accordingly : and so we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our court of Whitehall, July 10, 1663.
in the fifteenth year of our reign.

To our right trusty and right intirely well
beloved couzin and counsellor James duke
of Ormond, our lieutenant-general and
general governor of our kingdom of Ireland,
and to the lords of our council of that our
kingdom.

By his Majesty's command,

Henry Bennet.

Signet-office, July 13, 1663.

Her Majesty's letter to George lord Digby.

Monfieur Digby,

Paris, April 7, 1645.

THOUGH I received no letters from you by Pooley, I will not forbear to write to you, though it were but to reproach you, and to tell you, that I fear that you are as inconstant to your friends as men are to their mistresses ; I do not speak of you ; you know that I am too well acquainted with you. For my part, I have only this fault, to be a good friend, and I believe you know it, therefore it will not be necessary to assure you thereof. I have seen the dispatch that you sent to Jermin concerning Hertogen ; I believe that you will rest satisfied, for I have the same opinion of him that you have, and many of those things that he hath written are lies, and within few days you shall hear that I have talk'd with him according to his desert ; which I am resolved to do, for some reasons that Jermin will write to you in cypher. You think it strange that Wilmot is so well entertained here, which is done according to the orders which I have under the king's hand and yours : it is true, his good carriage here hath merited this good entertainment. Henry Piercy and he are not so good friends as we thought ; we have discovered it in some occasions, where there can be no dissembling. Concerning Tho. Elliot, he hath behaved himself well here, and hath so earnestly importuned me for his return, that having no order from the king to tell him that he should stay, I could not keep him longer here. For my part, I believe that he is very trusty, I have charged him
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to impart unto you what I told him ; therefore I shall not write any more, my hand being more lame than ever, and I more

Your very good friend,

Henriette Marie R.

Dr. Goff to the lord Jermin. April 17.

THE prince of Orange was very inquisitive this week after my letters from Paris, hoping to be resolved precisely concerning the sum of the portion, as I perceived by his discourse : for that point, I gave him this answer, that the portion alone could not be of that consideration as to conclude the marriage, unless it were able to give the king such succours as might probably restore his affairs, which the sum demanded could not do ; and that therefore I was ordered to assure him, that if the other articles were accorded, the treaty should not break off upon the sum of the portion : from thence we came off of the other particulars, and the resolution was this, that the affair of the duke of Lorrain was to be pursued with all vigor, and for that end ships should be sent from hence to meet at the time prefixt, that when the ambassadors are returned, all endeavours shall be used to induce the States to a league defensive and offensive ; and that monsieur D'Estrade shall return home fully instructed in these particulars, that is, to remonstrate the impossibility (as they call it) of the passage for Holland, and to facilitate the other to and from Diep ; and for the second, to persuade the sending of an ambassador from France hither to that purpose ; which yet notwithstanding the prince of Orange thinks will be very difficult, by reason of the king of Denmark's war, to which the Hollanders are violently carried : however, all endeavours are and shall be used to bring them to our desires, for which end I proposed that in the mean time we might at least have justice from them, and such acts of amity, as by their past alliance they were bound unto : such as are, first, the liberty of their ports to our men of war, and the freedom of them now detained. Secondly, the liberty to sell our prizes here as we may do in Flanders, at least that both sides may sell in their ports. Thirdly the dismissal of Strickland. Fourthly, the permitting of arms and money to be exported for the king both from hence and from Dunkirk, with the denial of the same to the rebels. Fifthly, an open and public declaration of their dislike of the rebels late propositions sent to the king, according as in conscience they are bound to declare, thereby to preserve this people from the guilt of approving the rebellion in England ; that in so doing they should declare no war against the parliament, and it would be a great preparation for the work in hand : this the prince of Orange seemed very much to approve of, and hath ordered me to prepare my papers in this kind against the time that their ambassadors come from England ; and began to ask me concerning the design, and whether I had received any orders about it ;

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for that I told him I should be particularly instructed by the next post; he likes this very well, and L'Estrade shall be instructed about it: this was all that past since the receipt of yours, besides that for conclusion the prince of Orange would know, whether if the duke should fail us, our treaty were at an end. I answered, No; for if the States would be brought to declare for the king, with shipping, and in other particulars as should be presented to them, I did not doubt but the king would quickly subdue the rebels, which was the end we pursued in this affair: to which when he replied with more cheerfulness than has been usual of late, That all endeavours should be used, I took my leave of him, and do of your-----There's no danger in discoursing, as you find, concerning the portion; for the conditions for the princess must be proportionable to it; and if other things be accorded, they will be solicitous themselves to enlarge the portion: for that end the princess of Orange is very civil to me, and desires much the business should go on. I should be instructed what to say concerning the condition and habitation of the princess before her going into England.

Dr. Goff to the lord Jermin. April 24.

I WILL not doubt but that all my letters of last week are received; and if so, your lordship doth perceive the whole negotiation here depends upon full instructions how to proceed in the particular treaty of the marriage; wherein the several circumstances being understood and agreed, it will quickly appear what the prince of Orange is at, and willing to do with the States for the king's assistance, without the actual performance whereof, it is to be declared, that the private articles shall not be signed. For this purpose, if the copies of former treaties cannot be had, it were necessary to set down particularly what houses and what dowry the queen will prescribe for the princess; and for the portion, the lowest sum that must be admitted of, with the times of payment. Yet herein it cannot be prejudicial to leave much unto debate here, it being resolved, that nothing shall be concluded till the States do fully declare in defence of the king. Whilst their hands are busy against Denmark (whither they are now sending sixty men of war, and six thousand foot) it cannot be expected that they should be induced to supply the king with any forces presently; but yet these things following will be in their power, and may be expected from the prince of Orange's negotiation with them, as soon as their ambassadors return: 1. To enter into a league offensive and defensive with the king, against all enemies whatsoever: and though the effect hereof cannot be the present preparing and sending of forces by sea and land, yet they will be brought to it. 2. To publish a declaration of dislike of the rebels later propositions sent to the king; together with the ill usage of their ambassadors. 3. To set at liberty those ships of ours which are now detained, and to offer the liberty of their ports hereafter. 4. To permit the selling of our prizes in their ports; and for that end, such officers for the king as shall be necessary. 5. To cause arms and

and powder to be exported for the king, with denying the same to the rebels. 6. To give letters of reprisal to such of their own people as have been injured by the parliament. 7. To permit the king to hire or buy men of war in these countries, to set to sea against the rebels. 8. To admit of no agents from England and Scotland that are not sent by the king, and to dismiss them that pretend from the parliament of either: and in pursuance of these points, if his majesty please to put out of his protection all such of his subjects which dwell or trade here, as have assisted the rebellion in England, the States may proceed to such confiscation and penalties as they shall think fit, whereby the king may find a considerable profit, and they be invited to a more vigorous conjunction with him; and if this be done for the present (France concurring in the same particulars) it is apparent, by God's blessing, that the king must needs overcome the rebels, if he can but keep his person and the prince's out of their hands, till his friends that are join'd in league with him can send more powerful assistance.

THOUGH the portion with the princess were as much as was demanded, and paid by several parts, as the prince of Orange should be able, it were not possible by that to serve the king to any effect, unless these things mentioned were together obtained, whereby London might be impoverished, which is and will be the fountain of all this mischief: and on the other side, let the portion be ever so small and ill paid, yet if these things be done, and the king by virtue of this marriage enabled to borrow money, or by any means to appear stronger at sea than they, and at land with the same power he hath formerly done, by God's blessing he will be quickly restor'd, which will give all the world full satisfaction concerning this treaty, and make the conditions honourable beyond all question. Upon these considerations, I believe your lordship may approve what I wrote by Monsieur D'Estrade, and send some orders accordingly for proceeding in the treaty of the marriage apart from other things.

AND for them, besides what I am instructed to do already with the prince of Orange, it will be very necessary to write to Sir William Boswell, that upon the coming of the Holland ambassadors from England, he according to his office be instant with the States, to perform the duties of their former alliances with the king; and that he make such other propositions to them as he shall judge fit: but when the prince of Orange shall find matters succeed well, it will be necessary that your lordship in the quality of an ambassador appear here, to make a firm and quick conclusion.

IN the mean time, it is the opinion of the prince of Orange, that the business of shipping is without question the sole thing which ought to be intended by the queen, and may probably restore the king's affairs again, though the duke of Lorrain's voyage, and the prince of Orange's endeavours should fail. When I wrote from Rotterdam, I was not clearly satisfied in the advantages on the king's part, and since that the sickness of Dorp (who is now perfectly recovered again, and fixedly disposed as he was) kept me from the particular pursuit of that argument, wherein your lordship had just cause to be little en-

couraged with what I wrote before ; if it be possible to provide money, it will prove an excellent design, for the whole execution is to be disposed of by the king as absolutely as if they were English ships, and the commanders English, the intention being not for P. and Q. but for the honour and service of the king, for which purpose Dorp desires to have large and particular instructions ; also some person of trust and courage to be a shipboard with him by whom he might correspond with the queen ; and that his Majesty would appoint some ports to which all prizes might be brought, and there judged, which he desires should be principally 1.-----and there officers of trust to be established, all which shall be particularly set down under his own hand, and before conclusion of the matter be made, be considered by the prince of Orange, who talks of this particular with pleasure : the condition for himself is very short but very great, to prescribe nothing, but trust the king and queen in that point ; but for his officers he expects liberal pay and reward, as it shall be deserved : so that in all respects, this is to be esteemed his Majesty's royal execution ; but that the commanders and masters are strangers, and ships hired. And it is here pronounced by all that have knowledge of their Majesty's affairs, and any thoughts and endeavours for their restitution, that this is so necessary to be done, that without it all other good successes will but serve to protract the war, and not at all to procure peace ; for till London be humbled, the rebels can never be reduced to reason ; but I know arguments in this kind are not so needful as prayers, that God would send some means to provide the money.

For the garter which is designed for the young prince, it is very earnestly desired by them all, and shall be constantly worn by the prince in that manner as in England : the prince of Orange desires that the king would write himself to him concerning it, as also to the States, and that it may be conferred after the same manner as it was to the P. elector in the field, if it might, before the beleaguering of any town begun : but of these things both Sir William Boswel, who hopes to be employed in it, and Mr. Hemfleet will write at large.

Lord Jermin to the lord Digby. Paris, May 19.

I WROTE to you yesterday by colonel Fitz Williams : I conceive you will find cause to take the business that concerned him into consideration : I have sent you now a copy of Dr. Goff's dispatch out of Holland, by which you will see the state of that business reduced to this only hope, that the return of the ambassadors out of England may not only give the prince of Orange a disposition to set on foot that which before he was not confident enough of his own strength to attempt, but also afford him some hopes of effecting it ; of this we shall see a sudden issue ; the other advantages we expect from thence, as the ships for the duke of Lorrain, and supplies of money by the marriage, are in an estate not much to be relied on ; for the business of the duke, I much fear will away ; the money of the marriage will not be considerable enough to conclude it ; for that

that reason it may be we may single that advantage from the rest, even without the consideration of the marriage: so that we have no more to do, but to attend the issue of the hopes of the declaration, and according to that, proceed or let fall the whole business, and look after-----as a thing to be managed according to the means we shall find here to go through with it. We shall know next week what to depend upon for the duke of Lorrain, which failing, we shall resume our pretensions here for monies in place of that which that expedition would have cost them here. The clergy assembles next week, with whom we shall set on foot the liberty the French queen regent hath given us to try their inclinations for the support of the affairs of England. Trasdunk is gone from Dunkirk three weeks since with four frigats, 6040 muskets, 2000 pair of pistols, 1200 carabines, swords, 400 shovels, 27000 pounds of match, and 50000 pounds of brimstone. I hope he is arrived before now: his arms were all embarked before Allen arrived there; so that I cannot assure you that Allen will be provided with that proportion which I sent you word would be sent to marquis Montros. The queen hath sent 400 barrels of powder to Dartmouth; she hath advice of the arrival of 200, and hopes the other will speedily arrive: she could not get the merchants to undertake the carriage of them, without engaging herself for them, in case they were not paid in England. The queen hath now received, as I wrote before, the king's order for shipping for the tin from time to time; whereupon last week she gave order for 4000 pounds sterling to be sent to Falmouth, for that proportion which she was advertised by Sir Nicholas Crisp would be ready there at the end of May, and hath demanded a ship of the prince of Orange for that purpose: she had advised last week, that the ship is accorded so, that it is undoubtedly upon the way. The king's order concerning the tin was but during pleasure; therefore, pray have a care there be no change, without giving the queen timely advice of it. Her Majesty having been served by Sir Nicholas Crisp at her coming out of England with affection and diligence, is desirous to make him some return; and therefore intreats you to assist him in his affairs, as he shall present them to you, particularly for the transportation of some wools; the proceed of which he undertakes to return in ammunition. He is also a suitor to the queen for her recommendation to the king, to be a collector of the customs in the West, in which he had formerly a promise: pray advise me in your next, how far the queen may reasonably interpose in that particular. For the proposition concerning the duke of York's going into Ireland, the queen bids me tell you, That she cannot yet, for any reason she can discern, approve of it. The business of her Majesty's jewels is so pressing upon her, that unless in the future she be as fortunate as she hath been hitherto, she will undergo great trouble and inconvenience: that you may perceive this, I send you a short note of the parcels engaged in Holland, for which there must be use duly paid every six months, or the jewels must be lost: for these sums for which they are pawned for, are very inferior to their value. For this reason it is most necessary to continue the tin in the queen's hands, lest she should fail of those other means, that hitherto she hath had for the discharge of these instructions; if otherwise

otherwise she finds means to do it, then all the profits of the tin will be duly accounted for to the king. Just now your letter of April the 11th, and the king's of the 10th are come, to which you can have no answer this week; they always come to us not under a month's time, whereas I perceive you receive ours in a fortnight. Pray rectify this if you can.

Lord Jermin to the lord Digby. Paris, May 26, 1645.

YESTERDAY I received yours of the seventeenth of April by the Portugal ambassador, by which you may please to observe, that all your letters by that way are still a month at least a coming; it will be good to enquire where the stop is made; at the same time I received the king's of the thirtieth of April by Sabran, and I mark that by him they come still quicker: by both, and by all other occurring, I see that our affairs in England, if they had received any competent assistance from abroad, would have been in an excellent condition; that which I most lament, is the queen's inability in the relief of marquis Montros, for which I conceive she had provided by ordering Hasdouch to furnish him out of the proportions he had provided for England. The proportions designed for him, I have mentioned in my former letters, but Hasdouch would not obey the queen's directions, but carried all he had provided into England, so that the queen remaining without credit, or other means to do that work, it remains now imperfect until she be furnished with one or the other: something she hath since attempted, but it is not to be relied on this May, that no possible things within her power shall be omitted for this purpose, for she conceives the importance of it even beyond that which you have represented. Our Holland news from Scotland, which we have often, do no less than yours confirm the necessity and moment of this consideration. I send you herewithal what I had last week from doctor Goff, by which you will perceive there is, since the return of the ambassador, some new hopes of prevailing with the States for the declaration against the rebels, which is a thing of so great concernment, that we must make it our endeavour not to frustrate the hopes of it by a sudden breaking off the treaty, and to defend ourselves against the prejudices we sustain by the expectation of the success; for that cannot be assured enough, to rely on it for great present utilities; and methinks it were a hard thing, being thus awakened in the consideration, to provide against both the inconveniencies. The duke of Lorrain hath again this last week made so many new protestations of his intentions, that the most positive commands that could be to Sir Hen. de Vic. have not prevailed with him to break off the treaty, but his troops now march, though himself do not remain at Bruxels; so that it will be impossible for any art to prolong the business beyond four or five days, but there is no hopes to be allowed to it. The businesses here to be done, which shall be carefully attended, are, That of Holland, the form I have proposed in this letter: the supply of marquis Montros with arms and ammunition; the West with the same for the prince's
new

new levies, and for the supply of the king's and prince Rupert's army, and the relief of Garnsey; for the prince of Wales his army Will. Godolphin is very solicitous, what he will be able to effect, is as doubtful as the queen's expectation in all the other particulars; money for the king is also in her thoughts and pretensions; and now the clergy is assembled, upon which many of our hopes have depended, she will, with all the assistance and care that may be, have that way attempted. We are at this time strangely solicitous for you, for there seems to be a gathering together on both sides near Oxford, like to produce some notable encounter, which cannot well be followed but with great events; God make them prosperous, and enable us here to contribute something more hereunto than our prayers.

I am yours.

YOUR last concerning Tho. Elliot, where you seem to take notice we had not here provided according to order, is answered in my former ones, so as I am confident you are fully satisfied in that point.

Lord Jermin to the lord Digby. Paris, June 9, 1645.

YESTERDAY I received yours of April the twenty-ninth from Oxford, whereby I must needs observe to you ours are received in half the time that yours are coming hither; now you are removed from Oxford I fear it will yet be harder for you to send to London about all things. The queen recommends it to you; I send you here inclosed Dr. Goff's last dispatch word for word, by that you will see the estate of that business. Sir H. de Vic is now here, yesterday arrived with the duke's last demands; to-morrow he attends cardinal Mazarine, and as soon as the answer is gotten, and queen regent's resolution in a supply of arms and ammunition we have now demanded, to which already we have some promises advanced, Petit shall be dispatched, who is staid for that end, and to return to us with some information of the state you are in, which the last letters speak so variously of, that we are in much pain. Arms and ammunition I will be again confident we shall speedily get; but for money, I can give no good hopes of it, although the clergy be now all together, from whom we have so many expectations. Sir Kenelm Digby is arrived at Rome, hath had audience of the Pope, who hath given him the best reception that the first visit was capable of, that is, the fairest promises in general that can be wished; if he may be relied on, there are good hopes of money there, but you know he is of a sanguine family, and himself yet the melancholiest of it; he hath visited some other of the petty princes, but they are a frugal generation. Talbot is coming from Venice without any effect of his voyage: a man the queen sent four months ago into Scotland to the marquis of Montrose, this day arrived: it grieves me Hasdouce did not obey the queen's order for his supply, but now again that shall be suddenly attempted, I hope with better success,

success, yet his arrival in the West hath been very opportune for the designs of the prince of Wales there, which I observe to you as a service solely of the queen's ; for nothing but her commands could prevail with him to undertake this supply, therefore pray give him what help you can to get his money. Pray commend my service to prince Rupert, and make my excuse I write not to him ; by something I hear I hope you two are good friends, which I much rejoyce at, and conjure you to do all you can to the continuance of it if it be so, and to the making of it so if it be otherwise. I rest yours.

THE queen hath written herself to the king.

You will find in Dr. Goff's letter several things desired to be sent from England, all in my judgment most material, and therefore to be hastned to him or Sir William Boswel, with the greatest expedition that can be. He proposeth the sending of my man (Carteret being already gone to Holland with instructions for the business of the tin) to attend that in England, who may perhaps not follow the doctor's order in coming to you for these things ; therefore I pray you, as soon as you receive this, let them be dispatched and sent by an expers to yours.

Lord Jermin to the lord Digby. St. Germain, August 5, 1646.

I WROTE to you yesterday by the ordinary ; something I have to add by this expers the queen sends to visit the king, and to bring her back an account of his health, and of the state of his affairs. Her resolution of sending Cockeram into Denmark, is without doubt very opportune ; for upon the conclusion of the peace with the Swedes he cannot but be in a condition to help us, and if as it shall be in the first place demanded, he could be prevailed with to give us such an army as might land in any place where the king hath no forces, without fearing who they meet, their descent at Scarborough or Burlington would give a new turn to all ; but this is a felicity I dare not hope. That which with more assurance I look upon, which in the second place shall be solicited, would be of infinite use, that is, a small number of men, some money, arms and ammunition, and all to go to Scotland to marquis Montross : but the men in that case must some of them be horsemen, five hundred at least, and their horse to pass with them : This I conceive would enable marquis Montross to make his victories profitable as well as miraculous : but in the mean estate he is, for want of horse (for all that he complains in his letter to me) and of arms and ammunition, his advantages have brought almost none to the king his affairs, for he advances not into the good parts of Scotland, nor is so considerable to the army in England, as that they have forbore for fear of him to leave their country exposed to him : I cannot send you by this bearer so great a volume as Cockeram's instructions would be, but you shall have them by next : he shall have order to offer the islands that Pooley had order to offer the king of Denmark. The winter growing on makes me not apprehend that all our losses can bring us so soon to an end as this summer, and the ill weather
will

will reprieve us until either this or some other help be found out. The queen is therefore now more industrious than ever, and hath found means to get twenty thousand pistols for-----I once wrote to you of, so that if the persons that should have undertaken it be still of the same mind, and the prince of Orange, which we have written to know, that business will go forward and may prove of great use in many considerations; but the importantest aim in it is the insensible engaging the Hollanders in the war. Sir Kenelm Digby writes hopefully of supplies of money from Rome, but concludes nothing, the Irish troubling all our solas, until the peace be made with them. I fear all Catholick help will be drawn that way. Upon this purpose I must tell you with what amazement the delays of the peace in Ireland is considered here, and you leave us so ignorant of the condition of the treaty, that we know not what to say of it. Pray by the return of this bearer, or the first likely passage, send me the state of it, their demand, the king of England his offers, and what you know of the difficulties; if yet it be not concluded, it is not like that ever it will be, by those that manage it now: and therefore it seems to me for satisfaction of those that so much press it, of the Irish, and to satisfy this state, who are much of that opinion, and to secure our hopes at Rome, and lastly, to put that business into a possibility of being concluded, that the proposition long since made to the king, of having the treaty made here by the queen and queen regent, were not unfitly resumed. For I am confident the king by this means might have the peace upon better terms, and might limit the queen by the same instructions that those that now treat are bound by; and upon this, one of these fruits would follow, that either-----should have the peace, or the exorbitancy of their demands would be so apparent to the queen regent that we should have great advantage by that. The only thing I fear is, that the king his party in Ireland might possibly not acquiesce in such a peace as would be fit for the king to make, and then he would have the scandal of it (for it will be a scandalous one that is unavoidable) without the benefit of an assistance from Ireland. To conclude, if nothing be done in Ireland, I think it most necessary that the offers of treating be withdrawn from thence, and that the queen may be trusted to treat and conclude with the queen regent here, with such as the Catholicks from Ireland shall appoint. This I write to you to consider of it; by the return of Sir D. Wyat you shall know more of this particular. This bearer send back immediately, and write without flattering yourself or us, the pure and natural state of affairs. God of heaven keep you, and give us, if he please, some other punishment for our faults, than that of our country's falling into the hands of the rebels. I am most entirely yours.

I HAVE given Petit thirty pounds for his journey.

The accompt.

B ORROW'D at Rotterdam of the burgomasters,	400000
More of the bank in Rotterdam,	25000

In all from Rotterdam	425000
4 A	Borrowed

	From Rotterdam	425000
Borrowed of the bank at Amsterdam by Mr. Sandys,		84500
At the Hague of Fletcher c l f t c h e r,		126000
More of him,		40000
At the Hague of Van. Cyren, by Sir W. Boswel,		9000
Of monsieur Despernon,		230000
Of Webster by three obligations to get her on the pendant pearls,		100000
Of him more,		43200
Of him more, and borrowed by him since,		70000
Of monsieur Vicford		70000
Of Sir Charles Herbert		20000
Of Collimore at Antwerp.		64000

In all---1281700 guilders.

With Webster the six rubies of the chain left for about	20000
To Webster,	20000
To the prince of Orange,	300000

Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved servant, Daniel O Neal,
groom of our bedchamber, 27 June, 1645:

YOU are forthwith to repair unto our ports of Dartmouth and Falmouth, where you are to confer with Sir Nicholas Crisp knight, and with captain Hasdouce, or any other owners of ships or frigots in our service. You are to let them know, that whereas by a clause in their several commissions, they are oblig'd upon extraordinary occasions of our service to employ their frigots for six weeks time, according to our special command, we giving them just payment and satisfaction for the time of their ships, during the time that they are so employ'd by us; we having now at this time such an occasion for them as doth highly import the good of our affairs, we do require them to have in readiness to expect our orders, all such ships or frigots as can within a fortnight or three weeks time be set to sea for a month or six weeks service; and that for the present they do send immediately with you over into Ireland, unto such ports as you shall direct, all such frigots as are now fitted and ready there into Ireland, to expect and obey such orders as they shall receive from the marquis of Ormond, we assuring the owners of the said vessels, that they shall not only receive full satisfaction for the time that they shall be withdrawn from their own employments by this our command, but that we shall carry the same in mind as the most acceptable and important service that they can possibly do us. And we do further command you, that in case you shall find that more of the said frigots than one cannot within very few days be ready, that you make use of the nimblest vessel you can there find; and that whilst the others are preparing, you forthwith transport yourself with all diligence unto the marquis:

quis of Ormond, there to pursue such further directions as we here give you, having first advertised us by expresses what we may rely on, and when, concerning the shipping aforesaid expected for our service.

You are likewise to represent unto the marquis of Ormond the great importance to the good of our affairs, that we be speedily supplied from our kingdom of Ireland, with some good number of foot; that we should be very glad you could frame such a body there, to be sent over, as might be worthy his own coming to command it: in which case when we hear from him, we shall give him our further directions: but for the present, that no time must be lost in sending over what numbers can be spared of our old English army there, as well as what may be procured of the Irish, together with the best artillery, as well for battery as the field, that the said marquis of Ormond can assist us withal.

You are to acquaint the said marquis of Ormond with the diligence used here to procure shipping for their transportation, and what may be relied on of that kind from hence.

You are to employ yourself in soliciting what aids of all kinds may possibly be had from the Irish, according as you shall be instructed from the marquis of Ormond: and what by his appointment you shall promise or engage in our name by way of invitation or encouragement to our service unto any in that kingdom, we shall be careful to make good: but in this and all things else of your negociation there, you are strictly and punctually to govern yourself by such directions as you shall receive from the said marquis of Ormond, and no otherwise. Of all this, and what we may expect from thence, and when, you are to give the speediest and punctualest accompts you can unto our principal secretary of state attending.

From the lord Digby to the lord Jermyn.

SINCE the writing of my other of this same date in my brother secretaries cypher, I have received yours of the 28th of July in my new cypher, which over-joys me: and it is as a prediction of good fortune to us, that the queen bears our disasters with that moderation. You do now find that clearly true which was my opinion before, that our ill successes would sooner warm that state to our assistance than our good, it being their interest to ballance things here. For God's sake hasten powder and match in plenty to the Northern coast, and what muskets and pistols you can, but ammunition in the first place; let them be directed to Burlington or Whitby, for Scarborough is lost; but yet with some caution, as to enquire before they put in, lest by any accident the enemy should have garisoned those places before we come thither.

WE are advertised from London that there are some letters intercepted from the queen to the king, with blanks to be signed by the king, authorizing the queen to engage Ireland to the queen regent for some aids: if any such there be, it is very unlucky, not only for the ill use may be made of it here, but as

it may be resented by my lord of Ormond, who having committed to him the management of the affairs of Ireland, and having discharged the trust so faithfully and prudently, may think himself injured in such negotiations by the by. God keep you, and fail not to love him who is entirely,

Yours.

Bridgenorth,
Aug. 9.

The lord Jermin to the lord George Digby. St. Germain,
August 25.

WE have received nothing this week from you, but find by other advertisements the king is still in Wales recruiting his army: I see no danger of perishing before the winter comes in to our relief, at least if our own party be not totally forsaken of their hearts and hands; for if there remain among them either understanding or courage, they will perceive how ill a bargain they must make with their enemies at this time, if they fall into their hands by any way whatsoever. I am now most confident if we hold out till next spring; betwixt this and that we shall find powerful succours. The design of — of which I have often written to you, may now in my judgment be reckoned upon, for we have the money ready, the persons of the same mind, and all the difficulties raised that be in the way, and the business in as good advance as was possible; since we got the money, there is a good reason to expect that within two months (they are promised sooner) we shall have —. This in itself may prove a great thing, but it is considered how it looks upon the condition of our affairs, that are very unlike to receive new life but by a foreign assistance, which reasonably is not to be hoped without securing their passage; nothing sure can appear so necessary for us, therefore pray take great care that there be no delay in the dispatch of all things belonging to it, when there shall be recourse to you in that behalf. I omit to tell you more particulars of this business, both in what estate it is, and how it hath been retarded; but weekly now you shall be advertised. I hear there is some stop in the treaty between Denmark and the Swedes, so that I fear will frustrate Cockeram's negotiation, of which else I should hope very well. The arms that went from hence to the marquis of Montrose, are arrived at Hamborough, and I hope are re embarked from thence; Cockeram would have them go that way; we have no news yet of those sent to him from Holland; what we are to expect from * hence as towards a considerable succour (I mean of a body of men) is to be attended until the end of their campaign; for I confess I am so far abused in the business, as to believe it is equally hard to say we shall obtain no such thing, as to assure it now; for without doubt there is no desire here to see the monarchy of England devolve into another government, and there is as little doubt that there are strong inclinations for the persons of the king and queen,

* France.

and desire to contribute to their re-establishment; yet the humbling of the house of Austria, the beating them during the war, or making a glorious peace, I confess are passions that prevail more; and it is no wonder: in the mean time we receive great courtesies. The queen is most civilly and kindly used in all; her pension duly paid; 12,000 pistoles they gave lately for the arms for the marquis of Montrose, and the powder should be sent into the West; 10,000 more they have now given for the ships, which design is infinitely approved by them; and I doubt not but they will give the other 10,000, that the setting them forth will come to; if they should fail, it will be otherwise provided. The queen of England hath given us a sharp alarm of another distemper like her last, but the fear is vanished almost after three fits, but being young in apprehension of the third, she dares not write herself. I am entirely yours.

PRAY send me word whether the barony passed to Mr. Hemflet be an English barony, and to descend upon his son by my lady Stanhop; if not, you are to move the king for the barony of Wotton for that son: this is a business in which the queen was engaged in Holland, upon the important services she received from Hemflet, and she will be very earnest with the king to have done. Pray send an answer to this.

LET the business of the fleet be kept with all secrecy.

To the honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, speaker of the
honourable House of Commons.

S I R,

THESE enclosed letters being brought to my hands by divine providence, I held it my duty to speed to you, because of the great importance of them, and to acquaint you how I came by them.

HAVING some dragoons at Padstow, a packet-boat from Ireland came into the harbour; the dragoons presently endeavoured to board her, and after some small resistance, wherein the captain and the master of the vessel were slain, they entered, seizing upon captain Allen; the said Allen threw a packet and divers loose letters over-board, of which, only these enclosed were recovered: I shall send Allen with all convenient speed up to you, whose examination you have also herewith enclosed: I find him to be a dangerous and subtle man; I believe he hath much in his breast which may be got out of him, by reason he is obnoxious as a spy, and a man I perceive loves his life so well, that good use may be made thereof, to discover by further examination what we have not an opportunity to do here, but yet may be worthy of your knowledge: for it appears by some of the letters, that he hath much entrusted by the earl of Glamorgan to him, to give a verbal accompt of: I have given captain Moulton, who is upon the Irish seas, advertisement of the enemy's intentions. To say no more; you will perceive by the date of the earl of Glamorgan's letters, that he hath the honour, trust and liberty of a very good and loyal subject. I suppose you will see by these letters, what reason there is to hasten recruits
with

with effect, which I must withal represent to be the more needful, in regard of the diminution which cannot but attend these marches; and that hardship the army hath been put to in such a country and at such a season. I must acknowledge your provisions for this army to be very great, and the committee of the army's care, in observing your appointments therein to be answerable. I desire I may faithfully improve your favours, as becomes an honest man, to the glory of God, and your service: and rest

Your most humble servant,

T. Fairfax.

Bodmyn, March 7,
1645.

To the honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, speaker of the
honourable House of Commons.

S I R,

IN my last, which was but yesterday by the post, I gave you an account of the agreement made for the delivery up of Mount-Edgecomb, and the disbanding of the regiments raised in those parts, and of the coming of Mr. Coriton and divers other gentlemen of quality, which is every day more apparent than other, by their hourly sending to the general to be received into the protection of the parliament, which is now in some measure made known to the country, who had this day a meeting upon Bodman-downs: it was but yesterday they had notice, and one hundred of the four had not the notice come to them, yet about eight hundred or nine hundred appeared; and now for the occasion the meeting was desired, which was for this purpose, to let them know the army was come to protect them, not to ruin them; that the soldiers horse and foot had charge to defray their quarters; that if any soldier offered violence unto them, upon complaint it should be redressed; that the gentlemen of the country, naming such and such persons, were come into the parliament, which did very much encourage the commonalty to be the more forward to hearken to what might be for the service of the publick, and defence of their own county: and that which wrought the impression deepest upon their hearts, was Mr. P. his publishing to them the packets taken in the Irish vessel, which I mentioned unto you in the last letter, which he not only shewed unto them, but read the same, and permitted such of them as desired it to read them, and told them they should have copies of Glamorgan's articles, and his other letters, if they desired them, which abundantly gave them satisfaction; and that which put it out of doubt was, that the ship and packets were seized on, and taken by the assistance of the inhabitants at Padstow within their own county but the day before: and indeed it was a very seasonable and remarkable accident as could have happened for the uniting of this county
to

to the parliament, for the very thoughts of Irish and French are hateful unto them: those letters that were most considerable miscarried in the water; which was the earl of Glamorgan's to the prince, Sir Edward Hyde, and to another, which captain Allen, an Irish papist and merchant of Waterford confesseth he had from the hands of the earl of Glamorgan to deliver as afore said: upon his examination he said further, That the three hundred Irish desired for the prince's life-guard were to be thus disposed, an hundred to be put into the mount, an hundred to Pendennis, and the other hundred to be a guard to the prince. The general hath sent post to captain Moulton admiral of the Irish coasts, to give him notice in what forwardness the Irish were to be transported, that they may keep out ships at sea for prevention: the trumpet that went with the summons to the lord Hopton is not yet returned. To-morrow early the whole army horse and foot advances towards Truro: all passes, by-lanes and fords being for the most part barricadoed or blockt up; so that if the enemy should slip by (which we no ways fear) their marches will be so slow, that their rear will be engaged before they get half through the passage. Before this come to your hands, without peradventure the business will be very near decided by a treaty or retreat into the sea. There came seven or eight of the prince's servants this day for passes to go home, much lamenting the sudden carrying the prince on shipboard when they dreamed not of it: at Foy we took thirteen pieces of ordnance mounted, besides arms and powder; the first night the town stood upon their guard, but the next morning repented of their folly, and without dispute admitted our forces to come in. Be pleased to hasten down monies to the army, and match and powder with all speed to Lime: neither of these will admit of delay: and hasten recruits that they may meet us when we face about.

Your most humble and faithful servant,

John Rushworth.

Bodman, March 6,
11 at night.

The examination of Allen is sent up by this bearer who can inform you more of the carriage of the man: I hope the bearer will come safe with the letters; he is enjoined to have great care; he comes far with such a trust.

The treaty concluded with the Irish rebels by the earl of Glamorgan.

WHEREAS much time hath been spent in meetings and debates betwixt his excellency James lord marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant and general-governor of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, commissioner to his most excellent Majesty, Charles, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France

6

and

and Ireland, &c. for the treating and concluding of a peace in the said kingdom with his Majesty's humble and loyal subjects, the Confederate and Roman Catholicks of the said kingdom of Ireland of the one part; and the right honourable Donogh lord viscount Muskerry, and other commissioners deputed and authorized by the said confederate Roman Catholick subjects of the other part; and thereupon many difficulties did arise, by occasion whereof sundry matters of great weight and consequence necessarily requisite to be condescended unto by his Majesty's said commissioners, for the safety of the said confederate Roman Catholicks, were not hitherto agreed upon, which retarded, and doth as yet retard the conclusion of a firm peace and settlement in the said kingdom. And whereas the right honourable Edward earl of Glamorgan is entrusted and authorized by his most excellent Majesty, to grant and assure to the said confederate Catholick subjects further grace and favours, which the said lord-lieutenant did not as yet in that latitude as they expected grant unto them; and the said earl having seriously considered of all matters and due circumstances of the great affairs now in agitation, which is the peace and quiet of the said kingdom, and the importance thereof, in order to his Majesty's service, and in relation to a peace and settlement in his other kingdoms; and here upon the place having seen the ardent desire of the said Catholicks to assist his Majesty against all that do or shall oppress his royal right or monarchick government; and having discerned the alacrity and cheerfulness of the said Catholicks to embrace honourable conditions of peace, which may preserve their religion and other just interests. In pursuance therefore of his Majesty's authority under his highness's signature royal and signet, bearing date at Oxon. the 12th day of March in the twentieth year of his reign, granted unto the said earl of Glamorgan, the tenor whereof is as followeth, viz. Charles Rex. Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our trusty and right well-beloved cousin Edward earl of Glamorgan, greeting: We reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do by these (as firmly as under our great seal to all intents and purposes) authorize and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholicks in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity any thing be to be condescended unto, wherein our lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at the present publickly to own; therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant with all possible secrecy, and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself upon such valuable considerations, as you in your judgment shall deem fit; we promise in the word of a king and a christian, to ratify and perform the same that shall be granted by you and under your hand and seal; the said confederate Catholicks having by their supplies testified their zeal to our service; and this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient warrant. Given at our court at Oxford under our signet and royal signature the 12th day of March, in the twentieth year of our reign, 1644. To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin Edward earl of Glamorgan. It is therefore granted, accorded and agreed, by and between the said earl of Glamorgan, for and on the

the behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, on the one part; and the right honourable lord viscount Mountgarret, lord president of the supreme council of the said confederate Catholics, the said Donogh lord viscount Muskerry, Alexander Mac Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, Esq; Sir Robert Talbot Barronet, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Geffery Brown, Esq; commissioners in that behalf appointed by the said confederate Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, for and in the behalf of the said confederate Roman Catholic subjects of the other part, in manner and form following: (that is to say)

1. **I**T is granted, accorded and agreed by the said earl, for and in the behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That all and every the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in the kingdom of Ireland, of whatever estate, degree or quality soever he or they be or shall be, shall for evermore hereafter have and enjoy within the said kingdom, the free and publick use and exercise of the said Roman Catholic religion, and of the respective functions therein.

2. **I**TEM, It is granted, accorded and agreed by the said earl, for and on the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, That the said professors of the Roman Catholic religion, shall hold and enjoy all and every the churches by them enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the 23d of October 1641, and all other churches in the said kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his Majesty's Protestant subjects.

3. **I**TEM, It is granted, accorded and agreed by the said earl, for and in the behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That all and every the Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, of what estate, condition, degree or quality soever, shall be free and exempted from the jurisdiction of the protestant clergy, and every of them; and that the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom shall not be punished, troubled or molested for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective Catholic flocks, in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical.

4. **I**TEM, It is further granted, accorded and agreed by the said earl, for and on the behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That an act shall be passed in the next parliament to be holden in this kingdom, the tenor and purport whereof shall be as followeth, viz. An act for the relief of his Majesty's Catholic subjects of his highness's kingdom of Ireland: whereas by an act made in parliament held in Dublin the second year of the reign of the late queen Eliz. intituled, "An act restoring to the crown the antient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same;" and by one other statute made in the said last mentioned parliament, intituled, "An act for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and the administration of the sacrament," fundry mulcts, penalties, restraints and incapacities, are and have been laid upon the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in this

kingdom, in, for and concerning the use, profession and exercise of their religion and their functions therein, to the great prejudice, trouble and disquiet of the Roman Catholicks in their liberties and estates, and the general disturbance of the whole kingdom. For remedy whereof, and for the better settling, increase and continuance of the peace, unity and tranquility of this kingdom of Ireland; his Majesty, at the humble suit and request of the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, is graciously pleased that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's most excellent Majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That from and after the first day of this session of parliament, it shall and may be lawful to and for all the professors of the Roman Catholick religion, of what degree, condition or quality soever, to have, use and enjoy the free and publick exercise and profession of the said Roman Catholick religion, and of their severall and respective functions therein, without incurring any mulct or penalty whatsoever, or being subject to any restraint or incapacity concerning the same; any article or clause, sentence or provision in the said last-mentioned acts of parliament, or in any other act or acts of parliament, ordinances, law or usage to the contrary, or in any wise notwithstanding. And be it also further enacted, that neither the said statutes, or any other statute, acts or ordinance hereafter made in your Majesty's reign, or in the reign of any of your highness's most noble progenitors or ancestors, and now of force in this kingdom; nor all nor any branch, article, clause and sentence in them or any of them, contained or specified, shall be of force or validity in this realm, to extend to be construed, or adjudged to extend in any wise to inquiet, prejudice, vex or molest the professors of the said Roman Catholick religion, in their persons, lands, hereditaments or goods, for any thing, matter or cause whatsoever, touching and concerning the free and publick use, exercise and enjoyings of their said religion, function and profession. And be it also further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, that your Majesty's Roman Catholick subjects in the said realm of Ireland, from the first day of this session of parliament, shall be, and be taken, deemed and adjudged capable of all offices of trust and advancement, places, degrees and dignities, and preferment whatsoever within your said realm of Ireland, any acts, statutes, usage or law to the contrary notwithstanding. And that other acts shall be passed in the said parliament, according to the tenor of such agreement or concessions as herein are expressed; and that in the mean time the said Roman Catholick subjects, and every of them, shall enjoy the full benefit, freedom and advantage of the said agreements and concessions, and of every of them.

5. ITEM, It is accorded, granted and agreed by the said earl, for and in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, that his excellency the lord marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authorized or to be authorized by his Majesty, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman Catholick religion in their present possession and continuance of the pro-

profession of their said church's jurisdiction, or any other the matters afore-said in these articles agreed and condescended unto by the said earl, until his Majesty's pleasure be signified for confirming and publishing the grants and agreements hereby articulated for and condescended unto by the said earl.

6. ITEM, And the said earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his Majesty's royal word and publick faith unto all and singular the professors of the said Roman Catholick religion within the said kingdom of Ireland, for the due observance and performance of all and every the articles, grants and clauses therein contained, and the concessions herein mentioned to be performed to them.

7. ITEM, It is accorded and agreed, That the said publick faith of the kingdom shall be engaged unto the said earl, by the said commissioners of the said confederate Catholicks, for sending ten thousand men to serve his Majesty, by order and publick declaration of the general assembly now sitting; and that the supreme council of the said confederate Catholicks shall engage themselves to bring the said number of men armed, the one half with muskets, and the other half with pikes, unto any port within this realm, at the election of the said earl, and at such time as he shall appoint, to be by him shipped and transported to serve his Majesty in England, Wales or Scotland, under the command of the said earl of Glamorgan as lord-general of the said army, which army is to be kept together in one entire body; and all other the officers and commanders of the said army are to be named by the supreme council of the said confederate Catholicks, or by such others as the general assembly of the said confederate Catholicks of this kingdom shall entrust therewith: in witness whereof, the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals the 25th day of August, 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of John Somersset, Jeffery Barron, Robert Barry.

Copia vera collata fideliter cum Originali: Thomas Cashel, Franc. Patricius, Waterford & Lismore.

This is a true copy of the original found in the archbishop of Tuam's carriage; compared by us, Arthur Annesley, Rob. King.

Articles of agreement made and concluded upon by and between the right honourable Edward earl of Glamorgan, in pursuance, and by virtue of his Majesty's authority under his signet and royal signature, bearing date at Oxford the twelfth day of March in the twentieth year of his reign, for and on the behalf of his most excellent Majesty of the one part; and the right honourable Richard lord viscount Mountgarret, lord-president of the supreme council of the confederate Catholicks of Ireland, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Alex. Mac Donnel and Nicholas Plunket, esquires, Sir Robert Talbot Baronet, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy and Jeffery Brown, esquires, for and on the behalf of his Majesty's Roman Catholick subjects, and the Catholick clergy in Ireland, of the other part.

IMPRIMIS, The said earl doth grant, conclude and agree, on the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to and with the said Richard lord viscount Mountgarret, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Alex. Mac Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, esquires; Sir Robert Talbot baronet, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, esquires: that the Roman Catholick clergy of the said kingdom shall and may from henceforth for ever, hold and enjoy all and every such lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments whatsoever by them respectively enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the three and twentieth of October, one thousand six hundred forty-one: and all other such lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments belonging to the clergy within this kingdom, other than such as are actually now enjoyed by his Majesty's Protestant clergy.

ITEM, It is granted, concluded and agreed on by the said Richard lord viscount Mountgarret, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Alex. Mac Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, on the behalf of the confederate Roman Catholicks of Ireland, that two parts in three parts to be divided of all the said lands, tythes, and hereditaments whatsoever, mentioned in the precedent article, shall for three years next ensuing the feast of Easter, which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1646, be disposed of and converted for and to the use of his Majesty's forces, employed or to be employed in his service, and the other third part to the use of the said clergy respectively, and so the like disposition to be renewed from three years to three years, by the said clergy during the wars.

ITEM,

ITEM, It is accorded and agreed by the said earl of Glamorgan, for and in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, that his excellency the lord marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authorized or to be authorized by his Majesty, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman Catholick religion in their present possession and continuance of the possession of their churches, lands, tenements, tythes, hereditaments, jurisdiction, or any other the matters aforesaid in these articles agreed and condescended to by the said earl, until his Majesty's pleasure be signified for confirming and publishing the grants herein articulated for and condescended unto by the said earl.

ITEM, It is accorded, granted and agreed by the said earl for and in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, that an act shall be passed in the next parliament to be held in this kingdom, according to the tenor of such agreements or concessions as herein are expressed, and that in the mean time the said clergy shall enjoy the full benefit, freedom and advantage of the said agreements and concessions and every of them.

AND the said earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his Majesty's royal word and publick faith unto the said lord viscount Mountgarret, and the rest of the said commissioners, for the due observation and performance of all and every the articles, agreements and concessions herein contained and mentioned, to be performed to the said Roman Catholick clergy and every of them. In witness whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals the 25th day of August, Anno Dom. 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of John Sommerfet, Jeffery Barron, Rob. Barry.

WHEREAS in these articles touching the clergy livings, the right honourable the earl of Glamorgan is obliged in his Majesty's behalf to secure the concessions in these articles by act of parliament: we holding that manner of securing those grants as to the clergy livings to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his Majesty, than by doing thereof, and securing those concessions otherwise as to the said livings, the said earl undertaking and promising in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, as hereby he doth undertake to settle the said concessions, and secure them to the clergy, and their respective successors, in another secure way, other than by parliament at present, till a fit opportunity be offered for securing the same, do agree and condescend thereunto. And this instrument by his lordship signed, was before the perfecting thereof intended to that purpose, as to the said livings, to which purpose we have mutually signed this indorsement. And it is further intended, that the
Catholick

Catholick clergy shall not be interrupted by parliament, or otherwise, as to the said livings, contrary to the meaning of these articles.

GLAMORGAN.

Copia vera collata fideliter cum originali, Thomas Cashel, Fra. Patricius, Waterford & Lismore.

This is a true copy of the original found in the archbishop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us, Arthur Annesly, Rob. King.

I EDWARD earl of Glamorgan do protest and swear faithfully to acquaint the king's most excellent Majesty with the proceedings of this kingdom in order to his service, and to the indearment of this nation, and punctual performance of what I have (as authorized by his Majesty) obliged myself to see performed, and in default, not to permit the army intrusted into my charge to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his Majesty, and by his Majesty be performed,

GLAMORGAN.

Sept. 3. 1645.

Copia vera concordans de verbo ad verbum fideliter cum Origin. Tho. Cashel.

This is a true copy of the original found in the archbishop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us, Arthur Annesley, Rob. King.

King CHARLES his CASE:
OR, AN
APPEAL to all rational Men,
CONCERNING HIS
T R Y A L
IN THE
HIGH COURT of JUSTICE.

Being, for the most Part,
That which was intended to have been delivered at the Bar, if
the KING had pleaded to the Charge, and put himself
upon a fair Tryal.

WITH
An additional Opinion concerning the Death of King JAMES, the Loss of
ROCHEL, and the Blood of IRELAND.

By JOHN COOK, of Gray's-Inn, Barrister.

Justice is an excellent Virtue:
Reason is the Life of the Law.
Womanish Pity to mourn for a Tyrant,
Is a deceitful Cruelty to a City.

TO THE
R E A D E R.

THE righteous judge, whose judgment is not only inevitable, but infallible, must shortly judge me, and all that concurred to bring the capital delinquent to condign punishment; but in the interim, I desire to be judged by all understanding men in the world, that suffer their judgments to be swayed by reason, and not biased by private interest, whether ever any man did so much deserve to die: Cain for the murder of one righteous Abel, and David for one Uriah, had been men of death, had not God pardoned them: those thirty-one kings which Joshua hanged up *, and Saul's seven sons, which were but at the worst (as it seems to me) evil counsellors; were they not innocent, nay saints in comparison of this man? Those that crucified Christ did it ignorantly, for had they known him, they had not crucified the Lord of glory. The saints under the ten persecutions suffered by the hands of the Heathens; the Sicilian vespers †, the Parisian massacre of the Protestants, and the gunpowder-plot, were acted and intended by Papists, out of a conceit of merit; but for a Protestant prince, stiled, "The defender of the faith," in a time of light, that had sworn to keep the peace, received tribute to that end, and might have had the very hearts of the people, if they could have given him them without death (the strongest engagements;) I say, for such a one so long to persecute the faithful, destroy and enslave the people by oppressing cruelties: and when Machiavel could not do it, to levy a war to that wicked end, which never any of his ancestors durst attempt; that might at any time with a word of his mouth have stopped all the bleeding veins in the three kingdoms, but would not; and for the satisfying of a base lust, caused more Protestant blood to be shed than ever was spilt, either by Rome, Heathen or Antichristian: Blessed God, what ugly sins lodge in their bosoms, that would have had this man to live! But words are but women, proofs are men; it is reason that must be the chariot to carry men to give their concurrence to this judgment: therefore I shall deliver my thoughts to the courteous reader, as I was prepared for it, if issue had been joined in the cause, but with some addition for illustration sake, desiring excuse for the preamble, because there is some repetition in matter.

* 2 Sam. 21.

† In 1571.

KING CHARLES's CASE.

May it please your lordship,

MY lord president, and this high court, erected for the most comprehensive, impartial, and glorious piece of justice, that ever was acted and executed upon the theatre of England, for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, whom God in his wrath gave to be a king to this nation, and will, I trust, in great love, for his notorious prevarications and blood-guiltiness take him away from us; he that hath been the original of all injustice, and the principal author of more mischiefs to the free-born people of this nation, than the best arithmetician can well enumerate, stands now to give an account of his stewardship, and to receive the good of justice, for all the evil of his injustice and cruelty. Had he ten thousand lives, they could not all satisfy for the numerous, horrid and barbarous massacres of myriads, and legions of innocent persons, which by his commands, commissions and procurements (or at least all the world must needs say, which he might have prevented; and he that suffers any man to be kill'd, when he may save his life without danger of his own, is a murderer) have been cruelly slain, and inhumanly murdered in this renowned Albion. Anglia hath been made an Akeldama, and her younger sister Ireland a land of Ire and misery; and yet this hard-hearted man, as he went out of the court, down the stairs Jan. 22. said (as some of the guard told me and others) That he was not troubled for any of the blood that had been shed, but for the blood of one man (peradventure he meant Strafford) He was no more affected with a list that was brought in to Oxford of five or six thousand slain at Edgehill, than to read one of Ben. Johnson's tragedies: you gentlemen royalists that fought for him, if ye had lost your lives for his sake, you see he would have no more pitied you by his own confession, than you do a poor worm; and yet what heart but would cleave, if it were a rock, melt, if it were ice, break, if it were flint, or dissolve if it were a diamond, to consider that so much precious Protestant blood should be shed in these three kingdoms, so many gallant valiant men of all sorts and conditions, to be sacrificed and lose their lives, and many of them to die so desperately in regard of their eternal conditions, and all this meerly and only for the satisfying and fulfilling of one man's sinful lust and wicked will; a good shepherd is he that lays down his life, or ventures it to save the sheep; but for one to be so proudly wedded to his own conceits, as so maliciously to oppose his private opinion, against the publick judgment and reason of State, and to make head against the parliament, who acknowledged him to be head thereof, so far as to give him the honour of the royal assent, in settling the militia and safety of the people: I say, for a Protestant prince, so beloved at home, and feared abroad, that in love, and by gentle means might have had any thing from the parliament, for him to occasion the shedding of so much blood, for a pretended prerogative, as hereafter will appear nothing in effect but to fix and perpetuate an absolute tyranny; I can say no less, but, O Lucifer! from whence art thou fallen, and what hereticks are they in politicks, that would have had such a man to live? much more that think his actions to have merited love and praise from heaven and earth. But now to dissect the charge.

1. **T**HAT the kings of England are trusted with a limited power to govern by law, the whole stream and current of legal authorities run so limpid and clear, that I should but weary those that know it already, and trouble those that need not know the particular cases; for it is one of the fundamentals of law, that the king is not above the law, but the law above the king: I could easily deraign it from the 1 Edward III. to the jurisdiction of courts, that the king has no more power or authority than what by law is concredited and committed to him; but the most famous authority is

Fortescue, chancellor to Henry VI. (and therefore undoubtedly would not clip his master's prerogative) who most judicially takes a difference between a government wholly regal and seignoral; as in Turkey, Russia, France, Spain, &c. and a government politick and mixed, where the law keeps the beam even between sovereignty and subjection, as in England, Denmark, Swede, and Poland; the first, where the edict of a prince makes the law, resembles an impetuous inundation of the waters, whereby the corn and hay, and other fruits of the earth are spoiled, as when it is midwinter at midsummer; the latter is like a sweet smooth stream, running by the pleasant fields and meadows; that by the law of England the king ought not to impose any thing upon the people, or take any thing away from them to the value of a farthing, but by common consent in parliaments or national-meetings; and that the people of common-right, and by several statutes ought to have parliaments yearly, or oftner if need be, for the redress of publick grievances, and for the enacting of good and wholesome laws, and repealing of old statutes of Omeri which are prejudicial to the nation: and that the king hath not by law so much power as a justice of peace, to commit any man to prison for any offence whatsoever, because all such matters were committed to proper courts and officers of justice: and if the king by his verbal command send for any person to come before him, if the party refused to attend, and the messenger endeavouring to force him, they fell to blows; if the messenger killed the party sent for, this by the law is murder in him, but if he killed the messenger this was justifiable in him, being in his own defence, so as to sue forth a pardon of course; these and many other cases of like nature are so clear and well known, that I will not presume to multiply particulars.

THAT the king took an oath at his coronation to preserve the peace of the nation, to do justice to all, and to keep and observe the laws which the people have, himself confesses: and it was charged upon the late archbishop, that he emasculated the oath, and left out very material words, "Which the people shall choose *," which certainly he durst not have done, without the king's special command; and it seems to me no light presumption, that from that very day he had a design to alter and subvert the fundamental laws, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; but though there had been no oath, yet by special office and duty of his place, every king of England is obliged to act for the peoples good; for all power as it is originally in the people (he must needs be extreme ignorant, malicious, or a self-destroyer, that shall deny it) so it is given forth for their preservation, nothing for their destruction; for a king to rule by lust and not by law, is a creature that was never of God's making, not of God's approbation, but his permission; and though such men are said to be Gods on earth, 'tis in no other sense than the Devil is called the God of this world: it seems that one passage which the king would have offered to the court (which was not permitted him to dispute the supreme authority of the nation, and standing mute, the charge being for high treason, it is a conviction in law) was, that 1 Sam. 8. is a copy of the king's commission, by virtue whereof, he as king might rule and govern as he list, that he might take the peoples sons and appoint them for himself for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and take their daughters to be his concubines, and take their fields and vine-yards, and olive-yards, even the best of them, and their goodliest young men, and their asses, and give them to his officers, and to his servants; which indeed is a copy and pattern of an absolute tyrant, and absolute slaves, where the people have no more than the tyrant will afford them: the holy spirit in that chapter does not insinuate what a good king ought to do, but what a wicked king would presume to do. Besides, Saul and David had extraordinary callings, but all just power is now derived from, and conferred by the people; yet in the case of Saul, it is observable, that the people out of pride to be like other nations, desired a king, and such a king as the Heathens had, which were all tyrants; for they that know any thing in history, know that the first four monarchs were all tyrants at first, till they gained the peoples consent. Nimrod the great hunter was Ninus that built Nineveh, the first tyrant and conqueror that had no title; and so were all kingdoms which are not elective till the people's subsequent consent; and though it be by descent, yet it is a continuation of a conquest till the people consent and voluntarily submit to a government, they are but slaves, and in reason they may free themselves if they can: in France the king begins his reign, from the day of his coronation; the archbishop asks the people if he shall be king; the twelve peers, or some that personate them, say, "Yes," they gird the sword about him, then he swears to defend the laws: and is any thing more natural than to keep an oath? And though virtuous kings have prevailed with the people to make their crowns hereditary, yet the coronation shews the shell, that the kernel hath been in. Samuel was a good judge, and there was nothing could be objected against him, therefore God was displeased at their inordinate

* 1. Book of Ord. fol.

desire of a king; and it seems to me that the Lord declares his dislike of all such kings as the Heathens were, that is, kings with an unlimited power, that are not tied to laws; for he gave them a king in his wrath, therein dealing with them as the wise physician with the distempered and impatient patient, who desiring to drink wine, tells him the danger of inflammation, yet wine he will have, and the physician considering a little wine will do but little hurt, rather than his patient by fretting should take greater hurt, prescribes a little white-wine, wherein the physician doth not approve of his drinking wine, but of two evils chooseth the least. The Jews would have a king for majesty and splendor, like the Heathens; God permits this, he approves it not: it seems to me that the Lord renounces the very genus of such kings as are there mentioned; and the old word Conning (by contraction king,) does not signify power or force to do what he will, but a knowing, wise, discreet man, that opens the peoples eyes, and does not lead them by the noses, but govern them with wisdom and discretion for their own good. Therefore, gentlemen royalists, be not so mad as to misconstrue, either the oaths of allegiance or supremacy, or any league or covenant, that any man should swear to give any one leave to cut his throat; the true meaning is, that the king of England was supreme in this land, in opposition to the pope, or any other prince or potentate, as the words of the oath do import, "That no foreign state, prince or potentate, &c." In case of any foreign invasion, the king was by law to be generalissimo, to command the people for their own safety, and so it was expounded by the parliament in 13 Eliz. which for some reason of state was not permitted to be printed with the statutes. Besides God told those kings whom he had formerly anointed, what their duty was; not to exalt themselves overmuch above their brethren, to delight themselves in the law of God; out of which I infer that the Turks, Tartars, Muscovites, French, Spaniards, and all people that live at the beck and nod of tyrannical men, may and ought to free themselves from that tyranny, if, and when they can; for such tyrants that so domineer with a rod of iron, do not govern by God's permissive hand of approbation or benediction, but by the permissive hand of his providence, suffering them to scourge the people, for ends best known to himself, until he open a way for the people to work out their own enfranchisements.

BUT before I speak of the war, it will be necessary for the satisfaction of rational men, to open and prove the king's wicked design, wherewith he stands charged. Now that he had from the beginning of his reign, such a design and endeavour so to tear up the foundations of government, that law should be no protection to any man's person or estate, will clearly appear by what follows.

1. BY his not taking the oath so fully as his predecessors did, that so when the parliament should tender good laws to him for the royal assent, he might readily answer, that he was not by oath obliged to confirm or corroborate the same.

2. BY his dishonourable and perfidious dealing with the people at his coronation, when he set forth a proclamation, that in regard of the infection then spread through the kingdom, he promised to dispense with those knights, that by an old statute were to attend at the coronation, who were thereby required not to attend, but did notwithstanding within few months after take advantage of their absence, and raised a vast sum of money out of their estates at the council-table, where they pleading the said proclamation, for their justification, they were answered that the law of the land was above any proclamation, like that tyrant, that when he could not by law execute a virgin, commanded her to be deflower'd, and then put to death.

3. BY his altering the patents and commissions to the judges, which having heretofore had their places granted to them so long as they should behave themselves well therein, he made them but during pleasure, that so if the judges should not declare the law to be as he would have it, he might with a wet finger remove them, and put in such as should not only say but swear, if need were, that the law was as the king would have it: for when a man shall give five or ten thousand pounds for a judge's place during the king's pleasure, and he shall next day send to him to know his opinion, of a difference in law between the king and a subject, and it shall be intimated unto him that if he do not deliver his opinion for the king, he is likely to be removed out of his place the next day; which if so, he knows not how to live, but must rot in prison for the money which he borrowed to buy his place, as was well known to be some of their cases, who underhand and closely bought great places; (to elude the danger of the statute,) whether this was not too heavy a temptation for the shoulders of most men to bear, is no hard matter to determine; so as upon the matter, that very act of his made the king at the least a potential tyrant; for when that shall be law, which a king shall declare himself, or which shall be declared by those whom he chooses, this brings the people to the very next step to slavery.

BUT that which does irrefragably prove the design, was his restless desire to destroy parliaments, or to make them useless; and for that, who knows not but that there were three or four national meetings

TO THE
R E A D E R.

THE righteous judge, whose judgment is not only inevitable, but infallible, must shortly judge me, and all that concurred to bring the capital delinquent to condign punishment; but in the interim, I desire to be judged by all understanding men in the world, that suffer their judgments to be swayed by reason, and not biassed by private interest, whether ever any man did so much deserve to die: Cain for the murder of one righteous Abel, and David for one Uriah, had been men of death, had not God pardoned them: those thirty-one kings which Joshua hanged up *, and Saul's seven sons, which were but at the worst (as it seems to me) evil counsellors; were they not innocent, nay saints in comparison of this man? Those that crucified Christ did it ignorantly, for had they known him, they had not crucified the Lord of glory. The saints under the ten persecutions suffered by the hands of the Heathens; the Sicilian vespers †, the Parisian massacre of the Protestants, and the gunpowder-plot, were acted and intended by Papists, out of a conceit of merit; but for a Protestant prince, stiled, "The defender of the faith," in a time of light, that had sworn to keep the peace, received tribute to that end, and might have had the very hearts of the people, if they could have given him them without death (the strongest engagements;) I say, for such a one so long to persecute the faithful, destroy and enslave the people by oppressing cruelties: and when Machiavel could not do it, to levy a war to that wicked end, which never any of his ancestors durst attempt; that might at any time with a word of his mouth have stopped all the bleeding veins in the three kingdoms, but would not; and for the satisfying of a base lust, caused more Protestant blood to be shed than ever was spilt, either by Rome, Heathen or Antichristian: Blessed God, what ugly sins lodge in their bosoms, that would have had this man to live! But words are but women, proofs are men; it is reason that must be the chariot to carry men to give their concurrence to this judgment: therefore I shall deliver my thoughts to the courteous reader, as I was prepared for it, if issue had been joined in the cause, but with some addition for illustration sake, desiring excuse for the preamble, because there is some repetition in matter.

* 2 Sam. 21.

† In 1571.

KING CHARLES's CASE.

May it please your lordship,

MY lord president, and this high court, erected for the most comprehensive, impartial, and glorious piece of justice, that ever was acted and executed upon the theatre of England, for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, whom God in his wrath gave to be a king to this nation, and will, I trust, in great love, for his notorious prevarications and blood-guiltiness take him away from us; he that hath been the original of all injustice, and the principal author of more mischiefs to the free-born people of this nation, than the best arithmetician can well enumerate, stands now to give an account of his stewardship, and to receive the good of justice, for all the evil of his injustice and cruelty. Had he ten thousand lives, they could not all satisfy for the numerous, horrid and barbarous massacres of myriads, and legions of innocent persons, which by his commands, commissions and procurements (or at least all the world must needs say, which he might have prevented; and he that suffers any man to be kill'd, when he may save his life without danger of his own, is a murderer) have been cruelly slain, and inhumanly murdered in this renowned Albion. Anglia hath been made an Akeldama, and her younger sister Ireland a land of Ire and misery; and yet this hard-hearted man, as he went out of the court, down the stairs Jan. 22. said (as some of the guard told me and others) That he was not troubled for any of the blood that had been shed, but for the blood of one man (peradventure he meant Strafford) He was no more affected with a list that was brought in to Oxford of five or six thousand slain at Edgehill, than to read one of Ben. Johnson's tragedies: you gentlemen royalists that fought for him, if ye had lost your lives for his sake, you see he would have no more pitied you by his own confession, than you do a poor worm; and yet what heart but would cleave, if it were a rock, melt, if it were ice, break, if it were flint, or dissolve if it were a diamond, to consider that so much precious Protestant blood should be shed in these three kingdoms, so many gallant valiant men of all sorts and conditions, to be sacrificed and lose their lives, and many of them to die so desperately in regard of their eternal conditions, and all this meerly and only for the satisfying and fulfilling of one man's sinful lust and wicked will; a good shepherd is he that lays down his life, or ventures it to save the sheep; but for one to be so proudly wedded to his own conceits, as so maliciously to oppose his private opinion, against the publick judgment and reason of State, and to make head against the parliament, who acknowledged him to be head thereof, so far as to give him the honour of the royal assent, in settling the militia and safety of the people: I say, for a Protestant prince, so beloved at home, and feared abroad, that in love, and by gentle means might have had any thing from the parliament, for him to occasion the shedding of so much blood, for a pretended prerogative, as hereafter will appear nothing in effect but to fix and perpetuate an absolute tyranny; I can say no less, but, O Lucifer! from whence art thou fallen, and what hereticks are they in politicks, that would have had such a man to live? much more that think his actions to have merited love and praise from heaven and earth. But now to dissect the charge.

1. **T**HAT the kings of England are trusted with a limited power to govern by law, the whole stream and current of legal authorities run so limpid and clear, that I should but weary those that know it already, and trouble those that need not know the particular cases; for it is one of the fundamentals of law, that the king is not above the law, but the law above the king: I could easily deraign it from the 1 Edward III. to the jurisdiction of courts, that the king has no more power or authority than what by law is concredited and committed to him; but the most famous authority is

Fortescue, chancellor to Henry VI. (and therefore undoubtedly would not clip his master's prerogative) who most judicially takes a difference between a government wholly regal and seignoral; as in Turkey, Russia, France, Spain, &c. and a government politick and mixed, where the law keeps the beam even between sovereignty and subjection, as in England, Denmark, Swede, and Poland; the first, where the edict of a prince makes the law, resembles an impetuous inundation of the waters, whereby the corn and hay, and other fruits of the earth are spoiled, as when it is midwinter at midsummer; the latter is like a sweet smooth stream, running by the pleasant fields and meadows; that by the law of England the king ought not to impose any thing upon the people, or take any thing away from them to the value of a farthing, but by common consent in parliaments or national meetings; and that the people of common-right, and by several statutes ought to have parliaments yearly, or oftner if need be, for the redress of publick grievances, and for the enacting of good and wholesome laws, and repealing of old statutes of Omeri which are prejudicial to the nation: and that the king hath not by law so much power as a justice of peace, to commit any man to prison for any offence whatsoever, because all such matters were committed to proper courts and officers of justice: and if the king by his verbal command send for any person to come before him, if the party refused to attend, and the messenger endeavouring to force him, they fell to blows; if the messenger killed the party sent for, this by the law is murder in him, but if he killed the messenger this was justifiable in him, being in his own defence, so as to sue forth a pardon of course; these and many other cases of like nature are so clear and well known, that I will not presume to multiply particulars.

THAT the king took an oath at his coronation to preserve the peace of the nation, to do justice to all, and to keep and observe the laws which the people have, himself confesses: and it was charged upon the late archbishop, that he emasculated the oath, and left out very material words, "Which the people shall choose *," which certainly he durst not have done, without the king's special command; and it seems to me no light presumption, that from that very day he had a design to alter and subvert the fundamental laws, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; but though there had been no oath, yet by special office and duty of his place, every king of England is obliged to act for the peoples good; for all power as it is originally in the people (he must needs be extreme ignorant, malicious, or a self-destroyer, that shall deny it) so it is given forth for their preservation, nothing for their destruction; for a king to rule by lust and not by law, is a creature that was never of God's making, not of God's approbation, but his permission; and though such men are said to be Gods on earth, 'tis in no other sense than the Devil is called the God of this world: it seems that one passage which the king would have offered to the court (which was not permitted him to dispute the supreme authority of the nation, and standing mute, the charge being for high treason, it is a conviction in law) was, that 1 Sam. 8. is a copy of the king's commission, by virtue whereof, he as king might rule and govern as he list, that he might take the peoples sons and appoint them for himself for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and take their daughters to be his confectionaries, and take their fields and vine-yards, and olive-yards, even the best of them, and their goodliest young men, and their asses, and give them to his officers, and to his servants; which indeed is a copy and pattern of an absolute tyrant, and absolute slaves, where the people have no more then the tyrant will afford them: the holy spirit in that chapter does not insinuate what a good king ought to do, but what a wicked king would presume to do. Besides, Saul and David had extraordinary callings, but all just power is now derived from, and conferred by the people; yet in the case of Saul, it is observable, that the people out of pride to be like other nations, desired a king, and such a king as the Heathens had, which were all tyrants; for they that know any thing in history, know that the first four monarchs were all tyrants at first, till they gained the peoples consent. Nimrod the great hunter was Ninus that built Nineveh, the first tyrant and conqueror that had no title; and so were all kingdoms which are not elective till the people's subsequent consent; and though it be by descent, yet it is a continuation of a conquest till the people consent and voluntarily submit to a government, they are but slaves, and in reason they may free themselves if they can: in France the king begins his reign, from the day of his coronation; the archbishop asks the people if he shall be king; the twelve peers, or some that personate them, say, "Yes," they gird the sword about him, then he swears to defend the laws: and is any thing more natural than to keep an oath? And though virtuous kings have prevailed with the people to make their crowns hereditary, yet the coronation shews the shell, that the kernel hath been in. Samuel was a good judge, and there was nothing could be objected against him, therefore God was displeased at their inordinate

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meetings in parliament in the first four years of his reign, which were called for supply to bring money into his coffers in point of subsidies, rather than for any benefit to the people, as may appear by the few good laws that were then made. But that which is most memorable, is the untimely dissolving of the parliament in 4 Car. when Sir John Elliot and others (who managed a conference with the house of peers concerning the duke of Buckingham, who amongst other things was charged concerning the death of king James) were committed close prisoner to the Tower, where he lost his life by cruel indurance. Which I may not pass over without a special animadversion: for sure there is no Turk or Heathen but will say, that if he were any way guilty of his father's death, let him die for it.

I WOULD not willingly be so injurious to the honest reader, as to make him buy that again which he had formerly met with in the parliament's declaration or elsewhere; in such a case a marginal reference may be sufficient. Nor would I herein be so presumptuous as to prevent any thing that happily may be intended in any declaration for more general satisfaction; but humbly offer a student's mite which satisfies myself, with submission to better judgments.

How the king first came to the crown, God and his own conscience best knew. It was well known and observed at court, that a little before, he was a professed enemy to the duke of Buckingham; but instantly upon the death of king James, took him into such special protection, grace and favour, that upon the matter he divided the kingdom with him. And when the earl of Bristol had exhibited a charge against the said duke, the thirteenth article whereof concerned the death of king James, he instantly dissolved that parliament, that so he might protect the duke from the justice thereof, and would never suffer any legal enquiry to be made for his father's death. The rabbins observe, that that which stuck most with Abraham about God's command to sacrifice Isaac, was this: "Can I not be obedient, unless I be unnatural? What will the heathens say, when they hear "I have killed my only son?" What will an Indian say to this case? A king hath all power in his hands to do justice; there is one accused upon strong presumptions at the least, for poisoning that king's father; the king protects him from justice; whether do you believe that himself had any hand in his father's death? Had the duke been accused for the death of a beggar, he ought not to have protected him from a judicial trial. We know that by law it is no less than misprision of treason to conceal a treason; and to conceal a murder, strongly implies a guilt thereof, and makes him a kind of accessory to the fact. He that hath no nature to do justice to his own father, could it ever be expected that he should do justice to others? Was he fit to continue a father to the people, who was without natural affection to his own father? Will he love a kingdom, that shewed no love to himself, unless it was that he durst not suffer inquisition to be made for it? But I leave it as a riddle, which at the day of judgment will be expounded and unriddled, for some sins will not be made manifest till that day; with this only, that had he made the law of God his delight, and studied therein night and day, as God commanded his kings to do; or had he but studied scripture half as much as Ben Johnson or Shakespeare, he might have learnt, that when * Amaziah was settled in the kingdom, he suddenly did justice upon those servants which had killed his father Joash: he did not by any pretended prerogative excuse or protect them, but delivered them up into the hands of that justice which the horridness of the fact did undoubtedly demerit.

THAT parliament † 4 Car. proving so abortive, the king sets forth a ‡ proclamation, that none should presume to move him to call parliaments, for he knew how to raise monies enough without the help of parliaments, therefore in twelve years he refuseth to call any. In which interval and intermission, how he had oppressed the people by incroachments and usurpations upon their liberties and properties; and what vast sums of money he had forcibly exacted and exhausted by illegal patents and monopolies of all sorts, I refer the reader to that most judicious and full "Declaration of the state of the kingdom," published in the beginning of this parliament. That judgment of ship-money did upon the matter formalize the people absolute slaves, and him an absolute tyrant: for if the king may take from the people in case of necessity, and himself shall be judge of that necessity, then cannot any man say that he is worth sixpence; for if the king say that he hath need of that sixpence, then by law he must have it; I mean that great Nimrod, that would have made all England a forest, and the people which the bishop calls his sheep, to be his venison to be hunted at his pleasure.

NOR does the common objection, "That the judges and evil counsellors, and not the king, ought to be responsible for such male-administrations, injustice and oppression;" bear the weight of a

* 2 Kings xii. 20. and xiv. 1, 5. † 27 Mar. ‡ 5 Car.

feather in the ballance of right reason. For, 1. Who made such wicked and corrupt judges? were they not his own creatures? and ought not every man to be accountable for the works of his own hands? He that does not hinder the doing of evil, if it lies in his power to prevent it, is guilty of it as a commander thereof. He that suffereth those black stars to inflict such barbarous cruelties and unheard-of punishments, as branding, flitting of noses, &c. upon honest men, to the dishonour of the protestant religion, and disgrace of the image of God shining in the face of man, he well deserved to have been so served. But, 2. He had the benefit of those illegal fines and judgments. I agree, that if a judge shall oppress I. S. for the benefit of I. D. the king ought not to answer for this, but the judge, unless he protect the judge against the complaint of I. S. and in that case he makes himself guilty of it. But when an unjust judgment is given against I. S. for the king's benefit, and the fine to come immediately into his coffers; he that receives the money, must needs be presumed to consent to the judgment. But, 3. mark a Machiavel policy; "Call no parliaments to question the injustice and corruption of judges for the people's relief; and make your own judges, and let that be law that they declare; whether it be reasonable or unreasonable it is no matter."

BUT then how came it to pass that we had any more parliaments? Had we not a gracious king to call a parliament when there was so much need of it? and to pass so many gracious acts to put down the Star-chamber, &c. Nothing less, it was not any voluntary free act of grace, not the least ingredient or tincture of love or good affection to the people, that called the short parliament in 1640, but to serve his own turn against the Scots, whom he then had designed to enslave; and those seven acts of grace which the king past, were no more than his duty to do, nor half so much, but giving the people a taste of their own gifts, and he dissents with them about the militia, which commanded all the rest; he never intended thereby any more good and security to the people, than he that stealing the goose leaves the feathers behind him: But to answer the question, thus it was:

THE king being wholly given up to be led by the counsels of a jesuited party, who endeavoured to throw a bone of dissention among us, that they might cast in their net into our troubled waters, and catch more fish; for St. Peter's see perswaded the king, to set up a new form of prayer in Scotland, and laid the bait so cunningly that whether they saw it or not, they were undone; if they saw the mystery of iniquity couched in it, they would resist, and so merit punishment for rebelling; if they swallowed it, it would make way for worse; well, they saw the poison, and refused to taste it; the king makes war; and many that loved honour and wealth more than God, assisted him; down he went with an army, but his treasure wasted in a short time; fight they would not for fear of an after-reckoning; some commanders propound that they should make their demands, and the king grants all, comes back to London, and burns the Pacification, saying it was counterfeit, they reassume their forts, he raises a second war against them, and was necessitated to call a parliament, offering to lay down ship-money for twelve subsidies; they refuse; the king in high displeasure breaks off the parliament, and in a declaration commands them not to think of any more parliaments, for he would never call another.

THERE was a king of Egypt that cruelly oppressed the people; they poor slaves complaining to one another, he feared a rising, and commanded that none should complain upon pain of cruel death; spies being abroad, they often met, but durst not speak, but parted with tears in their eyes, which declared that they had more to utter, but durst not; this struck him to greater fears, he commanded that none should look upon one another's eyes at parting; therefore their griefs being too great to be smothered, they fetch'd a deep sigh when they parted, which moved them so to compassionate one another's wrongs, that they ran in and killed the tyrant. The long hatching Irish treason was now ripe, and therefore it was necessary that England and Scotland should be in combustion, lest we might help the Irish protestants; well, the Scots get Newcastle, he knew they would trust him no more, he had so often broke with them, therefore no hopes to get them out by a treaty; many lords and the city petition for a parliament, the king was at such a necessity that yield he must, to that which he most abhorred: God had brought him to such a strait, he that a few months before assumed the power of God, commanding men not to think of parliaments, to restrain the free thoughts of the heart of man, was constrained to call one which they knew he would break off when the Scots were sent home, therefore got a confirmation of it, that he should not dissolve it without the consent of both houses, of which he had no hopes, or by force which he suddenly attempted, and the English army in the North was to have come up to confound the parliament and this rebellious and disloyal city, as the king called it, and for their pains was promised thirty thousand pounds and the plunder, as by the examinations of colonel Goring, Legge, &c. doth more fully appear.

AND

AND here by the way I cannot but commend the city malignants, he calls them rebels, they call him a gracious king; he by his proclamation at Oxford prohibits all commerce and intercourse of trade between this populous city (the life and interest whereof consists in trade, without which many thousands cannot subsist) and other parts of the kingdom, still they do good against evil, and petitioning him so often to cut their throats, are troubled at nothing so much as that they are not reduced to that former and a worse bondage than when there was a lord * warden made in the city, and the king sent for as much of their estates as he pleased. But surely the Oxfordshire-men are more to be commended; for when the king had commanded by his † proclamation, that what corn, hay, and other provision in the county of Oxford could not be fetch'd into the said city for his garrison, should be consumed and destroyed by fire, for fear it should fall into the hands of the parliament's friends; a cruelty not to be parallel'd by an infidel, heathen, or pagan king, nor to be presided amongst the most avowed and professed enemies, much less from a king to his subjects; they resolvedn ever to trust him any more.

BUT the great question will be, What hath been the true ground and occasion of the war? which unless I clear, and put it out of question, as the charge imports, I shall fall short of what I chiefly aim at, viz. "That the king set up his standard of war, for the advancement and upholding of his personal interest, power, and pretended prerogative, against the publick interest of common right, peace and safety;" and thus I prove it:

1. He fought for the militia by sea and land, to have it at his absolute dispose, and to justify and maintain his illegal commissions of array; and this he pretended was his birth-right by the law of England: which if it were so, then might he by the same reason command all the money in the kingdom: for he that carries the sword, will command the purse.

2. THE next thing that he pretended to fight for, was his power to call parliaments when he pleased, and dissolve them when he list: If they will serve his turn, then they may sit by a law to enslave the people; so that the people had better choose all the courtiers and king's favourites at first, than to trouble themselves with ludicrous elections to assemble the freeholders together, to their great labour and expence both of time and coin, and those which are chosen knights and burgeses to make great preparations, to take long journies to London themselves and their attendants, to see the king and lords in their parliament robes ride in state to the house, and with Domitian to catch flies; and no sooner shall there be any breathings, or a spirit of justice stirring and discovered in the house of commons, but the king sends the black rod, and dissolves the parliament, and sends them back again as wise as they were before, but not with so much money in their purses, to tell stories to the freeholders of the bravery of the king and lords.

3. WELL, but if this be too gross, and that the people begin to murmur and clamour for another parliament, then there goes out another summons, and they meet, and sit for some time, but to as much purpose as before; for when the commons have presented any bill for the redress of a publick grievance, then the king hath several games to play to make all fruitless; as, first his own negative voice that if lords and commons are both agreed, then he will advise; which (I know not by what strange doctrine) hath been of late construed to be a plain denial, though under favour at the first it was no more but to allow him two or three days time to consider of the equity of the law; in which time if he could not convince them of the injustice of it, then ought he by his oath and by law to consent to it.

4. BUT if by this means the king had contracted hard thoughts from the people, and that not only the commons, but many of the lords, that have the same noble blood running in their veins, as those English barons, whose swords were the chief instruments that purchased Magna Charta; then, that the king might be sure to put some others between him and the people's hatred. The next prerogative that he pretended to have, was to be the sole judge of chivalry, to have the sole power of conferring honours, to make as many lords as he pleased, that so he may be sure to have two against one, if the house of commons (by reason of the multitude of burgeses, which he likewise pretended a power to make as many borough-towns and corporations as he pleased) were not pack'd also: And this is that glorious privilege of the English parliament, so much admired for just nothing; for if his pretended prerogative might stand for law, as was challenged by his adherents, never was there a purer cheat put upon any people, nor a more ready way to enslave them, than by privilege of parliament, being just such a mockery of the people, as that mock-parliament at Oxford was, where the king's consent must be the figure, and the representative stand but for a cypher.

* Darlingrub.

† 15 Apr. 20 Car.

5. BUT then out of parliament the people are made to believe, That the king hath committed all justice to the judges, and distributed the execution thereof into several courts; and that the king cannot so much as imprison a man, nor impose any thing upon, nor take any thing away from the people, as by law he ought not to do: But now see what prerogative he challenges.

1. IF the king have a mind to have any publick-spirited man removed out of the way, this man is killed, the murderer known, a letter comes to the judge, and it may be it shall be found but manslaughter; if it be found murder, the man is condemned, but the king grants him a pardon, which the judges will allow, if the word murder be in it; but because it is too gross to pardon murder, therefore the king shall grant him a lease of his life for seven years, and then renew it (like a bishop's lease) as he did to major Prichard, who was lately justified, who being a servant to the earl of Lindsey, murdered a gentleman in Lincolnshire, and was condemned, and had a lease of his life from the king, as his own friends have credibly told me.

2. FOR matter of liberty: The king or any courtier sends a man to prison, if the judge set him at liberty, then put him out of his place, a temptation too heavy for those that love money and honour more than God, to bear; therefore any judgment that is given between the king and a subject, it is not worth a rush, for what will not money do?

NEXT he challenges a prerogative to enhance and debase money, which by law was allowed him, so far as to balance trade, and no further; that if gold went high beyond sea, it might not be cheap here, to have it all bought up and transported: but under colour of that he challenges a prerogative, that the king may by proclamation make leather current, or make a six-pence go for twenty shillings, or a twenty shillings for six-pence: which, not to mention any thing of the project of farthings or brads money, he that challenges such a prerogative, is a potential tyrant; for if he may make my twelve-pence in my pocket worth but two-pence, what property hath any man in any thing that he enjoys?

ANOTHER prerogative pretended was, That the king may avoid any grant, and so may couzen and cheat any man by law, the ground whereof is, That the king's grants shall be taken according to his intention, which in a sober sense I wish, that all men's grants might be so construed according to their intentions, expressed by word or writing; but by this means it being hard to know what the king intended, his grants have been like the devil's oracles, taken in any contrary sense for his own advantage.

1. REP. In the famous case of Altonwood's there is vouched the lord Lovel's case, That the king granted lands to the lord Lovel and his heirs male, not for service done, but for a valuable consideration of money paid: the patentee well hoped to have enjoyed the land, not only during his life, but that his heirs male, at least of his body, should have likewise enjoyed it: but the judges finding, it seems, that the king was willing to keep the money, and have his land again (for what other reason no mortal man can fathom) resolved that it was a void grant, and that nothing passed to the patentee. I might instance in many cases of like nature, throughout all the reports, as one once made his boast, that he never made or passed any patent or charter from the crown, but he reserved one starting hole or other, and knew how to avoid it, and so merely to cozen and defraud the poor patentee. So that now put all these prerogatives together; 1. The militia by sea and land. 2. A liberty to call parliaments when he pleased, and to adjourn, prorogue or dissolve them at pleasure. 3. A negative voice, that the people cannot save themselves without him, and must cut their own throats, if commanded so to do. 4. The nomination and making of all the judges, that upon peril of the loss of their places, must declare the law to be as he pleases. 5. A power to confer honours upon whom, and how he pleases: A covetous base wretch for five or ten thousand pounds to be courted, who deserves to be carted. 6. To pardon murderers, whom the Lord says shall not be pardoned. 7. To set the value and price of monies as he pleases, that if he be to pay ten thousand pounds, he may make leather by his proclamation to be current that day, or a five shillings to pass for twenty shillings; and if to receive so much, a twenty shillings to pass for five shillings. And lastly, a legal theft to avoid his own grants: I may boldly throw the gantlet, and challenge all the Machiavels in the world, to invent such an exquisite platform of tyrannical domination, and such a perfect tyranny without maim or blemish, as this is, and that by a law, which is worst of all. But the truth is, these are no legal prerogatives, but usurpations, encroachments and invasions upon the people's rights and liberties, and this easily effected without any great depth of policy; for it is but being sure to call no parliaments, or make them useless, and make the judges places profitable, and place avarice upon the bench, and no doubt but the law shall sound as the king would have it: but let me thus far satisfy the ingenuous reader, that all the judges in England cannot make one case to be law that is not reason, no more than they.

they can prove a hair to be white that is black, which if they should so declare or adjudge, it is a meer nullity; for law must be reason adjudged, where reason is the genus, and the judgment in some court, makes the differentia; and I never found that the fair hand of the common law of England, ever reached out any prerogative to the king above the meanest man, but in three cases: 1. In matters of honour and pre-eminence to his person, and in matters of interest, that he should have mines royal of gold and silver, in whose land soever they were discovered; and fishes royal, as sturgeons and whales, in whose streams or water soever they were taken, which very rarely happened, or to have tythes out of a parish that no body else could challenge; for says the law, "The most noble persons are to have the most noble things." 2. To have his patents freed from deceit, that he be not over-reached or couzened in his contracts, being employed about the great and arduous affairs of the kingdom. 3. His rights to be freed from incursion of time, not to be bound up by any statute of non-claim; for indeed possession is a vain plea, when the matter of right is in question, for right can never die; and some such honourable privileges of mending his plea, or suing in what court he will, and some such prerogatives of a middle indifferent nature, that could not be prejudicial to the people: but that the law of England should give the king any such vast, immense, precipitating power, or any such god-like state, that he ought not to be accountable for wicked actions, or male-administrations and mis-government; (as he hath challenged and averred in his answer to the petition of right,) or any such principles of tyranny, which are as inconsistent with the people's liberties and safety, as the ark and *Dagon*, light and darkness, in an intensive degree, is a most vain and irrational thing to imagine; and yet that was the ground of the war, as himself often declared, and that would not have half contented him, if he had come in by the sword. But some rational men object, How can it be murder, say they, for the king to raise forces against the parliament? since there is no other way of determining differences between the king and his subjects, but by the sword, for the law is no competent judge between two supreme powers; and then if it be only a contending for each other's right, where is the malice, that makes the killing of a man murder? Take the answer thus, first, How is it possible to imagine two supreme powers in one nation, no more than two suns in one firmament; if the king be supreme, the parliament must be subordinate; if they supreme, then he subordinate: but then it is alleged, That the king challenged a power only co-ordinate, that the parliament could do nothing without him, nor he without them: under favour, two powers co-ordinate is as absurd as the other, for though in quiet times the commons have waited upon the king, and allowed him a negative voice in matters of less concernment, where delay could not prove dangerous to the people, yet when the commons shall vote that the kingdom is in danger, unless the militia be so and so settled, now if he will not agree to it, they are bound in duty to do it themselves: and it is impossible to imagine that ever any man should have the consent of the people to be their king upon other conditions; without which no man ever had right to wear the diadem; for conquest makes a title amongst wolves and bears, but not amongst men.

WHEN the first agreement was concerning the power of parliaments, if the king should have said, Gentlemen, are you content to allow me any negative voice, that if you vote the kingdom to be in danger, unless such an act pass, if I refuse to assent, shall nothing be done in that case? surely no rational man but would have answered, May it please your majesty, we shall use all dutiful means to procure your royal assent, but if you still refuse, we must not sit still and see ourselves ruined, we must and will save ourselves whether you will or no; and will any man say that the king's power is diminished because he cannot hurt the people, or that a man is less in health that hath many physicians to attend him: God is omnipotent that cannot sin, and all power is for the people's good, but a prince may not say that is for the people's good, which they say and feel to be for their hurt. And as for the malice, the law implies that; as when a thief sets upon a man to rob him, he hath no spite to the man, but love to the money: but it is an imply'd malice, that he will kill the people unless they will be slaves.

Q. BUT by what law is the king condemned?

R. BY the fundamental law of this kingdom, by the general law of all nations, and the unanimous consent of all rational men in the world, written in every man's heart with the pen of a diamond in capital letters, and a character so legible, that he that runs may read, viz. That when any man is entrusted with the sword for the protection and preservation of the people, if this man shall employ it to their destruction, which was put into his hand for their safety, by the law of that land he becomes an enemy to that people, and deserves the most exemplary and severe punishment that can be invented: and this is the first necessary fundamental law of every kingdom, which by intrinsical rules of government must preserve itself: and this law needed not to be expressed, That if a

a king become a tyrant, he shall die for it, it is so naturally implied; we do not use to make laws which are for the preservation of nature, that a man should eat, and drink, and buy himself clothes, and enjoy other natural comforts; no kingdom ever made any laws for it: and as we are to defend ourselves naturally, without any written law, from hunger and cold, so from outward violence; therefore if a king would destroy a people, it is absurd and ridiculous to ask by what law he is to die. And this law of nature is the law of God written in the fleshly tables of men's hearts, that like the elder sister, hath a prerogative right of power before any positive law whatsoever; and this law of nature is an indubitable legislative authority of itself, that hath a suspensible power over all human laws. If any man shall by express covenant under hand and seal give power to another man to kill him, this is a void contract, being destructive to humanity; and by the law of † England any act or agreement against the laws of God or nature, is a meer nullity: for as man hath no hand in the making of the laws of God or nature, no more hath he power to mar or alter them. If the pilot of a ship be drunk, and running upon a rock, if the passengers cannot otherwise prevent it, they may throw him into the sea to cool him: and this question hath received resolution this parliament: when the militia of an army is committed to a general, it is not with any express condition, That he shall not turn the mouths of his cannons against his own soldiers, for that is so naturally and necessarily implied, that it is needless to be expressed; insomuch as if he did attempt or command such a thing against the nature of his trust and place, it did ipso facto estate the army in a right of disobedience, unless any man be so grossly ignorant to think that obedience binds men to cut their own throats, or their companions: nor is this any secret of the law which hath lain hid from the beginning, and now brought out to bring him to justice: but that which is co-natural with every man, and innate in his judgment and reason, and is as ancient as the first king, and an epidemical binding law in all nations in the world: for when many families agree, for the preservation of human society, to invest any king or governor with power and authority, upon the acceptance thereof, there is a mutual trust and confidence between them, That the king shall improve his power for their good, and make it his work to procure their safeties, and they to provide for his honour, which is done to the commonwealth in him, as the sword and ensigns of honour carried before the lord mayor are for the honour of the city; now as when any one of this people shall compass the death of the governor, ruling well, this is a treason punishable with death for the wrong done to the community, and anathema be to such a man: so when he or they that are trusted to fight the peoples battles, and to procure their welfare, shall prevaricate, and act to the enslaving or destroying of the people, who are their liege lords, and all governors are but the peoples creatures, and the work of their hands, to be accountable as their stewards (and is it not senseless for the vessel to ask the potter by what law he calls it to account) this is high treason with a witness, and far more transcendent than in the former case, because the king was paid for his service, and the dignity of the person does increase the offence; for a great man of noble education and knowledge to betray so great a trust, and abuse so much love as the parliament shewed to the king by petitioning him as good subjects, praying for him as good christians, advising him as good counsellors, and treating with him as the great counsel of the kingdom, with such infinite care and tenderness of his honour (a course which God's people did not take with Rehoboam, they never petitioned him, but advised him, he refused their council, and hearkened to young counsellors, and they cry, "To thy tents, O Israel," and made quick and short work of it) after all this, and much more longanimity and patience (which God exercises towards man to bring him to repentance) from the lord to the servant, for him not only to set up a standard of war in defiance of his dread sovereign, the people (for so they truly were in nature, though names have befooled us) but to persist so many years in such cruel persecutions, who with a word of his mouth might have made a peace. If ever there were so superlative a treason, let the Indians judge; and whosoever shall break and violate such a trust and confidence, Anathema Maranatha be unto them.

Q. BUT why was there not a written law to make it treason for the king to destroy the people, as well as for a man to compass the king's death?

Resp. BECAUSE our ancestors did never imagine, that any king of England would have been so desperately mad, as to levy a war against the parliament and people: as in the common instance of Parricide, the Romans made no law against him that should kill his father, thinking no child would be so unnatural to be the death of him who was the author of his life; but when a child came to be accused for a murder, there was a more cruel punishment inflicted, than for other Homicides: for he

† Com. E. Leicester's case.

was thrown into the sea in a great leather barrel, with a dog, a jackanapes, a cock, and a viper, significant companions for him, to be deprived of all the elements, as in my "Poor man's case," fol. 10. Nor was there any law made against parents that should kill their children; yet if any man was so unnatural, he had an exemplary punishment.

Obj. BUT is it not a maxim in law, "That the king can do no wrong?"

Resp. FOR any man to say so, is blasphemy against the great God of truth and love: for only God cannot err, because what he wills is right, because he wills it; and it is a sad thing to consider how learned men, for unworthy ends, should use such art to subdue the people, by transportation of their senses, as to make them believe that the law is, that the king can do no wrong.

1. FOR law, I do aver it with confidence, but in all humility, that there is no such case to be found in law, that if the king rob, or murder, or commit such horrid extravagancies, that it is no wrong: indeed the case is put in Hen. VII. by a chief judge, that "If the king kill a man, it is no felony to make him suffer death;" that is to be meant in ordinary courts of justice: but there is no doubt but the parliament might try the king, or appoint others to judge him for it. We find cases in law that the king had been sued even in civil actions.

IN 43 Ed. III. 22. it is resolved, That all manner of actions did lie against the king, as against any lord; and 24 Ed. III. 23. Wilby a learned judge said, That there was a writ "Præcipe Henrico Regi Angliæ."

INDEED Ed. I. did make an act of state, "That men should sue to him by petition;" but this was not agreed unto in parliament, "Thelwall title roye digest of writs," 71. But after, when judges places grew great, the judges and bitesheeps began to sing lullaby, and speak Platentia to the king, that "My lord the king is an angel of light:" now angels are not responsible to men, but God, therefore not kings: and the judges they begin to make the king a God, and say, that by law his stile is Sacred Majesty, though he swears every hour; and Gracious Majesty, though gracious men be the chief objects of his hatred; and that the king hath an omnipotency and omnipresence.

BUT I am sure there is no case in law, that if the king levy a war against the parliament and people, that it is not treason. Possibly that case in Hen. VII. may prove, that if the king should in his passion kill a man, this shall not be felony to take away the king's life: for the inconveniency may be greater to the people, by putting a king to death for one offence and miscarriage, than the execution of justice upon him can advantage them: but what is this to a levying of war against a parliament? never any judge was so devoid of understanding, that he denied that to be treason. But suppose a judge that held his place at the king's pleasure did so, I am sure never any parliament said so. But what if there had in dark times of popery been an act made, that the king might murder, ravish, burn and perpetrate all mischiefs, and play reaks with impunity, will any man that hath but wit enough to measure an ell of cloth, or to tell twenty, say, That this is an obligation for men to stand still and suffer a monster to cut their throats, and grant commission to rob at Suter's-hill; as such and no better are all legal thefts and oppressions? The doctor says, That a statute against giving an alms to a poor man is void: he is no student, I mean, was never bound apprentice to reason, that says, A king cannot commit treason against the people.

Obj. BUT are there not negative words in the statute of 25 Ed. III. That nothing else shall be construed to be treason but what is there expressed?

Resp. THAT statute was intended for the people's safety, that the king's judges should not make traitors by the dozens to gratify the king or courtiers; but it was never meant, to give liberty to the king to destroy the people: and though it be said, That the king and parliament only may declare treason, yet, no doubt, if the king will neglect his duty, it may be so declared without him; for when many are obliged to do any service, if some of them fail, the rest must do it.

Obj. BUT is there any precedent, that ever any man was put to death that did not offend against some written law? For where there is no law, there is no transgression.

Resp. 'Tis very true, where there is neither law of God, nor nature, nor positive law, there can be no transgression, and therefore that scripture is much abused to apply it only to laws positive. For,

1. "Ad ea quæ frequentius, &c." 'Tis out of the sphere of all earthly law-givers to comprehend and express all particular cases that may possibly happen, but such as are of most frequent concurrence; particulars being different, like the several faces of men different from one another, else laws would be too tedious, and as particulars occur, rational men will reduce them to general reasons of state, so as every thing may be adjudged for the good of the community.

2. THE law of England, is "Lex non scripta, and we have a direction in the epistle to the 3. Rep. That when our law-books are silent, we must repair to the law of nature and reason: Holinshed, and

and other historians, tell us, That in 20 Hen. 8. the lord Hungerford was executed for buggery, for which there was then no positive law to make it felony; and before any statute against witchcraft, many witches have been hanged in England, because it is death by God's law: If any Italian mountebank should come over hither, and give any man poison that should lie in his body above a year and a day, and then kill him, as it is reported they can give a man poison that shall consume the body in three years, will any make scruple or question to hang up such a rascal? At Naples, the great treasurer of corn being intrusted with many thousand quarters at three shillings the bushel, for the common good, finding an opportunity to sell it for five shillings the bushel to foreign merchants, enriched himself exceedingly thereby, and corn growing suddenly dear, the council called him to account for it, who proffered to allow three shillings for it, as it was delivered into his custody, and hoped thereby to escape, but for so great a breach of trust, nothing would content the people but to have him hanged; and though there was no positive law for it, to make it treason, yet it was resolved by the best politicians, that it was treason to break so great a trust, by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and that for so great an offence he ought to die, that durst presume to enrich himself by that which might endanger the lives of so many citizens; for as society is natural, so governors must of necessity, and in all reason, provide for the preservation and sustenance of the meanest member, he that is but as the little toe of the body politic.

BUT I know the ingenuous reader desires to hear something concerning Ireland, where there were no less than 12,000 men, women, and children, most barbarously and satannically murdered in the first four months of the rebellion, as appeared by substantial proofs, at the king's bench, at the trial of Macquire. If the king had a hand, or but a little finger in that massacre, every man will say, Let him die the death. But how shall we be assured of that? How can we know the tree better than by its fruits? For my own particular, I have spent many serious thoughts about it, and I desire, in doubtful cases, to give charity the upper hand; but I cannot in my conscience acquit him of it. Many strong presumptions, and several oaths of honest men, that have seen the king's commission for it, cannot but amount to a clear proof. If I meet a man running down stairs with a bloody sword in his hand, and find a man stabbed in the chamber, though I did not see this man run into the body by that which I met, yet if I were of the jury, I durst not but find him guilty of the murder; and I cannot but admire that any man should deny that for him, which he durst never deny for himself: how often was that monstrous rebellion laid in his dish? and yet he durst never absolutely deny it: never was bear so unwillingly brought to the stake, as he was to declare against the rebels; and when he did once call them rebels, he would suffer but forty copies to be printed, and those to be sent to him sealed; and he hath since above forty times called them his subjects, and his good subjects; and sent to Ormond to give special thanks to some of these rebels, as Muskery and Plunket. (which I am confident, by what I see of his height of spirit and undaunted resolution at his trial and since, acting the last part answerable to the former part of his life; he would rather have lost his life, than to have sent thanks to two such incarnate devils, if he had not been as guilty as themselves) Questionless if the king had not been guilty of that blood, he would have made a thousand declarations against those blood-hounds and hell-hounds, that are not to be named but with fire and brimstone, and have sent to all princes in the world for assistance against such accursed devils in the shape of men: but he durst not offend those fiends and fire-brands; for if he had, I verily believe they would soon have produced his commission under his hand and seal of Scotland at Edinburgh, 1641. A copy whereof is in the parliament's hands, attested by oath, dispersed by copies in Ireland, which caused the general rebellion.

Obj. He did not give commission to kill the English, but to take their forts, castles, towns and arms, and come over and help him.

R. AND is it like all this could be effected without the slaughter of the poor English? Did the king ever call them rebels, but in forty proclamations wrung out of him by force, by the parliament's importunity? Murdering the protestants was so acceptable to him, and with this limitation, that none should be published without his further directions, as appears under Nichols's hand, now in the parliament's custody: but the Scots were proclaimed rebels before they killed a man, or had an army, and a prayer against them, enjoined in all churches, but no such matter against the Irish.

WELL, when the rebels were worsted in Ireland, the king makes war here to protect them, which but for his fair words had been prevented, often calling God to witness, he would as soon raise war on his own children; and men from popish principles assist him. Well, we fought in jest. and were kept between winning and losing: the king must not be too strong, lest he revenge himself; nor the parliament too strong, for the commons would rule all, till Naseby fight, that then the king could

keep no more days of thanksgiving so well as we: then he makes a cessation in Ireland, and many Irish came over to help him: English came over with papists, who had scarce wiped their swords since they had killed their wives and children, and had their estates.

BUT this I argue, The rebels knew that the king had declared them traitors, and forty copies were printed; and the first clause of an oath enjoined by the general council of rebels, was, "To bear true faith and allegiance to king Charles; and by all means to maintain his royal prerogative, against the puritans in the parliament of England." Now is any man so weak in his intellectuals, as to imagine, That if the rebels had without the king's command or consent, murdered so many protestants, and he thereupon had really proclaimed them rebels, that they would after this have taken a new oath, to have maintained his prerogative? no, those bloody devils had more wit, than to fight in jest. If the king had once in good earnest proclaimed them rebels, they would have burnt their scabbards, and would not have stiled themselves, the king and queen's army, as they did. And truly, that which the king said for himself, That he would have ventured himself, to have gone in person into Ireland, to suppress that rebellion, is but a poor argument to enforce any man's belief, that he was not guilty of the massacre: for it makes me rather think, that he had some hopes to have returned at the head of 20 or 30,000 rebels, to have destroyed this nation: for when the earl of Leicester was sent by the parliament to subdue the rebels, did not the king hinder him from going? and were not the clothes and provisions which were sent by the parliament, for the relief of the poor protestants there, seized upon by his command, and his men of war, and sold or exchanged for arms and ammunition, to destroy this parliament? And does not every man know, that the rebels in Ireland gave letters of mart, for taking the parliament's ships, but freed the king's as their very good friends? And I have often heard it credibly reported, that the king should say, That nothing more troubled him, but that there was not as much protestant blood running in England and Scotland, as in Ireland. And when that horrid rebellion begun to break forth, how did the papists here triumph and boast, that they hoped e'er long to see London Streets run down in blood? And yet I do not think, that the king was a papist, or that he designed to introduce the pope's supremacy in spiritual things, into this kingdom: but thus it was, a jesuitical party at court was too prevalent in his councils, and some mongrel protestants, that less hated the papists than the puritans, by the queen's mediation, joined all together to destroy the puritans, hoping that the papists, and the Laodicean protestants would agree well enough together. And lastly, if it be said, that if the king and the rebels were never fallen out, what need had Ormond to make a pacification or peace with them by the king's commission, under the great seal of Ireland? Truly there hath been so much dawbing, and so little plain dealing, that I wonder how there comes to be so many beggars.

CONCERNING the betraying of Rochel, to the enslaving of the protestant party in France, I confess, I heard so much of it, and was so shamefully reproached for it in Geneva, and by the protestant ministers in France, that I could believe no less, than that the king was guilty of it. I have heard fearful exclamations from the French protestants against the king, and the late duke of Buckingham, for the betraying of Rochel. And some of the ministers told me, ten years since, That God would be revenged of the wicked king of England, for betraying Rochel: and I have often heard Deodati say, concerning Henry the fourth of France, That the papists had his body, but the protestants had his heart and soul; but for the king of England, The protestants had his body, but the papists had his heart: not that I think he did believe transubstantiation (God forbid I should wrong the dead) but I verily believe, that he loved a papist, better than a puritan.

THE duke of Roan, who was an honest gallant man, and the king's godfather, would often say, that all the blood which was shed in Dauphiny, would be cast upon the king of England's score: for thus it was, the king sent a letter to the Rochellers by sir William Breecher, to assure them, that he would assist them to the uttermost, against the French king, for the liberty of their religion; conditionally, that they would not make any peace without him; and Montague was sent into Savoy, and to the duke of Roan, to assure them from the king, that 30,000 men should be sent out of England, to assist them against the French king, in three fleets: one to land in the isle of Ree, a second in the river of Bourdeaux, and a third in Normandy: whereupon, the duke of Roan being general for the protestants, not suspecting that the French durst assault him in Dauphiny (because the king of England was ready to invade him, as he had promised) drew out his army upon disadvantage: whereupon, the French king employed all his army in Dauphiny against the protestants, who were forced to retreat, and the duke of Roan to fly to Geneva, and the protestants to accept of peace upon very hard conditions, to stand barely at the king's devotion for their liberties, without any cautionary towns of assurance, as formerly they had, being such a peace as the sheep make with the wolves
when

when the dogs are dismiss. And the protestants have ever since cried out to this very day, it is not the French king that did us wrong, for then we could have born it, but it was the king of England, a professed protestant, that betrayed us. And when I have many times entreated Deodati, and others, to have a good opinion of the king, he would answer me, That we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but not to forgive our friends.

THERE is a French book printed about two years since, called "Memoirs du monsieur de Roan," where the king's horrid perfidiousness, and deep dissimulation, is very clearly unfolded and discovered: to instance but in some particulars; the king having solemnly engaged to the Rochellers, that he would hazard all the forces he had in his three kingdoms, rather than they should perish; did in order thereunto, to gain credulity with them, send out eight ships to sea, commanded by sir John Pennington, to assist the Rochellers, as was pretended, but nothing less intended; for Pennington assisted the French king against the Rochellers, which made sir Ferdinando Gorge to go away with the Great Neptune, in detestation of so damnable a plot; and the English masters and owners of ships, refusing to lend their ships to destroy the Rochellers, whom with their souls they desired to relieve, Pennington in a mad spite shot at them.

SUBISE being agent here in England for the French protestants, acquainted the king how basely Pennington had dealt, and that the English ships had mowed down the Rochel ships like grass, not only to the great danger and loss of the Rochellers, but to the eternal dishonour of this nation, scandal of our religion, and disadvantage of the general affairs of all the protestants in Christendom. The king seems to be displeased, and says, What a knave is this Pennington? but whether it was not feigned, let all the world judge: but the thing being so plain, said Subise to the king, Sir, why did the English ships assist the French king, and those that would not, were shot at by your admiral? The French protestants are no fools; how can I make them believe that you intend their welfare? The king was much put to it for a ready answer, but at last thus it was packed up, that the French king had a design to be revenged of Genoa for some former affront; and that the king lent him eight English ships to be employed for Genoa, and that sailing towards Genoa, they met with some of the Rochellers accidentally, and that the English did but look on, and could not help it, not having any commission to fight at that present; wherein the Rochellers might and would have declined a sea fight, if they had not expected our assistance. But still the poor protestants were willing, rather to blame Pennington than the king; who in great seeming zeal, being surety for the last peace between the French king, and his protestant subjects, sends Devick to the duke of Roan, to assure him, That if Rochel were not speedily set at liberty, (which the French king had besieged, contrary to his agreement) he would employ his whole strength, and in his own person see it performed; which being not done; then the king sends the duke of Buckingham to the isle of Ree, and gives new hopes of better success to Subise, commanding the admiral and officers in the fleet, in Subise's hearing, to do nothing without his advice: but when the duke came to land at the isle of Ree, many gallant Englishmen lost their lives, and the duke brought back 300 tons of corn from the Rochellers, which he had borrowed of them, pretending a necessity for the Englishmen, which was but feigned, knowing it was a city impregnable, so long as they had provision within. I confess the Rochellers were not wise, to lend the duke their corn, considering how they had been dealt with: but what a base thing was it, so to betray them, and to swear unto them, that they should have corn enough sent from England, before they wanted it: and for a long time, God did miraculously send them in a new kind of fish, which they never had before. But when the duke came to court, he made the honest English believe, that Rochel would suddenly be relieved, and that there was not the least danger of the loss of it; but secretary Cook, an honest understanding gentleman, and the only friend at court to the Rochellers, labouring to improve his power to send some succour to Rochel, was suddenly sent away from court upon some sleeveless errand, or as some say, to Portsmouth, under colour of providing corn for Rochel; but the duke soon after went thither, and said, His life upon it, Rochel is safe enough: And the next day, Subise being at Portsmouth, he prest the duke of Buckingham most importunately to send relief to Rochel then or never; the duke told him that he had just then heard good news of the victualling of Rochelle, which he was going to tell the king: which Subise making doubt of, the duke affirmed it by an oath, and having the words in his mouth, he was stabbed by Felton, and instantly died: the poor Rochellers seeing themselves so betrayed, exclaimed of the English, and were constrained through famine to surrender the city; yet new assurances came from the king to the duke of Roan, that he should never be abandoned, and that he should not be dismayed nor astonished for the loss of Rochel.

BUT

it may be resented by my lord of Ormond, who having committed to him the management of the affairs of Ireland, and having discharged the trust so faithfully and prudently, may think himself injured in such negotiations by the by. God keep you, and fail not to love him who is entirely,

Yours.

Bridgenorth,
Aug. 9.

The lord Jermin to the lord George Digby. St. Germain,
August 25.

WE have received nothing this week from you, but find by other advertisements the king is still in Wales recruiting his army: I see no danger of perishing before the winter comes in to our relief, at least if our own party be not totally forsaken of their hearts and hands; for if there remain among them either understanding or courage, they will perceive how ill a bargain they must make with their enemies at this time, if they fall into their hands by any way whatsoever. I am now most confident if we hold out till next spring; betwixt this and that we shall find powerful succours. The design of — of which I have often written to you, may now in my judgment be reckoned upon, for we have the money ready, the persons of the same mind, and all the difficulties raised that be in the way, and the business in as good advance as was possible; since we got the money, there is a good reason to expect that within two months (they are promised sooner) we shall have —. This in itself may prove a great thing, but it is considered how it looks upon the condition of our affairs, that are very unlike to receive new life but by a foreign assistance, which reasonably is not to be hoped without securing their passage; nothing sure can appear so necessary for us, therefore pray take great care that there be no delay in the dispatch of all things belonging to it, when there shall be recourse to you in that behalf. I omit to tell you more particulars of this business, both in what estate it is, and how it hath been retarded; but weekly now you shall be advertised. I hear there is some stop in the treaty between Denmark and the Swedes, so that I fear will frustrate Cockeram's negotiation, of which else I should hope very well. The arms that went from hence to the marquis of Montrose, are arrived at Hamborough, and I hope are reimparked from thence; Cockeram would have them go that way; we have no news yet of those sent to him from Holland; what we are to expect from * hence as towards a considerable succour (I mean of a body of men) is to be attended until the end of their campaign; for I confess I am so far abused in the business, as to believe it is equally hard to say we shall obtain no such thing, as to assure it now; for without doubt there is no desire here to see the monarchy of England devolve into another government, and there is as little doubt that there are strong inclinations for the persons of the king and queen,

* France.

and

and desire to contribute to their re-establishment; yet the humbling of the house of Austria, the beating them during the war, or making a glorious peace, I confess are passions that prevail more; and it is no wonder: in the mean time we receive great courtesies. The queen is most civilly and kindly used in all; her pension duly paid; 12,000 pistoles they gave lately for the arms for the marquis of Montrose, and the powder should be sent into the West; 10,000 more they have now given for the ships, which design is infinitely approved by them; and I doubt not but they will give the other 10,000, that the setting them forth will come to; if they should fail, it will be otherwise provided. The queen of England hath given us a sharp alarm of another distemper like her last, but the fear is vanished almost after three fits, but being young in apprehension of the third, she dares not write herself. I am entirely yours.

PRAY send me word whether the barony passed to Mr. Hemflet be an English barony, and to descend upon his son by my lady Stanhop; if not, you are to move the king for the barony of Wotton for that son: this is a business in which the queen was engaged in Holland, upon the important services she received from Hemflet, and she will be very earnest with the king to have done. Pray send an answer to this.

LET the business of the fleet be kept with all secrecy.

To the honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, speaker of the
honourable House of Commons.

S I R,

THESE enclosed letters being brought to my hands by divine providence, I held it my duty to speed to you, because of the great importance of them, and to acquaint you how I came by them.

HAVING some dragoons at Padstow, a packet-boat from Ireland came into the harbour; the dragoons presently endeavoured to board her, and after some small resistance, wherein the captain and the master of the vessel were slain, they entered, seizing upon captain Allen; the said Allen threw a packet and divers loose letters over-board, of which, only these enclosed were recovered: I shall send Allen with all convenient speed up to you, whose examination you have also herewith enclosed: I find him to be a dangerous and subtle man; I believe he hath much in his breast which may be got out of him, by reason he is obnoxious as a spy, and a man I perceive loves his life so well, that good use may be made thereof, to discover by further examination what we have not an opportunity to do here, but yet may be worthy of your knowledge: for it appears by some of the letters, that he hath much entrusted by the earl of Glamorgan to him, to give a verbal accompt of: I have given captain Moulton, who is upon the Irish seas, advertisement of the enemy's intentions. To say no more, you will perceive by the date of the earl of Glamorgan's letters, that he hath the honour, trust and liberty of a very good and loyal subject. I suppose you will see by these letters, what reason there is to hasten recruits
with

with effect, which I must withal represent to be the more needful, in regard of the diminution which cannot but attend these marches; and that hardship the army hath been put to in such a country and at such a season. I must acknowledge your provisions for this army to be very great, and the committee of the army's care, in observing your appointments therein to be answerable. I desire I may faithfully improve your favours, as becomes an honest man, to the glory of God, and your service: and rest

Your most humble servant,

T. Fairfax.

Bodmyn, March 7,
1645.

To the honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, speaker of the
honourable House of Commons.

S I R,

IN my last, which was but yesterday by the post, I gave you an account of the agreement made for the delivery up of Mount-Edgecomb, and the disbanding of the regiments raised in those parts, and of the coming of Mr. Coriton and divers other gentlemen of quality, which is every day more apparent than other, by their hourly sending to the general to be received into the protection of the parliament, which is now in some measure made known to the country, who had this day a meeting upon Bodman-downs: it was but yesterday they had notice, and one hundred of the four had not the notice come to them, yet about eight hundred or nine hundred appeared; and now for the occasion the meeting was desired, which was for this purpose, to let them know the army was come to protect them, not to ruin them; that the soldiers horse and foot had charge to defray their quarters; that if any soldier offered violence unto them, upon complaint it should be redressed; that the gentlemen of the country, naming such and such persons, were come into the parliament, which did very much encourage the commonalty to be the more forward to hearken to what might be for the service of the publick, and defence of their own county: and that which wrought the impression deepest upon their hearts, was Mr. P. his publishing to them the packets taken in the Irish vessel, which I mentioned unto you in the last letter, which he not only shewed unto them, but read the same, and permitted such of them as desired it to read them, and told them they should have copies of Glamorgan's articles, and his other letters, if they desired them, which abundantly gave them satisfaction; and that which put it out of doubt was, that the ship and packets were seized on, and taken by the assistance of the inhabitants at Padstow within their own county but the day before: and indeed it was a very seasonable and remarkable accident as could have happened for the uniting of this county
to

to the parliament, for the very thoughts of Irish and French are hateful unto them: those letters that were most considerable miscarried in the water; which was the earl of Glamorgan's to the prince, Sir Edward Hyde, and to another, which captain Allen, an Irish papist and merchant of Waterford confesseth he had from the hands of the earl of Glamorgan to deliver as aforesaid: upon his examination he said further, That the three hundred Irish desired for the prince's life-guard were to be thus disposed, an hundred to be put into the mount, an hundred to Pendennis, and the other hundred to be a guard to the prince. The general hath sent post to captain Moulton admiral of the Irish coasts, to give him notice in what forwardness the Irish were to be transported, that they may keep out ships at sea for prevention: the trumpet that went with the summons to the lord Hopton is not yet returned. To-morrow early the whole army horse and foot advances towards Truro: all passes, by-lanes and fords being for the most part barricadoed or blockt up; so that if the enemy should slip by (which we no ways fear) their marches will be so slow, that their rear will be engaged before they get half through the passage. Before this come to your hands, without peradventure the business will be very near decided by a treaty or retreat into the sea. There came seven or eight of the prince's servants this day for passes to go home, much lamenting the sudden carrying the prince on shipboard when they dreamed not of it: at Foy we took thirteen pieces of ordnance mounted, besides arms and powder; the first night the town stood upon their guard, but the next morning repented of their folly, and without dispute admitted our forces to come in. Be pleased to hasten down monies to the army, and match and powder with all speed to Lime: neither of these will admit of delay: and hasten recruits that they may meet us when we face about.

Your most humble and faithful servant,

John Rushworth.

Bodman, March 6,
11 at night.

The examination of Allen is sent up by this bearer who can inform you more of the carriage of the man: I hope the bearer will come safe with the letters; he is enjoined to have great care; he comes far with such a trust.

The treaty concluded with the Irish rebels by the earl of Glamorgan.

WHEREAS much time hath been spent in meetings and debates betwixt his excellency James lord marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant and general-governor of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, commissioner to his most excellent Majesty, Charles, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France

and Ireland, &c. for the treating and concluding of a peace in the said kingdom with his Majesty's humble and loyal subjects, the Confederate and Roman Catholicks of the said kingdom of Ireland of the one part; and the right honourable Donogh lord viscount Muskerry, and other commissioners deputed and authorized by the said confederate Roman Catholick subjects of the other part; and thereupon many difficulties did arise, by occasion whereof sundry matters of great weight and consequence necessarily requisite to be condescended unto by his Majesty's said commissioners, for the safety of the said confederate Roman Catholicks, were not hitherto agreed upon, which retarded, and doth as yet retard the conclusion of a firm peace and settlement in the said kingdom. And whereas the right honourable Edward earl of Glamorgan is entrusted and authorized by his most excellent Majesty, to grant and assure to the said confederate Catholick subjects further grace and favours, which the said lord-lieutenant did not as yet in that latitude as they expected grant unto them; and the said earl having seriously considered of all matters and due circumstances of the great affairs now in agitation, which is the peace and quiet of the said kingdom, and the importance thereof, in order to his Majesty's service, and in relation to a peace and settlement in his other kingdoms; and here upon the place having seen the ardent desire of the said Catholicks to assist his Majesty against all that do or shall oppress his royal right or monarchick government; and having discerned the alacrity and cheerfulness of the said Catholicks to embrace honourable conditions of peace, which may preserve their religion and other just interests. In pursuance therefore of his Majesty's authority under his highness's signature royal and signet, bearing date at Oxon. the 12th day of March in the twentieth year of his reign, granted unto the said earl of Glamorgan, the tenor whereof is as followeth, viz. Charles Rex. Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our trusty and right well-beloved cousin Edward earl of Glamorgan, greeting: We reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do by these (as firmly as under our great seal to all intents and purposes) authorize and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholicks in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity any thing be to be condescended unto, wherein our lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at the present publicly to own; therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant with all possible secrecy, and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself upon such valuable considerations, as you in your judgment shall deem fit; we promise in the word of a king and a christian, to ratify and perform the same that shall be granted by you and under your hand and seal; the said confederate Catholicks having by their supplies testified their zeal to our service; and this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient warrant. Given at our court at Oxford under our signet and royal signature the 12th day of March, in the twentieth year of our reign, 1644. To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin Edward earl of Glamorgan. It is therefore granted, accorded and agreed, by and between the said earl of Glamorgan, for and on the

the behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, on the one part; and the right honourable lord viscount Mountgarret, lord president of the supreme council of the said confederate Catholics, the said Donogh lord viscount Muskerry, Alexander Mac Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, Esq; Sir Robert Talbot Barronet, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Geffery Brown, Esq; commissioners in that behalf appointed by the said confederate Roman Catholick subjects of Ireland, for and in the behalf of the said confederate Roman Catholick subjects of the other part, in manner and form following: (that is to say)

1. **I**T is granted, accorded and agreed by the said earl, for and in the behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That all and every the professors of the Roman Catholick religion in the kingdom of Ireland, of whatever estate, degree or quality soever he or they be or shall be, shall for evermore hereafter have and enjoy within the said kingdom, the free and publick use and exercise of the said Roman Catholick religion, and of the respective functions therein.

2. **I**TEM, It is granted, accorded and agreed by the said earl, for and on the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, That the said professors of the Roman Catholick religion, shall hold and enjoy all and every the churches by them enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the 23d of October 1641, and all other churches in the said kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his Majesty's Protestant subjects.

3. **I**TEM, It is granted, accorded and agreed by the said earl, for and in the behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That all and every the Roman Catholick subjects of Ireland, of what estate, condition, degree or quality soever, shall be free and exempted from the jurisdiction of the protestant clergy, and every of them; and that the Roman Catholick clergy of this kingdom shall not be punished, troubled or molested for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective Catholick flocks, in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical.

4. **I**TEM, It is further granted, accorded and agreed by the said earl, for and on the behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That an act shall be passed in the next parliament to be holden in this kingdom, the tenor and purport whereof shall be as followeth, viz. An act for the relief of his Majesty's Catholick subjects of his highness's kingdom of Ireland: whereas by an act made in parliament held in Dublin the second year of the reign of the late queen Eliz. intituled, "An act restoring to the crown the antient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same;" and by one other statute made in the said last mentioned parliament, intituled, "An act for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and the administration of the sacrament," fundry mulcts, penalties, restraints and incapacities, are and have been laid upon the professors of the Roman Catholick religion in this

kingdom, in, for and concerning the use, profession and exercise of their religion and their functions therein, to the great prejudice, trouble and disquiet of the Roman Catholicks in their liberties and estates, and the general disturbance of the whole kingdom. For remedy whereof, and for the better settling, increase and continuance of the peace, unity and tranquility of this kingdom of Ireland; his Majesty, at the humble suit and request of the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, is graciously pleased that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's most excellent Majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That from and after the first day of this session of parliament, it shall and may be lawful to and for all the professors of the Roman Catholick religion, of what degree, condition or quality soever, to have, use and enjoy the free and publick exercise and profession of the said Roman Catholick religion, and of their severall and respective functions therein, without incurring any mulct or penalty whatsoever, or being subject to any restraint or incapacity concerning the same; any article or clause, sentence or provision in the said last-mentioned acts of parliament, or in any other act or acts of parliament, ordinances, law or usage to the contrary, or in any wise notwithstanding. And be it also further enacted, that neither the said statutes, or any other statute, acts or ordinance hereafter made in your Majesty's reign, or in the reign of any of your highness's most noble progenitors or ancestors, and now of force in this kingdom; nor all nor any branch, article, clause and sentence in them or any of them, contained or specified, shall be of force or validity in this realm, to extend to be construed, or adjudged to extend in any wise to inquiet, prejudice, vex or molest the professors of the said Roman Catholick religion, in their persons, lands, hereditaments or goods, for any thing, matter or cause whatsoever, touching and concerning the free and publick use, exercise and enjoyings of their said religion, function and profession. And be it also further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, that your Majesty's Roman Catholick subjects in the said realm of Ireland, from the first day of this session of parliament, shall be, and be taken, deemed and adjudged capable of all offices of trust and advancement, places, degrees and dignities, and preferment whatsoever within your said realm of Ireland, any acts, statutes, usage or law to the contrary notwithstanding. And that other acts shall be passed in the said parliament, according to the tenor of such agreement or concessions as herein are expressed; and that in the mean time the said Roman Catholick subjects, and every of them, shall enjoy the full benefit, freedom and advantage of the said agreements and concessions, and of every of them.

5. ITEM, It is accorded, granted and agreed by the said earl, for and in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, that his excellency the lord marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authorized or to be authorized by his Majesty, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman Catholick religion in their present possession and continuance of the pro-

profession of their said church's jurisdiction, or any other the matters afore-said in these articles agreed and condescended unto by the said earl, until his Majesty's pleasure be signified for confirming and publishing the grants and agreements hereby articulated for and condescended unto by the said earl.

6. ITEM, And the said earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his Majesty's royal word and publick faith unto all and singular the professors of the said Roman Catholick religion within the said kingdom of Ireland, for the due observance and performance of all and every the articles, grants and clauses therein contained, and the concessions herein mentioned to be performed to them.

7. ITEM, It is accorded and agreed, That the said publick faith of the kingdom shall be engaged unto the said earl, by the said commissioners of the said confederate Catholicks, for sending ten thousand men to serve his Majesty, by order and publick declaration of the general assembly now sitting; and that the supreme council of the said confederate Catholicks shall engage themselves to bring the said number of men armed, the one half with muskets, and the other half with pikes, unto any port within this realm, at the election of the said earl, and at such time as he shall appoint, to be by him shipped and transported to serve his Majesty in England, Wales or Scotland, under the command of the said earl of Glamorgan as lord-general of the said army, which army is to be kept together in one entire body; and all other the officers and commanders of the said army are to be named by the supreme council of the said confederate Catholicks, or by such others as the general assembly of the said confederate Catholicks of this kingdom shall entrust therewith: in witness whereof, the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals the 25th day of August, 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of John Somersset, Jeffery Barron, Robert Barry.

Copia vera collata fideliter cum Originali: Thomas Cashel, Franc. Patricius, Waterford & Lismore.

This is a true copy of the original found in the archbishop of Tuam's carriage; compared by us, Arthur Annesley, Rob. King.

Articles of agreement made and concluded upon by and between the right honourable Edward earl of Glamorgan, in pursuance, and by virtue of his Majesty's authority under his signet and royal signature, bearing date at Oxford the twelfth day of March in the twentieth year of his reign, for and on the behalf of his most excellent Majesty of the one part; and the right honourable Richard lord viscount Mountgarret, lord-president of the supreme council of the confederate Catholicks of Ireland, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Alex. Mac Donnel and Nicholas Plunket, esquires, Sir Robert Talbot Baronet, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy and Jeffery Brown, esquires, for and on the behalf of his Majesty's Roman Catholick subjects, and the Catholick clergy in Ireland, of the other part.

IMPRIMIS, The said earl doth grant, conclude and agree, on the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to and with the said Richard lord viscount Mountgarret, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Alex. Mac Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, esquires; Sir Robert Talbot baronet, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, esquires: that the Roman Catholick clergy of the said kingdom shall and may from henceforth for ever, hold and enjoy all and every such lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments whatsoever by them respectively enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the three and twentieth of October, one thousand six hundred forty-one: and all other such lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments belonging to the clergy within this kingdom, other than such as are actually now enjoyed by his Majesty's Protestant clergy.

ITEM, It is granted, concluded and agreed on by the said Richard lord viscount Mountgarret, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Alex. Mac Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, on the behalf of the confederate Roman Catholicks of Ireland, that two parts in three parts to be divided of all the said lands, tythes, and hereditaments whatsoever, mentioned in the precedent article, shall for three years next ensuing the feast of Easter, which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1646, be disposed of and converted for and to the use of his Majesty's forces, employed or to be employed in his service, and the other third part to the use of the said clergy respectively, and so the like disposition to be renewed from three years to three years, by the said clergy during the wars.

ITEM,

ITEM, It is accorded and agreed by the said earl of Glamorgan, for and in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, that his excellency the lord marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authorized or to be authorized by his Majesty, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman Catholick religion in their present possession and continuance of the possession of their churches, lands, tenements, tythes, hereditaments, jurisdiction, or any other the matters aforesaid in these articles agreed and condescended to by the said earl, until his Majesty's pleasure be signified for confirming and publishing the grants herein articulated for and condescended unto by the said earl.

ITEM, It is accorded, granted and agreed by the said earl for and in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, that an act shall be passed in the next parliament to be held in this kingdom, according to the tenor of such agreements or concessions as herein are expressed, and that in the mean time the said clergy shall enjoy the full benefit, freedom and advantage of the said agreements and concessions and every of them.

AND the said earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his Majesty's royal word and publick faith unto the said lord viscount Mountgarret, and the rest of the said commissioners, for the due observation and performance of all and every the articles, agreements and concessions herein contained and mentioned, to be performed to the said Roman Catholick clergy and every of them. In witness whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals the 25th day of August, Anno Dom. 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of John Sommerfet, Jeffery Barron, Rob. Barry.

WHEREAS in these articles touching the clergy livings, the right honourable the earl of Glamorgan is obliged in his Majesty's behalf to secure the concessions in these articles by act of parliament: we holding that manner of securing those grants as to the clergy livings to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his Majesty, than by doing thereof, and securing those concessions otherwise as to the said livings, the said earl undertaking and promising in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, as hereby he doth undertake to settle the said concessions, and secure them to the clergy, and their respective successors, in another secure way, other than by parliament at present, till a fit opportunity be offered for securing the same, do agree and condescend thereunto. And this instrument by his lordship signed, was before the perfecting thereof intended to that purpose, as to the said livings, to which purpose we have mutually signed this indorsement. And it is further intended, that the
Catholick

Catholick clergy shall not be interrupted by parliament, or otherwise, as to the said livings, contrary to the meaning of these articles.

GLAMORGAN.

Copia vera collata fideliter cum originali, Thomas Cashel, Fra. Patricius, Waterford & Lismore.

This is a true copy of the original found in the archbishop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us, Arthur Annesly, Rob. King.

I EDWARD earl of Glamorgan do protest and swear faithfully to acquaint the king's most excellent Majesty with the proceedings of this kingdom in order to his service, and to the indearment of this nation, and punctual performance of what I have (as authorized by his Majesty) obliged myself to see performed, and in default, not to permit the army intrusted into my charge to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his Majesty, and by his Majesty be performed,

GLAMORGAN.

Sept. 3. 1645.

Copia vera concordans de verbo ad verbum fideliter cum Origin. Tho. Cashel.

This is a true copy of the original found in the archbishop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us, Arthur Annesley, Rob. King.

King CHARLES his CASE:

OR, AN

APPEAL to all rational Men,

CONCERNING HIS

TRYAL

IN THE

HIGH COURT of JUSTICE.

Being, for the most Part,

That which was intended to have been delivered at the Bar, if
the KING had pleaded to the Charge, and put himself
upon a fair Tryal.

WITH

An additional Opinion concerning the Death of King JAMES, the Loss of
ROCHEL, and the Blood of IRELAND.

By JOHN COOK, of Gray's-Inn, Barrister.

Justice is an excellent Virtue:
Reason is the Life of the Law.
Womanish Pity to mourn for a Tyrant,
Is a deceitful Cruelty to a City.

TO THE
R E A D E R.

THE righteous judge, whose judgment is not only inevitable, but infallible, must shortly judge me, and all that concurred to bring the capital delinquent to condign punishment; but in the interim, I desire to be judged by all understanding men in the world, that suffer their judgments to be swayed by reason, and not biased by private interest, whether ever any man did so much deserve to die: Cain for the murder of one righteous Abel, and David for one Uriah, had been men of death, had not God pardoned them: those thirty-one kings which Joshua hanged up *, and Saul's seven sons, which were but at the worst (as it seems to me) evil counsellors; were they not innocent, nay saints in comparison of this man? Those that crucified Christ did it ignorantly, for had they known him, they had not crucified the Lord of glory. The saints under the ten persecutions suffered by the hands of the Heathens; the Sicilian vespers †, the Parisian massacre of the Protestants, and the gunpowder-plot, were acted and intended by Papists, out of a conceit of merit; but for a Protestant prince, stiled, "The defender of the faith," in a time of light, that had sworn to keep the peace, received tribute to that end, and might have had the very hearts of the people, if they could have given him them without death (the strongest engagements;) I say, for such a one so long to persecute the faithful, destroy and enslave the people by oppressing cruelties: and when Machiavel could not do it, to levy a war to that wicked end, which never any of his ancestors durst attempt; that might at any time with a word of his mouth have stopped all the bleeding veins in the three kingdoms, but would not; and for the satisfying of a base lust, caused more Protestant blood to be shed than ever was spilt, either by Rome, Heathen or Antichristian: Blessed God, what ugly sins lodge in their bosoms, that would have had this man to live! But words are but women, proofs are men; it is reason that must be the chariot to carry men to give their concurrence to this judgment: therefore I shall deliver my thoughts to the courteous reader, as I was prepared for it, if issue had been joined in the cause, but with some addition for illustration sake, desiring excuse for the preamble, because there is some repetition in matter.

* 2 Sam. 21.

† In 1571.

KING CHARLES's CASE.

May it please your lordship,

MY lord president, and this high court, erected for the most comprehensive, impartial, and glorious piece of justice, that ever was acted and executed upon the theatre of England, for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, whom God in his wrath gave to be a king to this nation, and will, I trust, in great love, for his notorious prevarications and blood-guiltiness take him away from us; he that hath been the original of all injustice, and the principal author of more mischiefs to the free-born people of this nation, than the best arithmetician can well enumerate, stands now to give an account of his stewardship, and to receive the good of justice, for all the evil of his injustice and cruelty. Had he ten thousand lives, they could not all satisfy for the numerous, horrid and barbarous massacres of myriads, and legions of innocent persons, which by his commands, commissions and procurements (or at least all the world must needs say, which he might have prevented; and he that suffers any man to be kill'd, when he may save his life without danger of his own, is a murderer) have been cruelly slain, and inhumanly murdered in this renowned Albion. Anglia hath been made an Akeldama, and her younger sister Ireland a land of Ire and misery; and yet this hard-hearted man, as he went out of the court, down the stairs Jan. 22. said (as some of the guard told me and others) That he was not troubled for any of the blood that had been shed, but for the blood of one man (peradventure he meant Strafford) He was no more affected with a list that was brought in to Oxford of five or six thousand slain at Edgehill, than to read one of Ben. Johnson's tragedies: you gentlemen royalists that fought for him, if ye had lost your lives for his sake, you see he would have no more pitied you by his own confession, than you do a poor worm; and yet what heart but would cleave, if it were a rock, melt, if it were ice, break, if it were flint, or dissolve if it were a diamond, to consider that so much precious Protestant blood should be shed in these three kingdoms, so many gallant valiant men of all sorts and conditions, to be sacrificed and lose their lives, and many of them to die so desperately in regard of their eternal conditions, and all this meerly and only for the satisfying and fulfilling of one man's sinful lust and wicked will; a good shepherd is he that lays down his life, or ventures it to save the sheep; but for one to be so proudly wedded to his own conceits, as so maliciously to oppose his private opinion, against the publick judgment and reason of State, and to make head against the parliament, who acknowledged him to be head thereof, so far as to give him the honour of the royal assent, in settling the militia and safety of the people: I say, for a Protestant prince, so beloved at home, and feared abroad, that in love, and by gentle means might have had any thing from the parliament, for him to occasion the shedding of so much blood, for a pretended prerogative, as hereafter will appear nothing in effect but to fix and perpetuate an absolute tyranny; I can say no less, but, O Lucifer! from whence art thou fallen, and what hereticks are they in politicks, that would have had such a man to live? much more that think his actions to have merited love and praise from heaven and earth. But now to dissect the charge.

1. **T**HAT the kings of England are trusted with a limited power to govern by law, the whole stream and current of legal authorities run so limpid and clear, that I should but weary those that know it already, and trouble those that need not know the particular cases; for it is one of the fundamentals of law, that the king is not above the law, but the law above the king: I could easily deraign it from the 1 Edward III. to the jurisdiction of courts, that the king has no more power or authority than what by law is concredited and committed to him; but the most famous authority is

Fortescue, chancellor to Henry VI. (and therefore undoubtedly would not clip his master's prerogative) who most judicially takes a difference between a government wholly regal and seignoral; as in Turkey, Russia, France, Spain, &c. and a government politick and mixed, where the law keeps the beam even between sovereignty and subjection, as in England, Denmark, Swede, and Poland; the first, where the edict of a prince makes the law, resembles an impetuous inundation of the waters, whereby the corn and hay, and other fruits of the earth are spoiled, as when it is midwinter at midsummer; the latter is like a sweet smooth stream, running by the pleasant fields and meadows; that by the law of England the king ought not to impose any thing upon the people, or take any thing away from them to the value of a farthing, but by common consent in parliaments or national meetings; and that the people of common-right, and by several statutes ought to have parliaments yearly, or oftner if need be, for the redress of publick grievances, and for the enacting of good and wholesome laws, and repealing of old statutes of Omeri which are prejudicial to the nation: and that the king hath not by law so much power as a justice of peace, to commit any man to prison for any offence whatsoever, because all such matters were committed to proper courts and officers of justice: and if the king by his verbal command send for any person to come before him, if the party refused to attend, and the messenger endeavouring to force him, they fell to blows; if the messenger killed the party sent for, this by the law is murder in him, but if he killed the messenger this was justifiable in him, being in his own defence, so as to sue forth a pardon of course; these and many other cases of like nature are so clear and well known, that I will not presume to multiply particulars.

THAT the king took an oath at his coronation to preserve the peace of the nation, to do justice to all, and to keep and observe the laws which the people have, himself confesses: and it was charged upon the late archbishop, that he emasculated the oath, and left out very material words, "Which the people shall choose *," which certainly he durst not have done, without the king's special command; and it seems to me no light presumption, that from that very day he had a design to alter and subvert the fundamental laws, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; but though there had been no oath, yet by special office and duty of his place, every king of England is obliged to act for the peoples good; for all power as it is originally in the people (he must needs be extreme ignorant, malicious, or a self-destroyer, that shall deny it) so it is given forth for their preservation, nothing for their destruction; for a king to rule by lust and not by law, is a creature that was never of God's making, not of God's approbation, but his permission; and though such men are said to be Gods on earth, 'tis in no other sense than the Devil is called the God of this world: it seems that one passage which the king would have offered to the court (which was not permitted him to dispute the supreme authority of the nation, and standing mute, the charge being for high treason, it is a conviction in law) was, that 1 Sam. 8. is a copy of the king's commission, by virtue whereof, he as king might rule and govern as he list, that he might take the peoples sons and appoint them for himself for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and take their daughters to be his concubines, and take their fields and vine-yards, and olive-yards, even the best of them, and their goodliest young men, and their asses, and give them to his officers, and to his servants; which indeed is a copy and pattern of an absolute tyrant, and absolute slaves, where the people have no more then the tyrant will afford them: the holy spirit in that chapter does not insinuate what a good king ought to do, but what a wicked king would presume to do. Besides, Saul and David had extraordinary callings, but all just power is now derived from, and conferred by the people; yet in the case of Saul, it is observable, that the people out of pride to be like other nations, desired a king, and such a king as the Heathens had, which were all tyrants; for they that know any thing in history, know that the first four monarchs were all tyrants at first, till they gained the peoples consent. Nimrod the great hunter was Ninus that built Nineveh, the first tyrant and conqueror that had no title; and so were all kingdoms which are not elective till the people's subsequent consent; and though it be by descent, yet it is a continuation of a conquest till the people consent and voluntarily submit to a government, they are but slaves, and in reason they may free themselves if they can: in France the king begins his reign, from the day of his coronation; the archbishop asks the people if he shall be king; the twelve peers, or some that personate them, say, "Yes," they gird the sword about him, then he swears to defend the laws: and is any thing more natural than to keep an oath? And though virtuous kings have prevailed with the people to make their crowns hereditary, yet the coronation shews the shell, that the kernel hath been in. Samuel was a good judge, and there was nothing could be objected against him, therefore God was displeased at their inordinate

* 1. Book of Ord. fol.

desire of a king; and it seems to me that the Lord declares his dislike of all such kings as the Heathens were, that is, kings with an unlimited power, that are not tied to laws; for he gave them a king in his wrath, therein dealing with them as the wise physician with the distempered and impatient patient, who desiring to drink wine, tells him the danger of inflammation, yet wine he will have, and the physician considering a little wine will do but little hurt, rather than his patient by fretting should take greater hurt, prescribes a little white-wine, wherein the physician doth not approve of his drinking wine, but of two evils chooseth the least. The Jews would have a king for majesty and splendor, like the Heathens; God permits this, he approves it not: it seems to me that the Lord renounces the very genus of such kings as are there mentioned; and the old word Conning (by contraction king,) does not signify power or force to do what he will, but a knowing, wise, discreet man, that opens the peoples eyes, and does not lead them by the noses, but govern them with wisdom and discretion for their own good. Therefore, gentlemen royalists, be not so mad as to misconstrue, either the oaths of allegiance or supremacy, or any league or covenant, that any man should swear to give any one leave to cut his throat; the true meaning is, that the king of England was supreme in this land, in opposition to the pope, or any other prince or potentate, as the words of the oath do import, "That no foreign state, prince or potentate, &c." In case of any foreign invasion, the king was by law to be generalissimo, to command the people for their own safety, and so it was expounded by the parliament in 13 Eliz. which for some reason of state was not permitted to be printed with the statutes. Besides God told those kings whom he had formerly anointed, what their duty was; not to exalt themselves overmuch above their brethren, to delight themselves in the law of God; out of which I infer that the Turks, Tartars, Muscovites, French, Spaniards, and all people that live at the beck and nod of tyrannical men, may and ought to free themselves from that tyranny, if, and when they can; for such tyrants that so domineer with a rod of iron, do not govern by God's permissive hand of approbation or benediction, but by the permissive hand of his providence, suffering them to scourge the people, for ends best known to himself, until he open a way for the people to work out their own enfranchisements.

BUT before I speak of the war, it will be necessary for the satisfaction of rational men, to open and prove the king's wicked design, wherewith he stands charged. Now that he had from the beginning of his reign, such a design and endeavour so to tear up the foundations of government, that law should be no protection to any man's person or estate, will clearly appear by what follows.

1. BY his not taking the oath so fully as his predecessors did, that so when the parliament should tender good laws to him for the royal assent, he might readily answer, that he was not by oath obliged to confirm or corroborate the same.

2. BY his dishonourable and perfidious dealing with the people at his coronation, when he set forth a proclamation, that in regard of the infection then spread through the kingdom, he promised to dispense with those knights, that by an old statute were to attend at the coronation, who were thereby required not to attend, but did notwithstanding within few months after take advantage of their absence, and raised a vast sum of money out of their estates at the council-table, where they pleading the said proclamation, for their justification, they were answered that the law of the land was above any proclamation, like that tyrant, that when he could not by law execute a virgin, commanded her to be deflower'd, and then put to death.

3. BY his altering the patents and commissions to the judges, which having heretofore had their places granted to them so long as they should behave themselves well therein, he made them but during pleasure, that so if the judges should not declare the law to be as he would have it, he might with a wet finger remove them, and put in such as should not only say but swear, if need were, that the law was as the king would have it: for when a man shall give five or ten thousand pounds for a judge's place during the king's pleasure, and he shall next day send to him to know his opinion, of a difference in law between the king and a subject, and it shall be intimated unto him that if he do not deliver his opinion for the king, he is likely to be removed out of his place the next day; which if so, he knows not how to live, but must rot in prison for the money which he borrowed to buy his place, as was well known to be some of their cases, who underhand and closely bought great places; (to elude the danger of the statute,) whether this was not too heavy a temptation for the shoulders of most men to bear, is no hard matter to determine; so as upon the matter, that very act of his made the king at the least a potential tyrant; for when that shall be law, which a king shall declare himself, or which shall be declared by those whom he chooses, this brings the people to the very next step to slavery.

BUT that which does irrefragably prove the design, was his restless desire to destroy parliaments, or to make them useless; and for that, who knows not but that there were three or four national meetings

meetings in parliament in the first four years of his reign, which were called for supply to bring money into his coffers in point of subsidies, rather than for any benefit to the people, as may appear by the few good laws that were then made. But that which is most memorable, is the untimely dissolving of the parliament in 4 Car. when Sir John Elliot and others (who managed a conference with the house of peers concerning the duke of Buckingham, who amongst other things was charged concerning the death of king James) were committed close prisoner to the Tower, where he lost his life by cruel indurance. Which I may not pass over without a special animadversion: for sure there is no Turk or Heathen but will say, that if he were any way guilty of his father's death, let him die for it.

I WOULD not willingly be so injurious to the honest reader, as to make him buy that again which he had formerly met with in the parliament's declaration or elsewhere; in such a case a marginal reference may be sufficient. Nor would I herein be so presumptuous as to prevent any thing that happily may be intended in any declaration for more general satisfaction; but humbly offer a student's mite which satisfies myself, with submission to better judgments.

How the king first came to the crown, God and his own conscience best knew. It was well known and observed at court, that a little before, he was a professed enemy to the duke of Buckingham; but instantly upon the death of king James, took him into such special protection, grace and favour, that upon the matter he divided the kingdom with him. And when the earl of Bristol had exhibited a charge against the said duke, the thirteenth article whereof concerned the death of king James, he instantly dissolved that parliament, that so he might protect the duke from the justice thereof, and would never suffer any legal enquiry to be made for his father's death. The rabbins observe, that that which stuck most with Abraham about God's command to sacrifice Isaac, was this: "Can I not be obedient, unless I be unnatural? What will the heathens say, when they hear "I have killed my only son?" What will an Indian say to this case? A king hath all power in his hands to do justice; there is one accused upon strong presumptions at the least, for poisoning that king's father; the king protects him from justice; whether do you believe that himself had any hand in his father's death? Had the duke been accused for the death of a beggar, he ought not to have protected him from a judicial trial. We know that by law it is no less than misprision of treason to conceal a treason; and to conceal a murder, strongly implies a guilt thereof, and makes him a kind of accessory to the fact. He that hath no nature to do justice to his own father, could it ever be expected that he should do justice to others? Was he fit to continue a father to the people, who was without natural affection to his own father? Will he love a kingdom, that shewed no love to himself, unless it was that he durst not suffer inquisition to be made for it? But I leave it as a riddle, which at the day of judgment will be expounded and unriddled, for some sins will not be made manifest till that day; with this only, that had he made the law of God his delight, and studied therein night and day, as God commanded his kings to do; or had he but studied scripture half as much as Ben Johnson or Shakespeare, he might have learnt, that when * Amaziah was settled in the kingdom, he suddenly did justice upon those servants which had killed his father Joash: he did not by any pretended prerogative excuse or protect them, but delivered them up into the hands of that justice which the horridness of the fact did undoubtedly merit.

THAT parliament † 4 Car. proving so abortive, the king sets forth a ‡ proclamation, that none should presume to move him to call parliaments, for he knew how to raise monies enough without the help of parliaments, therefore in twelve years he refuseth to call any. In which interval and intermission, how he had oppressed the people by incroachments and usurpations upon their liberties and properties; and what vast sums of money he had forcibly exacted and exhausted by illegal patents and monopolies of all sorts, I refer the reader to that most judicious and full "Declaration of the state of the kingdom," published in the beginning of this parliament. That judgment of ship-money did upon the matter formalize the people absolute slaves, and him an absolute tyrant: for if the king may take from the people in case of necessity, and himself shall be judge of that necessity, then cannot any man say that he is worth sixpence; for if the king say that he hath need of that sixpence, then by law he must have it; I mean that great Nimrod, that would have made all England a forest, and the people which the bishop calls his sheep, to be his venison to be hunted at his pleasure.

NOR does the common objection, "That the judges and evil counsellors, and not the king, ought to be responsible for such male-administrations, injustice and oppression;" bear the weight of a

* 2 Kings xii. 20. and xiv. 1, 5. † 27 Mar. ‡ 5 Car.

feather in the ballance of right reason. For, 1. Who made such wicked and corrupt judges? were they not his own creatures? and ought not every man to be accountable for the works of his own hands? He that does not hinder the doing of evil, if it lies in his power to prevent it, is guilty of it as a commander thereof. He that suffereth those black stars to inflict such barbarous cruelties and unheard-of punishments, as branding, flitting of noses, &c. upon honest men, to the dishonour of the protestant religion, and disgrace of the image of God shining in the face of man, he well deserved to have been so served. But, 2. He had the benefit of those illegal fines and judgments. I agree, that if a judge shall oppress I. S. for the benefit of I. D. the king ought not to answer for this, but the judge, unless he protect the judge against the complaint of I. S. and in that case he makes himself guilty of it. But when an unjust judgment is given against I. S. for the king's benefit, and the fine to come immediately into his coffers; he that receives the money, must needs be presumed to consent to the judgment. But, 3. mark a Machiavel policy; "Call no parliaments to question the injustice and corruption of judges for the people's relief; and make your own judges, and let that be law that they declare; whether it be reasonable or unreasonable it is no matter."

BUT then how came it to pass that we had any more parliaments? Had we not a gracious king to call a parliament when there was so much need of it? and to pass so many gracious acts to put down the Star-chamber, &c. Nothing less, it was not any voluntary free act of grace, not the least ingredient or tincture of love or good affection to the people, that called the short parliament in 1640, but to serve his own turn against the Scots, whom he then had designed to enslave; and those seven acts of grace which the king pass, were no more than his duty to do, nor half so much, but giving the people a taste of their own grifts, and he dissents with them about the militia, which commanded all the rest; he never intended thereby any more good and security to the people, than he that stealing the goose leaves the feathers behind him: But to answer the question, thus it was:

THE king being wholly given up to be led by the counsels of a jesuited party, who endeavoured to throw a bone of dissention among us, that they might cast in their net into our troubled waters, and catch more fish; for St. Peter's see perswaded the king, to set up a new form of prayer in Scotland, and laid the bait so cunningly that whether they saw it or not, they were undone; if they saw the mystery of iniquity couched in it, they would resist, and so merit punishment for rebelling; if they swallowed it, it would make way for worse; well, they saw the poison, and refused to taste it; the king makes war; and many that loved honour and wealth more than God, assisted him; down he went with an army, but his treasure wasted in a short time; fight they would not for fear of an after-reckoning; some commanders propound that they should make their demands, and the king grants all, comes back to London, and burns the Pacification, saying it was counterfeit, they reassume their forts, he raises a second war against them, and was necessitated to call a parliament, offering to lay down ship-money for twelve subsidies; they refuse; the king in high displeasure breaks off the parliament, and in a declaration commands them not to think of any more parliaments, for he would never call another.

THERE was a king of Egypt that cruelly oppressed the people; they poor slaves complaining to one another, he feared a rising, and commanded that none should complain upon pain of cruel death; spies being abroad, they often met, but durst not speak, but parted with tears in their eyes, which declared that they had more to utter, but durst not; this struck him to greater fears, he commanded that none should look upon one another's eyes at parting; therefore their griefs being too great to be smothered, they fetch'd a deep sigh when they parted, which moved them so to compassionate one another's wrongs, that they ran in and killed the tyrant. The long hatching Irish treason was now ripe, and therefore it was necessary that England and Scotland should be in combustion, lest we might help the Irish protestants; well, the Scots get Newcastle, he knew they would trust him no more, he had so often broke with them, therefore no hopes to get them out by a treaty; many lords and the city petition for a parliament, the king was at such a necessity that yield he must, to that which he most abhorred: God had brought him to such a strait, he that a few months before assumed the power of God, commanding men not to think of parliaments, to restrain the free thoughts of the heart of man, was constrained to call one which they knew he would break off when the Scots were sent home, therefore got a confirmation of it, that he should not dissolve it without the consent of both houses, of which he had no hopes, or by force which he suddenly attempted, and the English army in the North was to have come up to confound the parliament and this rebellious and disloyal city, as the king called it, and for their pains was promised thirty thousand pounds and the plunder, as by the examinations of colonel Goring, Legge, &c. doth more fully appear.

AND

AND here by the way I cannot but commend the city malignants, he calls them rebels, they call him a gracious king; he by his proclamation at Oxford prohibits all commerce and intercourse of trade between this populous city (the life and interest whereof consists in trade, without which many thousands cannot subsist) and other parts of the kingdom, still they do good against evil, and petitioning him so often to cut their throats, are troubled at nothing so much as that they are not reduced to that former and a worse bondage than when there was a lord * warden made in the city, and the king sent for as much of their estates as he pleased. But surely the Oxfordshire-men are more to be commended; for when the king had commanded by his † proclamation, that what corn, hay, and other provision in the county of Oxford could not be fetch'd into the said city for his garrison, should be consumed and destroyed by fire, for fear it should fall into the hands of the parliament's friends; a cruelty not to be parallel'd by an infidel, heathen, or pagan king, nor to be presided amongst the most avowed and professed enemies, much less from a king to his subjects; they resolvedn ever to trust him any more.

BUT the great question will be, What hath been the true ground and occasion of the war? which unless I clear, and put it out of question, as the charge imports, I shall fall short of what I chiefly aim at, viz. "That the king set up his standard of war, for the advancement and upholding of his personal interest, power, and pretended prerogative, against the publick interest of common right, peace and safety;" and thus I prove it:

1. He fought for the militia by sea and land, to have it at his absolute dispose, and to justify and maintain his illegal commissions of array; and this he pretended was his birth-right by the law of England: which if it were so, then might he by the same reason command all the money in the kingdom: for he that carries the sword, will command the purse.

2. THE next thing that he pretended to fight for, was his power to call parliaments when he pleased, and dissolve them when he list: If they will serve his turn, then they may sit by a law to enslave the people; so that the people had better choose all the courtiers and king's favourites at first, than to trouble themselves with ludicrous elections to assemble the freeholders together, to their great labour and expence both of time and coin, and those which are chosen knights and burgesses to make great preparations, to take long journies to London themselves and their attendants, to see the king and lords in their parliament robes ride in state to the house, and with Domitian to catch flies; and no sooner shall there be any breathings, or a spirit of justice stirring and discovered in the house of commons, but the king sends the black rod, and dissolves the parliament, and sends them back again as wise as they were before, but not with so much money in their purses, to tell stories to the freeholders of the bravery of the king and lords.

3. WELL, but if this be too gross, and that the people begin to murmur and clamour for another parliament, then there goes out another summons, and they meet, and sit for some time, but to as much purpose as before; for when the commons have presented any bill for the redress of a publick grievance, then the king hath several games to play to make all fruitless; as, first his own negative voice that if lords and commons are both agreed, then he will advise; which (I know not by what strange doctrine) hath been of late construed to be a plain denial, though under favour at the first it was no more but to allow him two or three days time to consider of the equity of the law; in which time if he could not convince them of the injustice of it, then ought he by his oath and by law to consent to it.

4. BUT if by this means the king had contracted hard thoughts from the people, and that not only the commons, but many of the lords, that have the same noble blood running in their veins, as those English barons, whose swords were the chief instruments that purchased Magna Charta; then, that the king might be sure to put some others between him and the people's hatred. The next prerogative that he pretended to have, was to be the sole judge of chivalry, to have the sole power of conferring honours, to make as many lords as he pleased, that so he may be sure to have two against one, if the house of commons (by reason of the multitude of burgesses, which he likewise pretended a power to make as many borough-towns and corporations as he pleased) were not pack'd also: And this is that glorious privilege of the English parliament, so much admired for just nothing; for if his pretended prerogative might stand for law, as was challenged by his adherents, never was there a purer cheat put upon any people, nor a more ready way to enslave them, than by privilege of parliament, being just such a mockery of the people, as that mock-parliament at Oxford was, where the king's consent must be the figure, and the representative stand but for a cypher.

* Darlingrub.

† 15 Apr. 20 Car.

5. But then out of parliament the people are made to believe, That the king hath committed all justice to the judges, and distributed the execution thereof into several courts; and that the king cannot so much as imprison a man, nor impose any thing upon, nor take any thing away from the people, as by law he ought not to do: But now see what prerogative he challenges.

1. If the king have a mind to have any publick-spirited man removed out of the way, this man is killed, the murderer known, a letter comes to the judge, and it may be it shall be found but manslaughter; if it be found murder, the man is condemned, but the king grants him a pardon, which the judges will allow, if the word murder be in it; but because it is too gross to pardon murder, therefore the king shall grant him a lease of his life for seven years, and then renew it (like a bishop's lease) as he did to major Prichard, who was lately justified, who being a servant to the earl of Lindsey, murdered a gentleman in Lincolnshire, and was condemned, and had a lease of his life from the king, as his own friends have credibly told me.

2. For matter of liberty: The king or any courtier sends a man to prison, if the judge set him at liberty, then put him out of his place, a temptation too heavy for those that love money and honour more than God, to bear; therefore any judgment that is given between the king and a subject, it is not worth a rush, for what will not money do?

NEXT he challenges a prerogative to enhance and debase money, which by law was allowed him, so far as to balance trade, and no further; that if gold went high beyond sea, it might not be cheap here, to have it all bought up and transported: but under colour of that he challenges a prerogative, that the king may by proclamation make leather current, or make a six-pence go for twenty shillings, or a twenty shillings for six-pence: which, not to mention any thing of the project of farthings or brass money, he that challenges such a prerogative, is a potential tyrant; for if he may make my twelve-pence in my pocket worth but two-pence, what property hath any man in any thing that he enjoys?

ANOTHER prerogative pretended was, That the king may avoid any grant, and so may couzen and cheat any man by law, the ground whereof is, That the king's grants shall be taken according to his intention, which in a sober sense I wish, that all men's grants might be so construed according to their intentions, expressed by word or writing; but by this means it being hard to know what the king intended, his grants have been like the devil's oracles, taken in any contrary sense for his own advantage.

1. REP. In the famous case of Altonwood's there is vouched the lord Lovel's case, That the king granted lands to the lord Lovel and his heirs male, not for service done, but for a valuable consideration of money paid: the patentee well hoped to have enjoyed the land, not only during his life, but that his heirs male, at least of his body, should have likewise enjoyed it: but the judges finding, it seems, that the king was willing to keep the money, and have his land again (for what other reason no mortal man can fathom) resolved that it was a void grant, and that nothing passed to the patentee. I might instance in many cases of like nature, throughout all the reports, as one once made his boast, that he never made or passed any patent or charter from the crown, but he reserved one starting hole or other, and knew how to avoid it, and so merely to cozen and defraud the poor patentee. So that now put all these prerogatives together; 1. The militia by sea and land. 2. A liberty to call parliaments when he pleased, and to adjourn, prorogue or dissolve them at pleasure. 3. A negative voice, that the people cannot save themselves without him, and must cut their own throats, if commanded so to do. 4. The nomination and making of all the judges, that upon peril of the loss of their places, must declare the law to be as he pleases. 5. A power to confer honours upon whom, and how he pleases: A covetous base wretch for five or ten thousand pounds to be courted, who deserves to be carted. 6. To pardon murderers, whom the Lord says shall not be pardoned. 7. To set the value and price of monies as he pleases, that if he be to pay ten thousand pounds, he may make leather by his proclamation to be current that day, or a five shillings to pass for twenty shillings; and if to receive so much, a twenty shillings to pass for five shillings. And lastly, a legal theft to avoid his own grants: I may boldly throw the gantlet, and challenge all the Machiavels in the world, to invent such an exquisite platform of tyrannical domination, and such a perfect tyranny without maim or blemish, as this is, and that by a law, which is worst of all. But the truth is, these are no legal prerogatives, but usurpations, encroachments and invasions upon the people's rights and liberties, and this easily effected without any great depth of policy; for it is but being sure to call no parliaments, or make them useless, and make the judges places profitable, and place avarice upon the bench, and no doubt but the law shall sound as the king would have it: but let me thus far satisfy the ingenuous reader, that all the judges in England cannot make one case to be law that is not reason, no more than they

they can prove a hair to be white that is black, which if they should so declare or adjudge, it is a meer nullity; for law must be reason adjudged, where reason is the genus, and the judgment in some court, makes the differentia; and I never found that the fair hand of the common law of England, ever reached out any prerogative to the king above the meanest man, but in three cases: 1. In matters of honour and pre-eminence to his person, and in matters of interest, that he should have mines royal of gold and silver, in whose land soever they were discovered; and fishes royal, as sturgeons and whales, in whose streams or water soever they were taken, which very rarely happened, or to have tythes out of a parish that no body else could challenge; for says the law, "The most noble persons are to have the most noble things." 2. To have his patents freed from deceit, that he be not over-reached or couzened in his contracts, being employed about the great and arduous affairs of the kingdom. 3. His rights to be freed from incursion of time, not to be bound up by any statute of non-claim; for indeed possession is a vain plea, when the matter of right is in question, for right can never die; and some such honourable privileges of mending his plea, or suing in what court he will, and some such prerogatives of a middle indifferent nature, that could not be prejudicial to the people: but that the law of England should give the king any such vast, immense, precipitating power, or any such god-like state, that he ought not to be accountable for wicked actions, or male-administrations and mis-government; (as he hath challenged and averred in his answer to the petition of right,) or any such principles of tyranny, which are as inconsistent with the people's liberties and safety, as the ark and *Dagon*, light and darkness, in an intensive degree, is a most vain and irrational thing to imagine; and yet that was the ground of the war, as himself often declared, and that would not have half contented him, if he had come in by the sword. But some rational men object, How can it be murder, say they, for the king to raise forces against the parliament? since there is no other way of determining differences between the king and his subjects, but by the sword, for the law is no competent judge between two supreme powers; and then if it be only a contending for each other's right, where is the malice, that makes the killing of a man murder? Take the answer thus, first, How is it possible to imagine two supreme powers in one nation, no more than two suns in one firmament; if the king be supreme, the parliament must be subordinate; if they supreme, then he subordinate: but then it is alleged, That the king challenged a power only co-ordinate, that the parliament could do nothing without him, nor he without them: under favour, two powers co-ordinate is as absurd as the other, for though in quiet times the commons have waited upon the king, and allowed him a negative voice in matters of less concernment, where delay could not prove dangerous to the people, yet when the commons shall vote that the kingdom is in danger, unless the militia be so and so settled, now if he will not agree to it, they are bound in duty to do it themselves: and it is impossible to imagine that ever any man should have the consent of the people to be their king upon other conditions; without which no man ever had right to wear the diadem; for conquest makes a title amongst wolves and bears, but not amongst men.

WHEN the first agreement was concerning the power of parliaments, if the king should have said, Gentlemen, are you content to allow me any negative voice, that if you vote the kingdom to be in danger, unless such an act pass, if I refuse to assent, shall nothing be done in that case? surely no rational man but would have answered, May it please your majesty, we shall use all dutiful means to procure your royal assent, but if you still refuse, we must not sit still and see ourselves ruined, we must and will save ourselves whether you will or no; and will any man say that the king's power is diminished because he cannot hurt the people, or that a man is less in health that hath many physicians to attend him: God is omnipotent that cannot sin, and all power is for the people's good, but a prince may not say that is for the people's good, which they say and feel to be for their hurt. And as for the malice, the law implies that; as when a thief sets upon a man to rob him, he hath no spite to the man, but love to the money: but it is an imply'd malice, that he will kill the people unless they will be slaves.

Q. BUT by what law is the king condemned?

R. By the fundamental law of this kingdom, by the general law of all nations, and the unanimous consent of all rational men in the world, written in every man's heart with the pen of a diamond in capital letters, and a character so legible, that he that runs may read, viz. That when any man is entrusted with the sword for the protection and preservation of the people, if this man shall employ it to their destruction, which was put into his hand for their safety, by the law of that land he becomes an enemy to that people, and deserves the most exemplary and severe punishment that can be invented: and this is the first necessary fundamental law of every kingdom, which by intrinsical rules of government must preserve itself: and this law needed not to be expressed, That if a

a king become a tyrant, he shall die for it, it is so naturally implied; we do not use to make laws which are for the preservation of nature, that a man should eat, and drink, and buy himself clothes, and enjoy other natural comforts; no kingdom ever made any laws for it: and as we are to defend ourselves naturally, without any written law, from hunger and cold, so from outward violence; therefore if a king would destroy a people, it is absurd and ridiculous to ask by what law he is to die. And this law of nature is the law of God written in the fleshly tables of men's hearts, that like the elder sister, hath a prerogative right of power before any positive law whatsoever; and this law of nature is an indubitable legislative authority of itself, that hath a suspensible power over all human laws. If any man shall by express covenant under hand and seal give power to another man to kill him, this is a void contract, being destructive to humanity; and by the law of † England any act or agreement against the laws of God or nature, is a meer nullity: for as man hath no hand in the making of the laws of God or nature, no more hath he power to mar or alter them. If the pilot of a ship be drunk, and running upon a rock, if the passengers cannot otherwise prevent it, they may throw him into the sea to cool him: and this question hath received resolution this parliament: when the militia of an army is committed to a general, it is not with any express condition, That he shall not turn the mouths of his cannons against his own soldiers, for that is so naturally and necessarily implied, that it is needless to be expressed; insomuch as if he did attempt or command such a thing against the nature of his trust and place, it did ipso facto estate the army in a right of disobedience, unless any man be so grossly ignorant to think that obedience binds men to cut their own throats, or their companions: nor is this any secret of the law which hath lain hid from the beginning, and now brought out to bring him to justice: but that which is co-natural with every man, and innate in his judgment and reason, and is as ancient as the first king, and an epidemical binding law in all nations in the world: for when many families agree, for the preservation of human society, to invest any king or governor with power and authority, upon the acceptance thereof, there is a mutual trust and confidence between them, That the king shall improve his power for their good, and make it his work to procure their safeties, and they to provide for his honour, which is done to the commonwealth in him, as the sword and ensigns of honour carried before the lord mayor are for the honour of the city; now as when any one of this people shall compass the death of the governor, ruling well, this is a treason punishable with death for the wrong done to the community, and anathema be to such a man: so when he or they that are trusted to fight the peoples battles, and to procure their welfare, shall prevaricate, and act to the enslaving or destroying of the people, who are their liege lords, and all governors are but the peoples creatures, and the work of their hands, to be accountable as their stewards (and is it not senseless for the vessel to ask the potter by what law he calls it to account) this is high treason with a witness, and far more transcendent than in the former case, because the king was paid for his service, and the dignity of the person does increase the offence; for a great man of noble education and knowledge to betray so great a trust, and abuse so much love as the parliament shewed to the king by petitioning him as good subjects, praying for him as good christians, advising him as good counsellors, and treating with him as the great counsel of the kingdom, with such infinite care and tenderness of his honour (a course which God's people did not take with Rehoboam, they never petitioned him, but advised him, he refused their council, and hearkened to young counsellors, and they cry, "To thy tents, O Israel," and made quick and short work of it) after all this, and much more longanimity and patience (which God exercises towards man to bring him to repentance) from the lord to the servant, for him not only to set up a standard of war in defiance of his dread sovereign, the people (for so they truly were in nature, though names have befooled us) but to persist so many years in such cruel persecutions, who with a word of his mouth might have made a peace. If ever there were so superlative a treason, let the Indians judge; and whosoever shall break and violate such a trust and confidence, Anathema Maranatha be unto them.

Q. BUT why was there not a written law to make it treason for the king to destroy the people, as well as for a man to compass the king's death?

Resp. BECAUSE our ancestors did never imagine, that any king of England would have been so desperately mad, as to levy a war against the parliament and people: as in the common instance of Parricide, the Romans made no law against him that should kill his father, thinking no child would be so unnatural to be the death of him who was the author of his life; but when a child came to be accused for a murder, there was a more cruel punishment inflicted, than for other Homicides: for he

† Com. E. Leicester's case.

was thrown into the sea in a great leather barrel, with a dog, a jackanapes, a cock, and a viper, significant companions for him, to be deprived of all the elements, as in my "Poor man's case," fol. 10. Nor was there any law made against parents that should kill their children; yet if any man was so unnatural, he had an exemplary punishment.

Obj. BUT is it not a maxim in law, "That the king can do no wrong?"

Resp. FOR any man to say so, is blasphemy against the great God of truth and love: for only God cannot err, because what he wills is right, because he wills it; and it is a sad thing to consider how learned men, for unworthy ends, should use such art to subdue the people, by transportation of their senses, as to make them believe that the law is, that the king can do no wrong.

1. FOR law, I do aver it with confidence, but in all humility, that there is no such case to be found in law, that if the king rob, or murder, or commit such horrid extravagancies, that it is no wrong: indeed the case is put in Hen. VII. by a chief judge, that "If the king kill a man, it is "no felony to make him suffer death;" that is to be meant in ordinary courts of justice: but there is no doubt but the parliament might try the king, or appoint others to judge him for it. We find cases in law that the king had been sued even in civil actions.

IN 43 Ed. III. 22. it is resolved, That all manner of actions did lie against the king, as against any lord; and 24 Ed. III. 23. Wilby a learned judge said, That there was a writ "Præcipe Henrico Regi Angliæ."

INDEED Ed. I. did make an act of state, "That men should sue to him by petition;" but this was not agreed unto in parliament, "Thelwall title roye digest of writs," 71. But after, when judges places grew great, the judges and bitesheeps began to sing lullaby, and speak Platentia to the king, that "My lord the king is an angel of light:" now angels are not responsible to men, but God, therefore not kings: and the judges they begin to make the king a God, and say, that by law his stile is Sacred Majesty, though he swears every hour; and Gracious Majesty, though gracious men be the chief objects of his hatred; and that the king hath an omnipotency and omnipresence.

BUT I am sure there is no case in law, that if the king levy a war against the parliament and people, that it is not treason. Possibly that case in Hen. VII. may prove, that if the king should in his passion kill a man, this shall not be felony to take away the king's life: for the inconveniency may be greater to the people, by putting a king to death for one offence and miscarriage, than the execution of justice upon him can advantage them: but what is this to a levying of war against a parliament? never any judge was so devoid of understanding, that he denied that to be treason. But suppose a judge that held his place at the king's pleasure did so, I am sure never any parliament said so. But what if there had in dark times of popery been an act made, that the king might murder, ravish, burn and perpetrate all mischiefs, and play reaks with impunity, will any man that hath but wit enough to measure an ell of cloth, or to tell twenty, say, That this is an obligation for men to stand still and suffer a monster to cut their throats, and grant commission to rob at Suter's-hill; as such and no better are all legal thefts and oppressions? The doctor says, That a statute against giving an alms to a poor man is void: he is no student, I mean, was never bound apprentice to reason, that says, A king cannot commit treason against the people.

Obj. BUT are there not negative words in the statute of 25 Ed. III. That nothing else shall be construed to be treason but what is there expressed?

Resp. THAT statute was intended for the people's safety, that the king's judges should not make traitors by the dozens to gratify the king or courtiers; but it was never meant, to give liberty to the king to destroy the people: and though it be said, That the king and parliament only may declare treason, yet, no doubt, if the king will neglect his duty, it may be so declared without him; for when many are obliged to do any service, if some of them fail, the rest must do it.

Obj. BUT is there any precedent, that ever any man was put to death that did not offend against some written law? For where there is no law, there is no transgression.

Resp. 'Tis very true, where there is neither law of God, nor nature, nor positive law, there can be no transgression, and therefore that scripture is much abused to apply it only to laws positive. For,

1. "Ad ea quæ frequentius, &c." 'Tis out of the sphere of all earthly law-givers to comprehend and express all particular cases that may possibly happen, but such as are of most frequent concurrence; particulars being different, like the several faces of men different from one another, else laws would be too tedious, and as particulars occur, rational men will reduce them to general reasons of state, so as every thing may be adjudged for the good of the community.

2. THE law of England, is "Lex non scripta, and we have a direction in the epistle to the 3. Rep. That when our law-books are silent, we must repair to the law of nature and reason: Holinshed, and

and other historians, tell us, That in 20 Hen. 8. the lord Hungerford was executed for buggery, for which there was then no positive law to make it felony; and before any statute against witchcraft, many witches have been hanged in England, because it is death by God's law: If any Italian mountebank should come over hither, and give any man poison that should lie in his body above a year and a day, and then kill him, as it is reported they can give a man poison that shall consume the body in three years, will any make scruple or question to hang up such a rascal? At Naples, the great treasurer of corn being intrusted with many thousand quarters at three shillings the bushel, for the common good, finding an opportunity to sell it for five shillings the bushel to foreign merchants, enriched himself exceedingly thereby, and corn growing suddenly dear, the council called him to account for it, who proffered to allow three shillings for it, as it was delivered into his custody, and hoped thereby to escape, but for so great a breach of trust, nothing would content the people but to have him hanged; and though there was no positive law for it, to make it treason, yet it was resolved by the best politicians, that it was treason to break so great a trust, by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and that for so great an offence he ought to die, that durst presume to enrich himself by that which might endanger the lives of so many citizens; for as society is natural, so governors must of necessity, and in all reason, provide for the preservation and sustenance of the meanest member, he that is but as the little toe of the body politic.

BUT I know the ingenuous reader desires to hear something concerning Ireland, where there were no less than 12,000 men, women, and children, most barbarously and satannically murdered in the first four months of the rebellion, as appeared by substantial proofs, at the king's bench, at the trial of Macquire. If the king had a hand, or but a little finger in that massacre, every man will say, Let him die the death. But how shall we be assured of that? How can we know the tree better than by its fruits? For my own particular, I have spent many serious thoughts about it, and I desire, in doubtful cases, to give charity the upper hand; but I cannot in my conscience acquit him of it. Many strong presumptions, and several oaths of honest men, that have seen the king's commission for it, cannot but amount to a clear proof. If I meet a man running down stairs with a bloody sword in his hand, and find a man stabbed in the chamber, though I did not see this man run into the body by that which I met, yet if I were of the jury, I durst not but find him guilty of the murder; and I cannot but admire that any man should deny that for him, which he durst never deny for himself: how often was that monstrous rebellion laid in his dish? and yet he durst never absolutely deny it: never was bear so unwillingly brought to the stake, as he was to declare against the rebels; and when he did once call them rebels, he would suffer but forty copies to be printed, and those to be sent to him sealed; and he hath since above forty times called them his subjects, and his good subjects; and sent to Ormond to give special thanks to some of these rebels, as Muskery and Plunket. (which I am confident, by what I see of his height of spirit and undaunted resolution at his trial and since, acting the last part answerable to the former part of his life; he would rather have lost his life, than to have sent thanks to two such incarnate devils, if he had not been as guilty as themselves) Questionless if the king had not been guilty of that blood, he would have made a thousand declarations against those blood-hounds and hell-hounds, that are not to be named but with fire and brimstone, and have sent to all princes in the world for assistance against such accursed devils in the shape of men: but he durst not offend those fiends and fire-brands; for if he had, I verily believe they would soon have produced his commission under his hand and seal of Scotland at Edinburgh, 1641. A copy whereof is in the parliament's hands, attested by oath, dispersed by copies in Ireland, which caused the general rebellion.

Obj. HE did not give commission to kill the English, but to take their forts, castles, towns and arms, and come over and help him.

R. AND is it like all this could be effected without the slaughter of the poor English? Did the king ever call them rebels, but in forty proclamations wrung out of him by force, by the parliament's importunity? Murdering the protestants was so acceptable to him, and with this limitation, that none should be published without his further directions, as appears under Nichols's hand, now in the parliament's custody: but the Scots were proclaimed rebels before they killed a man, or had an army, and a prayer against them, enjoined in all churches, but no such matter against the Irish.

WELL, when the rebels were worsted in Ireland, the king makes war here to protect them, which but for his fair words had been prevented, often calling God to witness, he would as soon raise war on his own children; and men from popish principles assist him. Well, we fought in jest. and were kept between winning and losing: the king must not be too strong, lest he revenge himself; nor the parliament too strong, for the commons would rule all, till Naseby fight, that then the king could

keep no more days of thanksgiving so well as we: then he makes a cessation in Ireland, and many Irish came over to help him: English came over with papists, who had scarce wiped their swords since they had killed their wives and children, and had their estates.

BUT this I argue, The rebels knew that the king had declared them traitors, and forty copies were printed; and the first clause of an oath enjoined by the general council of rebels, was, "To bear true faith and allegiance to king Charles; and by all means to maintain his royal prerogative, against the puritans in the parliament of England." Now is any man so weak in his intellectuals, as to imagine, That if the rebels had without the king's command or consent, murdered so many protestants, and he thereupon had really proclaimed them rebels, that they would after this have taken a new oath, to have maintained his prerogative? no, those bloody devils had more wit, than to fight in jest. If the king had once in good earnest proclaimed them rebels, they would have burnt their scabbards, and would not have stiled themselves, the king and queen's army, as they did. And truly, that which the king said for himself, That he would have ventured himself, to have gone in person into Ireland, to suppress that rebellion, is but a poor argument to enforce any man's belief, that he was not guilty of the massacre: for it makes me rather think, that he had some hopes to have returned at the head of 20 or 30,000 rebels, to have destroyed this nation: for when the earl of Leicester was sent by the parliament to subdue the rebels, did not the king hinder him from going? and were not the clothes and provisions which were sent by the parliament, for the relief of the poor protestants there, seized upon by his command, and his men of war, and sold or exchanged for arms and ammunition, to destroy this parliament? And does not every man know, that the rebels in Ireland gave letters of mart, for taking the parliament's ships, but freed the king's as their very good friends? And I have often heard it credibly reported, that the king should say, That nothing more troubled him, but that there was not as much protestant blood running in England and Scotland, as in Ireland. And when that horrid rebellion begun to break forth, how did the papists here triumph and boast, that they hoped e'er long to see London Streets run down in blood? And yet I do not think, that the king was a papist, or that he designed to introduce the pope's supremacy in spiritual things, into this kingdom: but thus it was, a jesuitical party at court was too prevalent in his councils, and some mongrel protestants, that less hated the papists than the puritans, by the queen's mediation, joined all together to destroy the puritans, hoping that the papists, and the Laodicean protestants would agree well enough together. And lastly, if it be said, that if the king and the rebels were never fallen out, what need had Ormond to make a pacification or peace with them by the king's commission, under the great seal of Ireland? Truly there hath been so much dawbing, and so little plain dealing, that I wonder how there comes to be so many beggars.

CONCERNING the betraying of Rochel, to the enslaving of the protestant party in France, I confess, I heard so much of it, and was so shamefully reproached for it in Geneva, and by the protestant ministers in France, that I could believe no less, than that the king was guilty of it. I have heard fearful exclamations from the French protestants against the king, and the late duke of Buckingham, for the betraying of Rochel. And some of the ministers told me, ten years since, That God would be revenged of the wicked king of England, for betraying Rochel: and I have often heard Deodati say, concerning Henry the fourth of France, That the papists had his body, but the protestants had his heart and soul; but for the king of England, The protestants had his body, but the papists had his heart: not that I think he did believe transubstantiation (God forbid I should wrong the dead) but I verily believe, that he loved a papist, better than a puritan.

THE duke of Roan, who was an honest gallant man, and the king's godfather, would often say, that all the blood which was shed in Dauphiny, would be cast upon the king of England's score: for thus it was, the king sent a letter to the Rochellers by sir William Breecher, to assure them, that he would assist them to the uttermost, against the French king, for the liberty of their religion; conditionally, that they would not make any peace without him; and Montague was sent into Savoy, and to the duke of Roan, to assure them from the king, that 30,000 men should be sent out of England, to assist them against the French king, in three fleets: one to land in the isle of Ree, a second in the river of Bourdeaux, and a third in Normandy: whereupon, the duke of Roan being general for the protestants, not suspecting that the French durst assault him in Dauphiny (because the king of England was ready to invade him, as he had promised) drew out his army upon disadvantage: whereupon, the French king employed all his army in Dauphiny against the protestants, who were forced to retreat, and the duke of Roan to fly to Geneva, and the protestants to accept of peace upon very hard conditions, to stand barely at the king's devotion for their liberties, without any cautionary towns of assurance, as formerly they had, being such a peace as the sheep make with the wolves
when

when the dogs are dismiss. And the protestants have ever since cried out to this very day, it is not the French king that did us wrong, for then we could have born it, but it was the king of England, a professed protestant, that betrayed us. And when I have many times entreated Deodati, and others, to have a good opinion of the king, he would answer me, That we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but not to forgive our friends.

THERE is a French book printed about two years since, called "Memoirs du monsieur de Roan," where the king's horrid perfidiousness, and deep dissimulation, is very clearly unfolded and discovered: to instance but in some particulars; the king having solemnly engaged to the Rochellers, that he would hazard all the forces he had in his three kingdoms, rather than they should perish; did in order thereunto, to gain credulity with them, send out eight ships to sea, commanded by sir John Pennington, to assist the Rochellers, as was pretended, but nothing less intended; for Pennington assisted the French king against the Rochellers, which made sir Ferdinando Gorge to go away with the Great Neptune, in detestation of so damnable a plot; and the English masters and owners of ships, refusing to lend their ships to destroy the Rochellers, whom with their souls they desired to relieve, Pennington in a mad spite shot at them.

SUBISE being agent here in England for the French protestants, acquainted the king how basely Pennington had dealt, and that the English ships had mowed down the Rochel ships like grass, not only to the great danger and loss of the Rochellers, but to the eternal dishonour of this nation, scandal of our religion, and disadvantage of the general affairs of all the protestants in Christendom. The king seems to be displeased, and says, What a knave is this Pennington? but whether it was not feigned, let all the world judge: but the thing being so plain, said Subise to the king, Sir, why did the English ships assist the French king, and those that would not, were shot at by your admiral? The French protestants are no fools; how can I make them believe that you intend their welfare? The king was much put to it for a ready answer, but at last thus it was packed up, that the French king had a design to be revenged of Genoa for some former affront; and that the king lent him eight English ships to be employed for Genoa, and that sailing towards Genoa, they met with some of the Rochellers accidentally, and that the English did but look on, and could not help it, not having any commission to fight at that present; wherein the Rochellers might and would have declined a sea fight, if they had not expected our assistance. But still the poor protestants were willing, rather to blame Pennington than the king; who in great seeming zeal, being surety for the last peace between the French king, and his protestant subjects, sends Devick to the duke of Roan, to assure him, That if Rochel were not speedily set at liberty, (which the French king had besieged, contrary to his agreement) he would employ his whole strength, and in his own person see it performed; which being not done; then the king sends the duke of Buckingham to the isle of Ree, and gives new hopes of better success to Subise, commanding the admiral and officers in the fleet, in Subise's hearing, to do nothing without his advice: but when the duke came to land at the isle of Ree, many gallant Englishmen lost their lives, and the duke brought back 300 tons of corn from the Rochellers, which he had borrowed of them, pretending a necessity for the Englishmen, which was but feigned, knowing it was a city impregnable, so long as they had provision within. I confess the Rochellers were not wise, to lend the duke their corn, considering how they had been dealt with: but what a base thing was it, so to betray them, and to swear unto them, that they should have corn enough sent from England, before they wanted it: and for a long time, God did miraculously send them in a new kind of fish, which they never had before. But when the duke came to court, he made the honest English believe, that Rochel would suddenly be relieved, and that there was not the least danger of the loss of it; but secretary Cook, an honest understanding gentleman, and the only friend at court to the Rochellers, labouring to improve his power to send some succour to Rochel, was suddenly sent away from court upon some sleeveless errand, or as some say, to Portsmouth, under colour of providing corn for Rochel; but the duke soon after went thither, and said, His life upon it, Rochel is safe enough: And the next day, Subise being at Portsmouth, he prest the duke of Buckingham most importunately to send relief to Rochel then or never; the duke told him that he had just then heard good news of the victualling of Rochelle, which he was going to tell the king: which Subise making doubt of, the duke affirmed it by an oath, and having the words in his mouth, he was stabbed by Felton, and instantly died: the poor Rochellers seeing themselves so betrayed, exclaimed of the English, and were constrained through famine to surrender the city; yet new assurances came from the king to the duke of Roan, that he should never be abandoned, and that he should not be dismayed nor astonished for the loss of Rochel.

BUT

BUT Subise spoke his mind freely at court, that the English had betrayed Rochel, and that the loss of that city was the apparent perdition and loss of 32 places of strength from the French protestants in Languedock, Piedmont, and Dauphin, therefore it was thought fit that he should have a fig given him to stop his mouth: Well, not long after, two capuchins were sent into England to kill honest Subise, and the one of them discovered the other; Subise rewarded the discoverer, and demanded justice here against the other who was a prisoner; but, by what means you may easily imagine, that assassinate rascal, instead of being whipt, or receiving some more severe punishment, was released and sent back into France with money in his purse, and one of the messengers that was sent from Rochel to complain of those abominable treacheries, was taken here, and as the duke of Roan writes, was hanged for some pretended felony or treason; and much more to this purpose may be found in the duke of Roan's memorials; but yet I know many wise sober men do acquit the king from the guilt of the loss of Rochel, and lay it upon the duke, as if it were but a loss of his reputation; they say that the duke of Buckingham agitated his affairs neither for religion, nor the honour of his master, but only to satisfy his passion in certain foolish vows which he made in France, entered upon a war; and that the business miscarried through ignorance, and for want of understanding to manage so difficult a negotiation, he being unfit to be an admiral or a general.

I CONFESS that for many years I was of that opinion, and thought that the king was seduced by evil counsel, and some thought that Buckingham and others ruled him as a child, and durst not do what they list: but certainly he was too politique and subtile a man to be swayed by any thing but his own judgment; since Naseby letters I ever thought him principal in all transactions of state, and the wisest about him but accessaries; he never acted by any implicit faith in state matters, the proudest of them all durst never cross him in any design when he had once resolved upon it: Is any man so soft-brained to think that the duke or Pennington durst betray Rochel without his Command? would not he have hanged them up at their return, if they had wilfully transgressed his commands? A thousand such excuses made for him, are but like Irish quagmires, that have no solid ground or foundation in reason: he was well known to be a great student in his younger days, that his father would say, He must make him a bishop: he had more learning and dexterity in state affairs undoubtedly, than all the kings in Christendom; if he had had grace answerable to his strong parts, he had been another Solomon, but his wit and knowledge proved like a sword in a mad-man's hand; he was a stranger to the work of grace and the spirit of God, as the poor creature confessed to Mr. Knowls after he was condemned; and all those mæanders in state, his serpentine turnings and windings, have but brought him to shame and confusion: but I am fully satisfied, none of his counsel durst ever advise him to any thing, but what they knew before he resolved to have done; and that they durst as well take a bear by the tooth, as do, or consent to the doing of any thing, but what they knew would please him: they did but hew and square the timber, he was the master-builder, that gave the form to every architecture. And being so able and judicious to discern of every man's merits, never think that the duke or Pennington, or any judge or officer, did ever any thing for his advantage without his command against law or honor.

UPON all which premises, may it please your lordship, I do humbly demand and pray the justice of this high court, and yet not I, but the innocent blood that hath been shed in the three kingdoms, demands justice against him: this blood is vocal, and cries loud, and yet speaks no better, but much louder than the blood of Abel; for what proportion hath the blood of that righteous man, to the blood of so many thousands? If king Ahab, and queen Jezabel, for the blood of one righteous Naboth (who would not sell his inheritance for the full value) were justly put to death, what punishment does he deserve, that is guilty of the blood of thousands, and fought for a pretended prerogative, that he might have any man's estate that he liked, without paying for it? This blood hath long cried, "How long parliament, how long army, will ye forbear to avenge our blood? Will ye not do justice upon the capital author of all injustice? When will you take the proud lyon by the beard, that defies you with imperious exultations, what is the house of commons? what is the army?" as Pharoah said, "Who is the Lord? and who is Moses?" I am not accountable to any power on earth, those that were murdered at Brainford, knocked on the head in the water, and those honest souls that were killed in cold blood at Bolton and Liverpool in Lancashire, at Bartomley in Cheshire, and many other places, their blood cries night and day for justice against him, their wives and children cry, "justice upon the murderer, or else give us our fathers and husbands again; nay, should the people be silent, the very stones and timber of the houses would cry for justice against him. But, my lord, before I pray judgment, I humbly crave leave to speak to two particulars, 1. Concerning the prisoner: when I consider what he was, and how many prayers have been made for him, though

though I know that all the world cannot restore him, nor save his life, because God will not forgive his temporal punishment, yet if God in him will be pleased to add one example more to the church, of his unchangeable love to his elect in Christ, not knowing but that he may belong to the election of grace; I am troubled in my spirit, in regard of his eternal condition, for fear that he should depart this life, without love and reconciliation to all those saints whom he hath scorned under the notion of presbyterians, anabaptists, independants and sectaries: It cannot be denied, but that he hath spent all his days in unmeasurable pride; that during his whole reign, he hath deported himself as a God; been depended upon, and adored as a God; that hath challenged and assumed an omnipotent power, an earthly omnipotence, that with the breath of his mouth hath dissolved parliaments; his Non placet hath made all the counsels of that supreme court to become abortives: Non curo hath been his motto, who instead of being honoured as good kings ought to be, and no more, hath been idolized and adored, as our good God only ought to be: a man that hath shot all his arrows against the upright in the land, hated Christ in his members, swallowed down unrighteousness, as the ox drinks water, esteemed the needy as his footstool, crushed honest publick spirited men, and grieved when he could not afflict the honest more than he did, counted it the best art and policy to suppress the righteous, and to give way to his courtiers so to gripe, grind, oppress and overreach the free people of the land, that he might do what he list (the remembrance whereof would pierce his soul, if he knew the preciousness of it) but all sins to an infinite mercy are equally pardonable, therefore my prayer for this poor wretch shall be, That God would so give him repentance to life, that he may believe in that Christ whom he hath imprisoned, persecuted and murdered in the saints; that he which hath lived a tyrant, and hated nothing so much as holiness may die a convert, and in love to the saints in England, that so the tears of the oppressed and the afflicted, may not be as so many fiery stinging serpents, causing an eternal despairing, continual horror to this miserable man, when all tyrants shall be astonished, and innocent blood will affright more than twelve legions of devils. All the hurt that I wish to him is, that he may look the saints in the face with comfort, for the saints must judge the world; and however it may be he or his adherents may think it a brave Roman spirit, not to repent of any thing, nor express any sorrow for any sin, though never so horrid, taking more care and fear not to change their countenance upon the scaffold than what shall become them after death; yet I beseech your lordship that I may tell him and all the malignants now living but this, "Charles Stuart, unless you depart this life in love and reconciliation to all those saints and godly men whom you have either ignorantly or maliciously opposed, mocked and persecuted, and still scorn and jeer at, as hereticks and sectaries, there is no more hopes for you ever to see God in comfort, than for me to touch the heavens with my finger, or with a word to annihilate this great building, or for the Devil to be saved, which he might be if he could love a saint as such: no, Sir, it will be too late for you to say to those saints, whom you have defied, Give me some of your holiness, that I may behold God's angry countenance: you can expect no answer, but, Go, buy Sir of those soul-hucksters, your bishops, which fed you with chaff and poison, and now you must feed upon fire and brimstone to all eternity."

2. CONCERNING myself, I bear no more malice to the man's person, than I do to my dear father; but I hate that cursed principle of tyranny, that has so long lodged and harboured within him, which has turned our waters of law into blood; and therefore upon that malignant principle, I hope this high court (which is an habitation of justice, and a royal palace of principles of freedom) will do speedy justice, that this lyon which has devoured so many sheep, may not only be removed out of the way, but that this iron scepter, which hath been lifted up to break this poor nation in pieces like a potter's vessel, may be wrested out of the hands of tyrants; that my honorable clients (for whom I am an unworthy advocate) the people of England, may not only taste, but drink abundantly of those sweet waters of that well of liberty, which this renowned army hath digg'd with their swords, which was stopped by the Philistines, the fierce Jew, and the uncircumcised Canaanite, the hopes whereof made me readily to hearken to the call to this service, as if it had been immediately from heaven, being fully satisfied, that the prisoner was long since condemned to die by God's law (which being more noble and antient than any law of man, if there had been a statute that he should not die, yet he ought to be put to death notwithstanding) and that this high court was but to pronounce the sentence and judgment written against him: and though I might have been sufficiently discouraged, in respect that my reason is far less than others of my profession; yet considering that there are but two things desirable, to make a dumb man eloquent, namely, A good cause, and good judges, the first whereof procures the justice of heaven, and the second justice upon earth; and thinking that happily God might make use of one mean man at the bar, amongst other learned counsel,

TO THE
R E A D E R.

THE righteous judge, whose judgment is not only inevitable, but infallible, must shortly judge me, and all that concurred to bring the capital delinquent to condign punishment; but in the interim, I desire to be judged by all understanding men in the world, that suffer their judgments to be swayed by reason, and not biased by private interest, whether ever any man did so much deserve to die: Cain for the murder of one righteous Abel, and David for one Uriah, had been men of death, had not God pardoned them: those thirty-one kings which Joshua hanged up *, and Saul's seven sons, which were but at the worst (as it seems to me) evil counsellors; were they not innocent, nay faints in comparison of this man? Those that crucified Christ did it ignorantly, for had they known him, they had not crucified the Lord of glory. The saints under the ten persecutions suffered by the hands of the Heathens; the Sicilian vespers †, the Parisian massacre of the Protestants, and the gunpowder-plot, were acted and intended by Papists, out of a conceit of merit; but for a Protestant prince, stiled, "The defender of the faith," in a time of light, that had sworn to keep the peace, received tribute to that end, and might have had the very hearts of the people, if they could have given him them without death (the strongest engagements;) I say, for such a one so long to persecute the faithful, destroy and enslave the people by oppressing cruelties: and when Machiavel could not do it, to levy a war to that wicked end, which never any of his ancestors durst attempt; that might at any time with a word of his mouth have stopped all the bleeding veins in the three kingdoms, but would not; and for the satisfying of a base lust, caused more Protestant blood to be shed than ever was spilt, either by Rome, Heathen or Antichristian: Blessed God, what ugly sins lodge in their bosoms, that would have had this man to live! But words are but women, proofs are men; it is reason that must be the chariot to carry men to give their concurrence to this judgment: therefore I shall deliver my thoughts to the courteous reader, as I was prepared for it, if issue had been joined in the cause, but with some addition for illustration sake, desiring excuse for the preamble, because there is some repetition in matter.

* 2 Sam. 21.

† In 1571.

KING CHARLES's CASE.

May it please your lordship,

MY lord president, and this high court, erected for the most comprehensive, impartial, and glorious piece of justice, that ever was acted and executed upon the theatre of England, for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, whom God in his wrath gave to be a king to this nation, and will, I trust, in great love, for his notorious prevarications and blood-guiltiness take him away from us; he that hath been the original of all injustice, and the principal author of more mischiefs to the free-born people of this nation, than the best arithmetician can well enumerate, stands now to give an account of his stewardship, and to receive the good of justice, for all the evil of his injustice and cruelty. Had he ten thousand lives, they could not all satisfy for the numerous, horrid and barbarous massacres of myriads, and legions of innocent persons, which by his commands, commissions and procurements (or at least all the world must needs say, which he might have prevented; and he that suffers any man to be kill'd, when he may save his life without danger of his own, is a murderer) have been cruelly slain, and inhumanly murdered in this renowned Albion. Anglia hath been made an Akeldama, and her younger sister Ireland a land of Ire and misery; and yet this hard-hearted man, as he went out of the court, down the stairs Jan. 22. said (as some of the guard told me and others) That he was not troubled for any of the blood that had been shed, but for the blood of one man (peradventure he meant Strafford) He was no more affected with a list that was brought in to Oxford of five or six thousand slain at Edgehill, than to read one of Ben. Johnson's tragedies: you gentlemen royalists that fought for him, if ye had lost your lives for his sake, you see he would have no more pitied you by his own confession, than you do a poor worm; and yet what heart but would cleave, if it were a rock, melt, if it were ice, break, if it were flint, or dissolve if it were a diamond, to consider that so much precious Protestant blood should be shed in these three kingdoms, so many gallant valiant men of all sorts and conditions, to be sacrificed and lose their lives, and many of them to die so desperately in regard of their eternal conditions, and all this meerly and only for the satisfying and fulfilling of one man's sinful lust and wicked will; a good shepherd is he that lays down his life, or ventures it to save the sheep; but for one to be so proudly wedded to his own conceits, as so maliciously to oppose his private opinion, against the publick judgment and reason of State, and to make head against the parliament, who acknowledged him to be head thereof, so far as to give him the honour of the royal assent, in settling the militia and safety of the people: I say, for a Protestant prince, so beloved at home, and feared abroad, that in love, and by gentle means might have had any thing from the parliament, for him to occasion the shedding of so much blood, for a pretended prerogative, as hereafter will appear nothing in effect but to fix and perpetuate an absolute tyranny; I can say no less, but, O Lucifer! from whence art thou fallen, and what hereticks are they in politicks, that would have had such a man to live? much more that think his actions to have merited love and praise from heaven and earth. But now to dissect the charge.

1. **T**HAT the kings of England are trusted with a limited power to govern by law, the whole stream and current of legal authorities run so limpid and clear, that I should but weary those that know it already, and trouble those that need not know the particular cases; for it is one of the fundamentals of law, that the king is not above the law, but the law above the king: I could easily deraign it from the 1 Edward III. to the jurisdiction of courts, that the king has no more power or authority than what by law is concredited and committed to him; but the most famous authority is

Fortescue, chancellor to Henry VI. (and therefore undoubtedly would not clip his master's prerogative) who most judicially takes a difference between a government wholly regal and seignoral; as in Turkey, Russia, France, Spain, &c. and a government politick and mixed, where the law keeps the beam even between sovereignty and subjection, as in England, Denmark, Swede, and Poland; the first, where the edict of a prince makes the law, resembles an impetuous inundation of the waters, whereby the corn and hay, and other fruits of the earth are spoiled, as when it is midwinter at midsummer; the latter is like a sweet smooth stream, running by the pleasant fields and meadows; that by the law of England the king ought not to impose any thing upon the people, or take any thing away from them to the value of a farthing, but by common consent in parliaments or national meetings; and that the people of common-right, and by several statutes ought to have parliaments yearly, or oftner if need be, for the redress of publick grievances, and for the enacting of good and wholesome laws, and repealing of old statutes of Omeri which are prejudicial to the nation: and that the king hath not by law so much power as a justice of peace, to commit any man to prison for any offence whatsoever, because all such matters were committed to proper courts and officers of justice: and if the king by his verbal command send for any person to come before him, if the party refused to attend, and the messenger endeavouring to force him, they fell to blows; if the messenger killed the party sent for, this by the law is murder in him, but if he killed the messenger this was justifiable in him, being in his own defence, so as to sue forth a pardon of course; these and many other cases of like nature are so clear and well known, that I will not presume to multiply particulars.

THAT the king took an oath at his coronation to preserve the peace of the nation, to do justice to all, and to keep and observe the laws which the people have, himself confesses: and it was charged upon the late archbishop, that he emasculated the oath, and left out very material words, "Which the people shall choose *," which certainly he durst not have done, without the king's special command; and it seems to me no light presumption, that from that very day he had a design to alter and subvert the fundamental laws, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; but though there had been no oath, yet by special office and duty of his place, every king of England is obliged to act for the peoples good; for all power as it is originally in the people (he must needs be extreme ignorant, malicious, or a self-destroyer, that shall deny it) so it is given forth for their preservation, nothing for their destruction; for a king to rule by lust and not by law, is a creature that was never of God's making, not of God's approbation, but his permission; and though such men are said to be Gods on earth, 'tis in no other sense than the Devil is called the God of this world: it seems that one passage which the king would have offered to the court (which was not permitted him to dispute the supreme authority of the nation, and standing mute, the charge being for high treason, it is a conviction in law) was, that 1 Sam. 8. is a copy of the king's commission, by virtue whereof, he as king might rule and govern as he list, that he might take the peoples sons and appoint them for himself for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and take their daughters to be his confectionaries, and take their fields and vine-yards, and olive-yards, even the best of them, and their goodliest young men, and their asses, and give them to his officers, and to his servants; which indeed is a copy and pattern of an absolute tyrant, and absolute slaves, where the people have no more then the tyrant will afford them: the holy spirit in that chapter does not insinuate what a good king ought to do, but what a wicked king would presume to do. Besides, Saul and David had extraordinary callings, but all just power is now derived from, and conferred by the people; yet in the case of Saul, it is observable, that the people out of pride to be like other nations, desired a king, and such a king as the Heathens had, which were all tyrants; for they that know any thing in history, know that the first four monarchs were all tyrants at first, till they gained the peoples consent. Nimrod the great hunter was Ninus that built Nineveh, the first tyrant and conqueror that had no title; and so were all kingdoms which are not elective till the people's subsequent consent; and though it be by descent, yet it is a continuation of a conquest till the people consent and voluntarily submit to a government, they are but slaves, and in reason they may free themselves if they can: in France the king begins his reign, from the day of his coronation; the archbishop asks the people if he shall be king; the twelve peers, or some that personate them, say, "Yes," they gird the sword about him, then he swears to defend the laws: and is any thing more natural than to keep an oath? And though virtuous kings have prevailed with the people to make their crowns hereditary, yet the coronation shews the shell, that the kernel hath been in. Samuel was a good judge, and there was nothing could be objected against him, therefore God was displeased at their inordinate

* 1. Book of Ord. fol.

desire of a king; and it seems to me that the Lord declares his dislike of all such kings as the Heathens were, that is, kings with an unlimited power, that are not tied to laws; for he gave them a king in his wrath, therein dealing with them as the wise physician with the distempered and impatient patient, who desiring to drink wine, tells him the danger of inflammation, yet wine he will have, and the physician considering a little wine will do but little hurt, rather than his patient by fretting should take greater hurt, prescribes a little white-wine, wherein the physician doth not approve of his drinking wine, but of two evils chooseth the least. The Jews would have a king for majesty and splendor, like the Heathens; God permits this, he approves it not: it seems to me that the Lord renounces the very genus of such kings as are there mentioned; and the old word Conning (by contraction king,) does not signify power or force to do what he will, but a knowing, wise, discreet man, that opens the peoples eyes, and does not lead them by the noses, but govern them with wisdom and discretion for their own good. Therefore, gentlemen royalists, be not so mad as to misconstrue, either the oaths of allegiance or supremacy, or any league or covenant, that any man should swear to give any one leave to cut his throat; the true meaning is, that the king of England was supreme in this land, in opposition to the pope, or any other prince or potentate, as the words of the oath do import, "That no foreign state, prince or potentate, &c." In case of any foreign invasion, the king was by law to be generalissimo, to command the people for their own safety, and so it was expounded by the parliament in 13 Eliz. which for some reason of state was not permitted to be printed with the statutes. Besides God told those kings whom he had formerly anointed, what their duty was; not to exalt themselves overmuch above their brethren, to delight themselves in the law of God; out of which I infer that the Turks, Tartars, Muscovites, French, Spaniards, and all people that live at the beck and nod of tyrannical men, may and ought to free themselves from that tyranny, if, and when they can; for such tyrants that so domineer with a rod of iron, do not govern by God's permissive hand of approbation or benediction, but by the permissive hand of his providence, suffering them to scourge the people, for ends best known to himself, until he open a way for the people to work out their own enfranchisements.

BUT before I speak of the war, it will be necessary for the satisfaction of rational men, to open and prove the king's wicked design, wherewith he stands charged. Now that he had from the beginning of his reign, such a design and endeavour so to tear up the foundations of government, that law should be no protection to any man's person or estate, will clearly appear by what follows.

1. By his not taking the oath so fully as his predecessors did, that so when the parliament should tender good laws to him for the royal assent, he might readily answer, that he was not by oath obliged to confirm or corroborate the same.

2. By his dishonourable and perfidious dealing with the people at his coronation, when he set forth a proclamation, that in regard of the infection then spread through the kingdom, he promised to dispense with those knights, that by an old statute were to attend at the coronation, who were thereby required not to attend, but did notwithstanding within few months after take advantage of their absence, and raised a vast sum of money out of their estates at the council-table, where they pleading the said proclamation, for their justification, they were answered that the law of the land was above any proclamation, like that tyrant, that when he could not by law execute a virgin, commanded her to be deflower'd, and then put to death.

3. By his altering the patents and commissions to the judges, which having heretofore had their places granted to them so long as they should behave themselves well therein, he made them but during pleasure, that so if the judges should not declare the law to be as he would have it, he might with a wet finger remove them, and put in such as should not only say but swear, if need were, that the law was as the king would have it: for when a man shall give five or ten thousand pounds for a judge's place during the king's pleasure, and he shall next day send to him to know his opinion, of a difference in law between the king and a subject, and it shall be intimated unto him that if he do not deliver his opinion for the king, he is likely to be removed out of his place the next day; which if so, he knows not how to live, but must rot in prison for the money which he borrowed to buy his place, as was well known to be some of their cases, who underhand and closely bought great places; (to elude the danger of the statute,) whether this was not too heavy a temptation for the shoulders of most men to bear, is no hard matter to determine; so as upon the matter, that very act of his made the king at the least a potential tyrant; for when that shall be law, which a king shall declare himself, or which shall be declared by those whom he chooses, this brings the people to the very next step to slavery.

BUT that which does irrefragably prove the design, was his restless desire to destroy parliaments, or to make them useless; and for that, who knows not but that there were three or four national meetings

meetings in parliament in the first four years of his reign, which were called for supply to bring money into his coffers in point of subsidies, rather than for any benefit to the people, as may appear by the few good laws that were then made. But that which is most memorable, is the untimely dissolving of the parliament in 4 Car. when Sir John Elliot and others (who managed a conference with the house of peers concerning the duke of Buckingham, who amongst other things was charged concerning the death of king James) were committed close prisoner to the Tower, where he lost his life by cruel indurance. Which I may not pass over without a special animadversion: for sure there is no Turk or Heathen but will say, that if he were any way guilty of his father's death, let him die for it.

I WOULD not willingly be so injurious to the honest reader, as to make him buy that again which he had formerly met with in the parliament's declaration or elsewhere; in such a case a marginal reference may be sufficient. Nor would I herein be so presumptuous as to prevent any thing that happily may be intended in any declaration for more general satisfaction; but humbly offer a student's mite which satisfies myself, with submission to better judgments.

How the king first came to the crown, God and his own conscience best knew. It was well known and observed at court, that a little before, he was a professed enemy to the duke of Buckingham; but instantly upon the death of king James, took him into such special protection, grace and favour, that upon the matter he divided the kingdom with him. And when the earl of Bristol had exhibited a charge against the said duke, the thirteenth article whereof concerned the death of king James, he instantly dissolved that parliament, that so he might protect the duke from the justice thereof, and would never suffer any legal enquiry to be made for his father's death. The rabbins observe, that that which stuck most with Abraham about God's command to sacrifice Isaac, was this: "Can I not be obedient, unless I be unnatural? What will the heathens say, when they hear "I have killed my only son?" What will an Indian say to this case? A king hath all power in his hands to do justice; there is one accused upon strong presumptions at the least, for poisoning that king's father; the king protects him from justice; whether do you believe that himself had any hand in his father's death? Had the duke been accused for the death of a beggar, he ought not to have protected him from a judicial trial. We know that by law it is no less than misprision of treason to conceal a treason; and to conceal a murder, strongly implies a guilt thereof, and makes him a kind of accessory to the fact. He that hath no nature to do justice to his own father, could it ever be expected that he should do justice to others? Was he fit to continue a father to the people, who was without natural affection to his own father? Will he love a kingdom, that shewed no love to himself, unless it was that he durst not suffer inquisition to be made for it? But I leave it as a riddle, which at the day of judgment will be expounded and unriddled, for some sins will not be made manifest till that day; with this only, that had he made the law of God his delight, and studied therein night and day, as God commanded his kings to do; or had he but studied scripture half as much as Ben Johnson or Shakespeare, he might have learnt, that when * Amaziah was settled in the kingdom, he suddenly did justice upon those servants which had killed his father Joash: he did not by any pretended prerogative excuse or protect them, but delivered them up into the hands of that justice which the horridness of the fact did undoubtedly demerit.

THAT parliament † 4 Car. proving so abortive, the king sets forth a ‡ proclamation, that none should presume to move him to call parliaments, for he knew how to raise monies enough without the help of parliaments, therefore in twelve years he refuseth to call any. In which interval and intermission, how he had oppressed the people by incroachments and usurpations upon their liberties and properties; and what vast sums of money he had forcibly exacted and exhausted by illegal patents and monopolies of all sorts, I refer the reader to that most judicious and full "Declaration of the state of the kingdom," published in the beginning of this parliament. That judgment of ship-money did upon the matter formalize the people absolute slaves, and him an absolute tyrant: for if the king may take from the people in case of necessity, and himself shall be judge of that necessity, then cannot any man say that he is worth sixpence; for if the king say that he hath need of that sixpence, then by law he must have it; I mean that great Nimrod, that would have made all England a forest, and the people which the bishop calls his sheep, to be his venison to be hunted at his pleasure.

NOR does the common objection, "That the judges and evil counsellors, and not the king, ought to be responsible for such male-administrations, injustice and oppression;" bear the weight of a

* 2 Kings xii. 20. and xiv. 1, 5. † 27 Mar. ‡ 5 Car.

feather in the ballance of right reason. For, 1. Who made such wicked and corrupt judges? were they not his own creatures? and ought not every man to be accountable for the works of his own hands? He that does not hinder the doing of evil, if it lies in his power to prevent it, is guilty of it as a commander thereof. He that suffereth those black stars to inflict such barbarous cruelties and unheard-of punishments, as branding, flitting of noses, &c. upon honest men, to the dishonour of the protestant religion, and disgrace of the image of God shining in the face of man, he well deserved to have been so served. But, 2. He had the benefit of those illegal fines and judgments. I agree, that if a judge shall oppress I. S. for the benefit of I. D. the king ought not to answer for this, but the judge, unless he protect the judge against the complaint of I. S. and in that case he makes himself guilty of it. But when an unjust judgment is given against I. S. for the king's benefit, and the fine to come immediately into his coffers; he that receives the money, must needs be presumed to consent to the judgment. But, 3. mark a Machiavel policy; "Call no parliaments to question the injustice and corruption of judges for the people's relief; and make your own judges, and let that be law that they declare; whether it be reasonable or unreasonable it is no matter."

BUT then how came it to pass that we had any more parliaments? Had we not a gracious king to call a parliament when there was so much need of it? and to pass so many gracious acts to put down the Star-chamber, &c. Nothing less, it was not any voluntary free act of grace, not the least ingredient or tincture of love or good affection to the people, that called the short parliament in 1640, but to serve his own turn against the Scots, whom he then had designed to enslave; and those seven acts of grace which the king pass, were no more than his duty to do, nor half so much, but giving the people a taste of their own gifts, and he dissents with them about the militia, which commanded all the rest; he never intended thereby any more good and security to the people, than he that stealing the goose leaves the feathers behind him: But to answer the question, thus it was:

THE king being wholly given up to be led by the counsels of a jesuited party, who endeavoured to throw a bone of dissention among us, that they might cast in their net into our troubled waters, and catch more fish; for St. Peter's see perswaded the king, to set up a new form of prayer in Scotland, and laid the bait so cunningly that whether they saw it or not, they were undone; if they saw the mystery of iniquity couched in it, they would resist, and so merit punishment for rebelling; if they swallowed it, it would make way for worse; well, they saw the poison, and refused to taste it; the king makes war; and many that loved honour and wealth more than God, assisted him; down he went with an army, but his treasure wasted in a short time; fight they would not for fear of an after-reckoning; some commanders propound that they should make their demands, and the king grants all, comes back to London, and burns the Pacification, saying it was counterfeit, they reassume their forts, he raises a second war against them, and was necessitated to call a parliament, offering to lay down ship-money for twelve subsidies; they refuse; the king in high displeasure breaks off the parliament, and in a declaration commands them not to think of any more parliaments, for he would never call another.

THERE was a king of Egypt that cruelly oppressed the people; they poor slaves complaining to one another, he feared a rising, and commanded that none should complain upon pain of cruel death; spies being abroad, they often met, but durst not speak, but parted with tears in their eyes, which declared that they had more to utter, but durst not; this struck him to greater fears, he commanded that none should look upon one another's eyes at parting; therefore their griefs being too great to be smothered, they fetch'd a deep sigh when they parted, which moved them so to compassionate one another's wrongs, that they ran in and killed the tyrant. The long hatching Irish treason was now ripe, and therefore it was necessary that England and Scotland should be in combustion, lest we might help the Irish protestants; well, the Scots get Newcastle. he knew they would trust him no more, he had so often broke with them, therefore no hopes to get them out by a treaty; many lords and the city petition for a parliament, the king was at such a necessity that yield he must, to that which he most abhorred: God had brought him to such a strait, he that a few months before assumed the power of God, commanding men not to think of parliaments, to restrain the free thoughts of the heart of man, was constrained to call one which they knew he would break off when the Scots were sent home, therefore got a confirmation of it, that he should not dissolve it without the consent of both houses, of which he had no hopes, or by force which he suddenly attempted, and the English army in the North was to have come up to confound the parliament and this rebellious and disloyal city, as the king called it, and for their pains was promised thirty thousand pounds and the plunder, as by the examinations of colonel Goring, Legge, &c. doth more fully appear.

AND.

AND here by the way I cannot but commend the city malignants, he calls them rebels, they call him a gracious king; he by his proclamation at Oxford prohibits all commerce and intercourse of trade between this populous city (the life and interest whereof consists in trade, without which many thousands cannot subsist) and other parts of the kingdom, still they do good against evil, and petitioning him so often to cut their throats, are troubled at nothing so much as that they are not reduced to that former and a worse bondage than when there was a lord * warden made in the city, and the king sent for as much of their estates as he pleased. But surely the Oxfordshire-men are more to be commended; for when the king had commanded by his † proclamation, that what corn, hay, and other provision in the county of Oxford could not be fetch'd into the said city for his garrison, should be consumed and destroyed by fire, for fear it should fall into the hands of the parliament's friends; a cruelty not to be parallel'd by an infidel, heathen, or pagan king, nor to be presided amongst the most avowed and professed enemies, much less from a king to his subjects; they resolv'd ever to trust him any more.

BUT the great question will be, What hath been the true ground and occasion of the war? which unless I clear, and put it out of question, as the charge imports, I shall fall short of what I chiefly aim at, viz. "That the king set up his standard of war, for the advancement and upholding of his personal interest, power, and pretended prerogative, against the publick interest of common right, peace and safety;" and thus I prove it:

1. He fought for the militia by sea and land, to have it at his absolute dispose, and to justify and maintain his illegal commissions of array; and this he pretended was his birth-right by the law of England: which if it were so, then might he by the same reason command all the money in the kingdom: for he that carries the sword, will command the purse.

2. THE next thing that he pretended to fight for, was his power to call parliaments when he pleased, and dissolve them when he list: If they will serve his turn, then they may sit by a law to enslave the people; so that the people had better choose all the courtiers and king's favourites at first, than to trouble themselves with ludicrous elections to assemble the freeholders together, to their great labour and expence both of time and coin, and those which are chosen knights and burgesses to make great preparations, to take long journies to London themselves and their attendants, to see the king and lords in their parliament robes ride in state to the house, and with Domitian to catch flies; and no sooner shall there be any breathings, or a spirit of justice stirring and discovered in the house of commons, but the king sends the black rod, and dissolves the parliament, and sends them back again as wise as they were before, but not with so much money in their purses, to tell stories to the freeholders of the bravery of the king and lords.

3. WELL, but if this be too gross, and that the people begin to murmur and clamour for another parliament, then there goes out another summons, and they meet, and sit for some time, but to as much purpose as before; for when the commons have presented any bill for the redress of a publick grievance, then the king hath several games to play to make all fruitless; as, first his own negative voice that if lords and commons are both agreed, then he will advise; which (I know not by what strange doctrine) hath been of late construed to be a plain denial, though under favour at the first it was no more but to allow him two or three days time to consider of the equity of the law; in which time if he could not convince them of the injustice of it, then ought he by his oath and by law to consent to it.

4. BUT if by this means the king had contracted hard thoughts from the people, and that not only the commons, but many of the lords, that have the same noble blood running in their veins, as those English barons, whose swords were the chief instruments that purchased Magna Charta; then, that the king might be sure to put some others between him and the people's hatred. The next prerogative that he pretended to have, was to be the sole judge of chivalry, to have the sole power of conferring honours, to make as many lords as he pleased, that so he may be sure to have two against one, if the house of commons (by reason of the multitude of burgesses, which he likewise pretended a power to make as many borough-towns and corporations as he pleased) were not pack'd also: And this is that glorious privilege of the English parliament, so much admired for just nothing; for if his pretended prerogative might stand for law, as was challenged by his adherents, never was there a purer cheat put upon any people, nor a more ready way to enslave them, than by privilege of parliament, being just such a mockery of the people, as that mock-parliament at Oxford was, where the king's consent must be the figure, and the representative stand but for a cypher.

* Darlingrub.

† 15 Apr. 20-Car.

5. BUT then out of parliament the people are made to believe, That the king hath committed all justice to the judges, and distributed the execution thereof into several courts; and that the king cannot so much as imprison a man, nor impose any thing upon, nor take any thing away from the people, as by law he ought not to do: But now see what prerogative he challenges.

1. IF the king have a mind to have any publick-spirited man removed out of the way, this man is killed, the murderer known, a letter comes to the judge, and it may be it shall be found but manslaughter; if it be found murder, the man is condemned, but the king grants him a pardon, which the judges will allow, if the word murder be in it; but because it is too gross to pardon murder, therefore the king shall grant him a lease of his life for seven years, and then renew it (like a bishop's lease) as he did to major Prichard, who was lately justified, who being a servant to the earl of Lindsey, murdered a gentleman in Lincolnshire, and was condemned, and had a lease of his life from the king, as his own friends have credibly told me.

2. FOR matter of liberty: The king or any courtier sends a man to prison, if the judge set him at liberty, then put him out of his place, a temptation too heavy for those that love money and honour more than God, to bear; therefore any judgment that is given between the king and a subject, it is not worth a rush, for what will not money do?

NEXT he challenges a prerogative to enhance and debase money, which by law was allowed him, so far as to balance trade, and no further; that if gold went high beyond sea, it might not be cheap here, to have it all bought up and transported: but under colour of that he challenges a prerogative, that the king may by proclamation make leather current, or make a six-pence go for twenty shillings, or a twenty shillings for six-pence: which, not to mention any thing of the project of farthings or brass money, he that challenges such a prerogative, is a potential tyrant; for if he may make my twelve-pence in my pocket worth but two-pence, what property hath any man in any thing that he enjoys?

ANOTHER prerogative pretended was, That the king may avoid any grant, and so may couzen and cheat any man by law, the ground whereof is, That the king's grants shall be taken according to his intention, which in a sober sense I wish, that all men's grants might be so construed according to their intentions, expressed by word or writing; but by this means it being hard to know what the king intended, his grants have been like the devil's oracles, taken in any contrary sense for his own advantage.

1. REP. In the famous case of Altonwood's there is vouched the lord Lovel's case, That the king granted lands to the lord Lovel and his heirs male, not for service done, but for a valuable consideration of money paid: the patentee well hoped to have enjoyed the land, not only during his life, but that his heirs male, at least of his body, should have likewise enjoyed it: but the judges finding, it seems, that the king was willing to keep the money, and have his land again (for what other reason no mortal man can fathom) resolved that it was a void grant, and that nothing passed to the patentee. I might instance in many cases of like nature, throughout all the reports, as one once made his boast, that he never made or passed any patent or charter from the crown, but he reserved one starting hole or other, and knew how to avoid it, and so merely to cozen and defraud the poor patentee. So that now put all these prerogatives together; 1. The militia by sea and land. 2. A liberty to call parliaments when he pleased, and to adjourn, prorogue or dissolve them at pleasure. 3. A negative voice, that the people cannot save themselves without him, and must cut their own throats, if commanded so to do. 4. The nomination and making of all the judges, that upon peril of the loss of their places, must declare the law to be as he pleases. 5. A power to confer honours upon whom, and how he pleases: A covetous base wretch for five or ten thousand pounds to be courted, who deserves to be carted. 6. To pardon murderers, whom the Lord says shall not be pardoned. 7. To set the value and price of monies as he pleases, that if he be to pay ten thousand pounds, he may make leather by his proclamation to be current that day, or a five shillings to pass for twenty shillings; and if to receive so much, a twenty shillings to pass for five shillings. And lastly, a legal theft to avoid his own grants: I may boldly throw the gantlet, and challenge all the Machiavels in the world, to invent such an exquisite platform of tyrannical domination, and such a perfect tyranny without maim or blemish, as this is, and that by a law, which is worst of all. But the truth is, these are no legal prerogatives, but usurpations, encroachments and invasions upon the people's rights and liberties, and this easily effected without any great depth of policy; for it is but being sure to call no parliaments, or make them useless, and make the judges places profitable, and place avarice upon the bench, and no doubt but the law shall sound as the king would have it: but let me thus far satisfy the ingenuous reader, that all the judges in England cannot make one case to be law that is not reason, no more than they

they can prove a hair to be white that is black, which if they should so declare or adjudge, it is a meer nullity; for law must be reason adjudged, where reason is the genus, and the judgment in some court, makes the differentia; and I never found that the fair hand of the common law of England, ever reached out any prerogative to the king above the meanest man, but in three cases: 1. In matters of honour and pre-eminence to his person, and in matters of interest, that he should have mines royal of gold and silver, in whose land soever they were discovered; and fishes royal, as sturgeons and whales, in whose streams or water soever they were taken, which very rarely happened, or to have tythes out of a parish that no body else could challenge; for says the law, "The most noble persons are to have the most noble things." 2. To have his patents freed from deceit, that he be not over-reached or couzened in his contracts, being employed about the great and arduous affairs of the kingdom. 3. His rights to be freed from incursion of time, not to be bound up by any statute of non-claim; for indeed possession is a vain plea, when the matter of right is in question, for right can never die; and some such honourable privileges of mending his plea, or suing in what court he will, and some such prerogatives of a middle indifferent nature, that could not be prejudicial to the people: but that the law of England should give the king any such vast, immense, precipitating power, or any such god-like state, that he ought not to be accountable for wicked actions, or male-administrations and mis-government; (as he hath challenged and averred in his answer to the petition of right,) or any such principles of tyranny, which are as inconsistent with the people's liberties and safety, as the ark and *Dagon*, light and darkness, in an intensive degree, is a most vain and irrational thing to imagine; and yet that was the ground of the war, as himself often declared, and that would not have half contented him, if he had come in by the sword. But some rational men object, How can it be murder, say they, for the king to raise forces against the parliament? since there is no other way of determining differences between the king and his subjects, but by the sword, for the law is no competent judge between two supreme powers; and then if it be only a contending for each other's right, where is the malice, that makes the killing of a man murder? Take the answer thus, first, How is it possible to imagine two supreme powers in one nation, no more than two suns in one firmament; if the king be supreme, the parliament must be subordinate; if they supreme, then he subordinate: but then it is alleged, That the king challenged a power only co-ordinate, that the parliament could do nothing without him, nor he without them: under favour, two powers co-ordinate is as absurd as the other, for though in quiet times the commons have waited upon the king, and allowed him a negative voice in matters of less concernment, where delay could not prove dangerous to the people, yet when the commons shall vote that the kingdom is in danger, unless the militia be so and so settled, now if he will not agree to it, they are bound in duty to do it themselves: and it is impossible to imagine that ever any man should have the consent of the people to be their king upon other conditions; without which no man ever had right to wear the diadem; for conquest makes a title amongst wolves and bears, but not amongst men.

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Q. BUT by what law is the king condemned?

R. BY the fundamental law of this kingdom, by the general law of all nations, and the unanimous consent of all rational men in the world, written in every man's heart with the pen of a diamond in capital letters, and a character so legible, that he that runs may read, viz. That when any man is entrusted with the sword for the protection and preservation of the people, if this man shall employ it to their destruction, which was put into his hand for their safety, by the law of that land he becomes an enemy to that people, and deserves the most exemplary and severe punishment that can be invented: and this is the first necessary fundamental law of every kingdom, which by intrinsical rules of government must preserve itself: and this law needed not to be expressed, That if a

a king become a tyrant, he shall die for it, it is so naturally implied; we do not use to make laws which are for the preservation of nature, that a man should eat, and drink, and buy himself clothes, and enjoy other natural comforts; no kingdom ever made any laws for it: and as we are to defend ourselves naturally, without any written law, from hunger and cold, so from outward violence; therefore if a king would destroy a people, it is absurd and ridiculous to ask by what law he is to die. And this law of nature is the law of God written in the fleshly tables of men's hearts, that like the elder sister, hath a prerogative right of power before any positive law whatsoever; and this law of nature is an indubitable legislative authority of itself, that hath a suspensible power over all human laws. If any man shall by express covenant under hand and seal give power to another man to kill him, this is a void contract, being destructive to humanity; and by the law of † England any act or agreement against the laws of God or nature, is a meer nullity: for as man hath no hand in the making of the laws of God or nature, no more hath he power to mar or alter them. If the pilot of a ship be drunk, and running upon a rock, if the passengers cannot otherwise prevent it, they may throw him into the sea to cool him: and this question hath received resolution this parliament: when the militia of an army is committed to a general, it is not with any express condition, That he shall not turn the mouths of his cannons against his own soldiers, for that is so naturally and necessarily implied, that it is needless to be expressed; insomuch as if he did attempt or command such a thing against the nature of his trust and place, it did ipso facto estate the army in a right of disobedience, unless any man be so grossly ignorant to think that obedience binds men to cut their own throats, or their companions: nor is this any secret of the law which hath lain hid from the beginning, and now brought out to bring him to justice: but that which is co-natural with every man, and innate in his judgment and reason, and is as ancient as the first king, and an epidemical binding law in all nations in the world: for when many families agree, for the preservation of human society, to invest any king or governor with power and authority, upon the acceptance thereof, there is a mutual trust and confidence between them, That the king shall improve his power for their good, and make it his work to procure their safeties, and they to provide for his honour, which is done to the commonwealth in him, as the sword and ensigns of honour carried before the lord mayor are for the honour of the city; now as when any one of this people shall compass the death of the governor, ruling well, this is a treason punishable with death for the wrong done to the community, and anathema be to such a man: so when he or they that are trusted to fight the peoples battles, and to procure their welfare, shall prevaricate, and act to the enslaving or destroying of the people, who are their liege lords, and all governors are but the peoples creatures, and the work of their hands, to be accountable as their stewards (and is it not senseless for the vessel to ask the potter by what law he calls it to account) this is high treason with a witness, and far more transcendent than in the former case, because the king was paid for his service, and the dignity of the person does increase the offence; for a great man of noble education and knowledge to betray so great a trust, and abuse so much love as the parliament shewed to the king by petitioning him as good subjects, praying for him as good christians, advising him as good counsellors, and treating with him as the great counsel of the kingdom, with such infinite care and tenderness of his honour (a course which God's people did not take with Rehoboam, they never petitioned him, but advised him, he refused their council, and hearkened to young counsellors, and they cry, "To thy tents, O Israel," and made quick and short work of it) after all this, and much more longanimity and patience (which God exercises towards man to bring him to repentance) from the lord to the servant, for him not only to set up a standard of war in defiance of his dread sovereign, the people (for so they truly were in nature, though names have befooled us) but to persist so many years in such cruel persecutions, who with a word of his mouth might have made a peace. If ever there were so superlative a treason, let the Indians judge; and whosoever shall break and violate such a trust and confidence, Anathema Maranatha be unto them.

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was thrown into the sea in a great leather barrel, with a dog, a jackanapes, a cock, and a viper, significant companions for him, to be deprived of all the elements, as in my "Poor man's case," fol. 10. Nor was there any law made against parents that should kill their children; yet if any man was so unnatural, he had an exemplary punishment.

Obj. BUT is it not a maxim in law, "That the king can do no wrong?"

Resp. FOR any man to say so, is blasphemy against the great God of truth and love: for only God cannot err, because what he wills is right, because he wills it; and it is a sad thing to consider how learned men, for unworthy ends, should use such art to subdue the people, by transportation of their senses, as to make them believe that the law is, that the king can do no wrong.

1. FOR law, I do aver it with confidence, but in all humility, that there is no such case to be found in law, that if the king rob, or murder, or commit such horrid extravagancies, that it is no wrong: indeed the case is put in Hen. VII. by a chief judge, that "If the king kill a man, it is no felony to make him suffer death;" that is to be meant in ordinary courts of justice: but there is no doubt but the parliament might try the king, or appoint others to judge him for it. We find cases in law that the king had been sued even in civil actions.

IN 43 Ed. III. 22. it is resolved, That all manner of actions did lie against the king, as against any lord; and 24 Ed. III. 23. Wilby a learned judge said, That there was a writ "Præcipe Henrico Regi Angliæ."

INDEED Ed. I. did make an act of state, "That men should sue to him by petition;" but this was not agreed unto in parliament, "Thelwall title roye digest of writs," 71. But after, when judges places grew great, the judges and bitesheeps began to sing lullaby, and speak Platentia to the king, that "My lord the king is an angel of light:" now angels are not responsible to men, but God, therefore not kings: and the judges they begin to make the king a God, and say, that by law his stile is Sacred Majesty, though he swears every hour; and Gracious Majesty, though gracious men be the chief objects of his hatred; and that the king hath an omnipotency and omnipresence.

BUT I am sure there is no case in law, that if the king levy a war against the parliament and people, that it is not treason. Possibly that case in Hen. VII. may prove, that if the king should in his passion kill a man, this shall not be felony to take away the king's life: for the inconveniency may be greater to the people, by putting a king to death for one offence and miscarriage, than the execution of justice upon him can advantage them: but what is this to a levying of war against a parliament? never any judge was so devoid of understanding, that he denied that to be treason. But suppose a judge that held his place at the king's pleasure did so, I am sure never any parliament said so. But what if there had in dark times of popery been an act made, that the king might murder, ravish, burn and perpetrate all mischiefs, and play reaks with impunity, will any man that hath but wit enough to measure an ell of cloth, or to tell twenty, say, That this is an obligation for men to stand still and suffer a monster to cut their throats, and grant commission to rob at Suter's-hill; as such and no better are all legal thefts and oppressions? The doctor says, That a statute against giving an alms to a poor man is void: he is no student, I mean, was never bound apprentice to reason, that says, A king cannot commit treason against the people.

Obj. BUT are there not negative words in the statute of 25 Ed. III. That nothing else shall be construed to be treason but what is there expressed?

Resp. THAT statute was intended for the people's safety, that the king's judges should not make traitors by the dozens to gratify the king or courtiers; but it was never meant, to give liberty to the king to destroy the people: and though it be said, That the king and parliament only may declare treason, yet, no doubt, if the king will neglect his duty, it may be so declared without him; for when many are obliged to do any service, if some of them fail, the rest must do it.

Obj. BUT is there any precedent, that ever any man was put to death that did not offend against some written law? For where there is no law, there is no transgression.

Resp. 'Tis very true, where there is neither law of God, nor nature, nor positive law, there can be no transgression, and therefore that scripture is much abused to apply it only to laws positive. For,

1. "Ad ea quæ frequentius, &c." 'Tis out of the sphere of all earthly law-givers to comprehend and express all particular cases that may possibly happen, but such as are of most frequent concurrence; particulars being different, like the several faces of men different from one another, else laws would be too tedious, and as particulars occur, rational men will reduce them to general reasons of state, so as every thing may be adjudged for the good of the community.

2. THE law of England, is "Lex non scripta, and we have a direction in the epistle to the 3: Rep. That when our law-books are silent, we must repair to the law of nature and reason: Holinshed, and

and other historians, tell us, That in 20 Hen. 8. the lord Hungerford was executed for buggery, for which there was then no positive law to make it felony; and before any statute against witchcraft, many witches have been hanged in England, because it is death by God's law: If any Italian mountebank should come over hither, and give any man poison that should lie in his body above a year and a day, and then kill him, as it is reported they can give a man poison that shall consume the body in three years, will any make scruple or question to hang up such a rascal? At Naples, the great treasurer of corn being intrusted with many thousand quarters at three shillings the bushel, for the common good, finding an opportunity to sell it for five shillings the bushel to foreign merchants, enriched himself exceedingly thereby, and corn growing suddenly dear, the council called him to account for it, who proffered to allow three shillings for it, as it was delivered into his custody, and hoped thereby to escape, but for so great a breach of trust, nothing would content the people but to have him hanged; and though there was no positive law for it, to make it treason, yet it was resolved by the best politicians, that it was treason to break so great a trust, by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and that for so great an offence he ought to die, that durst presume to enrich himself by that which might endanger the lives of so many citizens; for as society is natural, so governors must of necessity, and in all reason, provide for the preservation and sustenance of the meanest member, he that is but as the little toe of the body politick.

BUT I know the ingenuous reader desires to hear something concerning Ireland, where there were no less than 142,000 men, women, and children, most barbarously and satannically murdered in the first four months of the rebellion, as appeared by substantial proofs, at the king's bench, at the trial of Macquire. If the king had a hand, or but a little finger in that massacre, every man will say, Let him die the death. But how shall we be assured of that? How can we know the tree better than by its fruits? For my own particular, I have spent many serious thoughts about it, and I desire, in doubtful cases, to give charity the upper hand; but I cannot in my conscience acquit him of it. Many strong presumptions, and several oaths of honest men, that have seen the king's commission for it, cannot but amount to a clear proof. If I meet a man running down stairs with a bloody sword in his hand, and find a man stabbed in the chamber, though I did not see this man run into the body by that which I met, yet if I were of the jury, I durst not but find him guilty of the murder; and I cannot but admire that any man should deny that for him, which he durst never deny for himself: how often was that monstrous rebellion laid in his dish? and yet he durst never absolutely deny it: never was bear so unwillingly brought to the stake, as he was to declare against the rebels; and when he did once call them rebels, he would suffer but forty copies to be printed, and those to be sent to him sealed; and he hath since above forty times called them his subjects, and his good subjects; and sent to Ormond to give special thanks to some of these rebels, as Muskery and Plunket. (which I am confident, by what I see of his height of spirit and undaunted resolution at his trial and since, acting the last part answerable to the former part of his life; he would rather have lost his life, than to have sent thanks to two such incarnate devils, if he had not been as guilty as themselves) Questionless if the king had not been guilty of that blood, he would have made a thousand declarations against those blood-hounds and hell-hounds, that are not to be named but with fire and brimstone, and have sent to all princes in the world for assistance against such accursed devils in the shape of men: but he durst not offend those fiends and fire-brands; for if he had, I verily believe they would soon have produced his commission under his hand and seal of Scotland at Edinburgh, 1641. A copy whereof is in the parliament's hands, attested by oath, dispersed by copies in Ireland, which caused the general rebellion.

Obj. HE did not give commission to kill the English, but to take their forts, castles, towns and arms, and come over and help him.

R. AND is it like all this could be effected without the slaughter of the poor English? Did the king ever call them rebels, but in forty proclamations wrung out of him by force, by the parliament's importunity? Murdering the protestants was so acceptable to him, and with this limitation, that none should be published without his further directions, as appears under Nichols's hand, now in the parliament's custody: but the Scots were proclaimed rebels before they killed a man, or had an army, and a prayer against them, enjoined in all churches, but no such matter against the Irish.

WELL, when the rebels were worsted in Ireland, the king makes war here to protect them, which but for his fair words had been prevented, often calling God to witness, he would as soon raise war on his own children; and men from popish principles assist him. Well, we fought in jest. and were kept between winning and losing: the king must not be too strong, lest he revenge himself; nor the parliament too strong, for the commons would rule all, till Naseby fight, that then the king could

keep no more days of thanksgiving so well as we: then he makes a cessation in Ireland, and many Irish came over to help him: English came over with papists, who had scarce wiped their swords since they had killed their wives and children, and had their estates.

BUT this I argue, The rebels knew that the king had declared them traitors, and forty copies were printed; and the first clause of an oath enjoined by the general council of rebels, was, "To bear true faith and allegiance to king Charles; and by all means to maintain his royal prerogative, against the puritans in the parliament of England." Now is any man so weak in his intellectuals, as to imagine, That if the rebels had without the king's command or consent, murdered so many protestants, and he thereupon had really proclaimed them rebels, that they would after this have taken a new oath, to have maintained his prerogative? no, those bloody devils had more wit, than to fight in jest. If the king had once in good earnest proclaimed them rebels, they would have burnt their scabbards, and would not have stiled themselves, the king and queen's army, as they did. And truly, that which the king said for himself, That he would have ventured himself, to have gone in person into Ireland, to suppress that rebellion, is but a poor argument to enforce any man's belief, that he was not guilty of the massacre: for it makes me rather think, that he had some hopes to have returned at the head of 20 or 30,000 rebels, to have destroyed this nation: for when the earl of Leicester was sent by the parliament to subdue the rebels, did not the king hinder him from going? and were not the clothes and provisions which were sent by the parliament, for the relief of the poor protestants there, seized upon by his command, and his men of war, and sold or exchanged for arms and ammunition, to destroy this parliament? And does not every man know, that the rebels in Ireland gave letters of mart, for taking the parliament's ships, but freed the king's as their very good friends? And I have often heard it credibly reported, that the king should say, That nothing more troubled him, but that there was not as much protestant blood running in England and Scotland, as in Ireland. And when that horrid rebellion begun to break forth, how did the papists here triumph and boast, that they hoped e'er long to see London Streets run down in blood? And yet I do not think, that the king was a papist, or that he designed to introduce the pope's supremacy in spiritual things, into this kingdom: but thus it was, a jesuitical party at court was too prevalent in his councils, and some mongrel protestants, that less hated the papists than the puritans, by the queen's mediation, joined all together to destroy the puritans, hoping that the papists, and the Laodicean protestants would agree well enough together. And lastly, if it be said, that if the king and the rebels were never fallen out, what need had Ormond to make a pacification or peace with them by the king's commission, under the great seal of Ireland? Truly there hath been so much dawbing, and so little plain dealing, that I wonder how there comes to be so many beggars.

CONCERNING the betraying of Rochel, to the enslaving of the protestant party in France, I confess, I heard so much of it, and was so shamefully reproached for it in Geneva, and by the protestant ministers in France, that I could believe no less, than that the king was guilty of it. I have heard fearful exclamations from the French protestants against the king, and the late duke of Buckingham, for the betraying of Rochel. And some of the ministers told me, ten years since, That God would be revenged of the wicked king of England, for betraying Rochel: and I have often heard Deodat say, concerning Henry the fourth of France, That the papists had his body, but the protestants had his heart and soul; but for the king of England, The protestants had his body, but the papists had his heart: not that I think he did believe transubstantiation (God forbid I should wrong the dead) but I verily believe, that he loved a papist, better than a puritan.

THE duke of Roan, who was an honest gallant man, and the king's godfather, would often say, that all the blood which was shed in Dauphiny, would be cast upon the king of England's score: for thus it was, the king sent a letter to the Rochellers by sir William Breecher, to assure them, that he would assist them to the uttermost, against the French king, for the liberty of their religion; conditionally, that they would not make any peace without him; and Montague was sent into Savoy, and to the duke of Roan, to assure them from the king, that 30,000 men should be sent out of England, to assist them against the French king, in three fleets: one to land in the isle of Ree, a second in the river of Bourdeaux, and a third in Normandy: whereupon, the duke of Roan being general for the protestants, not suspecting that the French durst assault him in Dauphiny (because the king of England was ready to invade him, as he had promised) drew out his army upon disadvantage: whereupon, the French king employed all his army in Dauphiny against the protestants, who were forced to retreat, and the duke of Roan to fly to Geneva, and the protestants to accept of peace upon very hard conditions, to stand barely at the king's devotion for their liberties, without any cautionary towns of assurance, as formerly they had, being such a peace as the sheep make with the wolves when

when the dogs are dismiss. And the protestants have ever since cried out to this very day, it is not the French king that did us wrong, for then we could have born it, but it was the king of England, a professed protestant, that betrayed us. And when I have many times entreated Deodati, and others, to have a good opinion of the king, he would answer me, That we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but not to forgive our friends.

THERE is a French book printed about two years since, called "Memoirs du monsieur de Roan," where the king's horrid perfidiousness, and deep dissimulation, is very clearly unfolded and discovered: to instance but in some particulars; the king having solemnly engaged to the Rochellers, that he would hazard all the forces he had in his three kingdoms, rather than they should perish; did in order thereunto, to gain credulity with them, send out eight ships to sea, commanded by sir John Pennington, to assist the Rochellers, as was pretended, but nothing less intended; for Pennington assisted the French king against the Rochellers, which made sir Ferdinando Gorge to go away with the Great Neptune, in detestation of so damnable a plot; and the English masters and owners of ships, refusing to lend their ships to destroy the Rochellers, whom with their souls they desired to relieve, Pennington in a mad spite shot at them.

SUBISE being agent here in England for the French protestants, acquainted the king how basely Pennington had dealt, and that the English ships had mowed down the Rochel ships like grass, not only to the great danger and loss of the Rochellers, but to the eternal dishonour of this nation, scandal of our religion, and disadvantage of the general affairs of all the protestants in Christendom. The king seems to be displeased, and says, What a knave is this Pennington? but whether it was not feigned, let all the world judge: but the thing being so plain, said Subise to the king, Sir, why did the English ships assist the French king, and those that would not, were shot at by your admiral? The French protestants are no fools; how can I make them believe that you intend their welfare? The king was much put to it for a ready answer, but at last thus it was packed up, that the French king had a design to be revenged of Genoa for some former affront; and that the king lent him eight English ships to be employed for Genoa, and that sailing towards Genoa, they met with some of the Rochellers accidentally, and that the English did but look on, and could not help it, not having any commission to fight at that present; wherein the Rochellers might and would have declined a sea fight, if they had not expected our assistance. But still the poor protestants were willing, rather to blame Pennington than the king; who in great seeming zeal, being surety for the last peace between the French king, and his protestant subjects, sends Devick to the duke of Roan, to assure him, That if Rochel were not speedily set at liberty, (which the French king had besieged, contrary to his agreement) he would employ his whole strength, and in his own person see it performed; which being not done; then the king sends the duke of Buckingham to the isle of Ree, and gives new hopes of better success to Subise, commanding the admiral and officers in the fleet, in Subise's hearing, to do nothing without his advice: but when the duke came to land at the isle of Ree, many gallant Englishmen lost their lives, and the duke brought back 300 tons of corn from the Rochellers, which he had borrowed of them, pretending a necessity for the Englishmen, which was but feigned, knowing it was a city impregnable, so long as they had provision within. I confess the Rochellers were not wise, to lend the duke their corn, considering how they had been dealt with: but what a base thing was it, so to betray them, and to swear unto them, that they should have corn enough sent from England, before they wanted it: and for a long time, God did miraculously send them in a new kind of fish, which they never had before. But when the duke came to court, he made the honest English believe, that Rochel would suddenly be relieved, and that there was not the least danger of the loss of it; but secretary Cook, an honest understanding gentleman, and the only friend at court to the Rochellers, labouring to improve his power to send some succour to Rochel, was suddenly sent away from court upon some sleeveless errand, or as some say, to Portsmouth, under colour of providing corn for Rochel; but the duke soon after went thither, and said, His life upon it, Rochel is safe enough: And the next day, Subise being at Portsmouth, he prest the duke of Buckingham most importunately to send relief to Rochel then or never; the duke told him that he had just then heard good news of the victualling of Rochelle, which he was going to tell the king: which Subise making doubt of, the duke affirmed it by an oath, and having the words in his mouth, he was stabbed by Felton, and instantly died: the poor Rochellers seeing themselves so betrayed, exclaimed of the English, and were constrained through famine to surrender the city; yet new assurances came from the king to the duke of Roan, that he should never be abandoned, and that he should not be dismayed nor astonished for the loss of Rochel.

BUT Subise spoke his mind freely at court, that the English had betrayed Rochel, and that the loss of that city was the apparent perdition and loss of 32 places of strength from the French protestants in Languedock, Piedmont, and Dauphin, therefore it was thought fit that he should have a fig given him to stop his mouth: Well, not long after, two capuchins were sent into England to kill honest Subise, and the one of them discovered the other; Subise rewarded the discoverer, and demanded justice here against the other who was a prisoner; but, by what means you may easily imagine, that assassinate rascal, instead of being whipt, or receiving some more severe punishment, was released and sent back into France with money in his purse, and one of the messengers that was sent from Rochel to complain of those abominable treacheries, was taken here, and as the duke of Roan writes, was hanged for some pretended felony or treason; and much more to this purpose may be found in the duke of Roan's memorials; but yet I know many wise sober men do acquit the king from the guilt of the loss of Rochel, and lay it upon the duke, as if it were but a loss of his reputation; they say that the duke of Buckingham agitated his affairs neither for religion, nor the honour of his master, but only to satisfy his passion in certain foolish vows which he made in France, entered upon a war; and that the business miscarried through ignorance, and for want of understanding to manage so difficult a negotiation, he being unfit to be an admiral or a general.

I CONFESS that for many years I was of that opinion, and thought that the king was seduced by evil counsel, and some thought that Buckingham and others ruled him as a child, and durst not do what they list: but certainly he was too politique and subtile a man to be swayed by any thing but his own judgment; since Naseby letters I ever thought him principal in all transactions of state, and the wisest about him but accessaries; he never acted by any implicit faith in state matters, the proudest of them all durst never cross him in any design when he had once resolved upon it: Is any man so soft-brained to think that the duke or Pennington durst betray Rochel without his Command? would not he have hanged them up at their return, if they had wilfully transgressed his commands? A thousand such excuses made for him, are but like Irish quagmires, that have no solid ground or foundation in reason: he was well known to be a great student in his younger days, that his father would say, He must make him a bishop: he had more learning and dexterity in state affairs undoubtedly, than all the kings in Christendom; if he had had grace answerable to his strong parts, he had been another Solomon, but his wit and knowledge proved like a sword in a mad-man's hand; he was a stranger to the work of grace and the spirit of God, as the poor creature confessed to Mr. Knowls after he was condemned; and all those mæanders in state, his serpentine turnings and windings, have but brought him to shame and confusion: but I am fully satisfied, none of his counsel durst ever advise him to any thing, but what they knew before he resolved to have done; and that they durst as well take a bear by the tooth, as do, or consent to the doing of any thing, but what they knew would please him: they did but hew and square the timber, he was the master-builder, that gave the form to every architecture. And being so able and judicious to discern of every man's merits, never think that the duke or Pennington, or any judge or officer, did ever any thing for his advantage without his command against law or honor.

UPON all which premises, may it please your lordship, I do humbly demand and pray the justice of this high court, and yet not I, but the innocent blood that hath been shed in the three kingdoms, demands justice against him: this blood is vocal, and cries loud, and yet speaks no better, but much louder than the blood of Abel; for what proportion hath the blood of that righteous man, to the blood of so many thousands? If king Ahab, and queen Jezabel, for the blood of one righteous Naboth (who would not sell his inheritance for the full value) were justly put to death, what punishment does he deserve, that is guilty of the blood of thousands, and fought for a pretended prerogative, that he might have any man's estate that he liked, without paying for it? This blood hath long cried, "How long parliament, how long army, will ye forbear to avenge our blood? Will ye not do justice upon the capital author of all injustice? When will you take the proud lyon by the beard, that defies you with imperious exultations, what is the house of commons? what is the army?" as Pharoah said, "Who is the Lord? and who is Moses?" I am not accountable to any power on earth, those that were murdered at Brainford, knocked on the head in the water, and those honest souls that were killed in cold blood at Bolton and Liverpool in Lancashire, at Bartomley in Cheshire, and many other places, their blood cries night and day for justice against him, their wives and children cry, "justice upon the murderer, or else give us our fathers and husbands again; nay, should the people be silent, the very stones and timber of the houses would cry for justice against him. But, my lord, before I pray judgment, I humbly crave leave to speak to two particulars, 1. Concerning the prisoner: when I consider what he was, and how many prayers have been made for him, though

though I know that all the world cannot restore him, nor save his life, because God will not forgive his temporal punishment, yet if God in him will be pleased to add one example more to the church, of his unchangeable love to his elect in Christ, not knowing but that he may belong to the election of grace; I am troubled in my spirit, in regard of his eternal condition, for fear that he should depart this life, without love and reconciliation to all those saints whom he hath scorned under the notion of presbyterians, anabaptists, independants and sectaries: It cannot be denied, but that he hath spent all his days in unmeasurable pride; that during his whole reign, he hath deported himself as a God; been depended upon, and adored as a God; that hath challenged and assumed an omnipotent power, an earthly omnipotence, that with the breath of his mouth hath dissolved parliaments; his Non placet hath made all the counsels of that supreme court to become abortives: Non curo hath been his motto, who instead of being honoured as good kings ought to be, and no more, hath been idolized and adored, as our good God only ought to be: a man that hath shot all his arrows against the upright in the land, hated Christ in his members, swallowed down unrighteousness, as the ox drinks water, esteemed the needy as his footstool, crushed honest publick spirited men, and grieved when he could not afflict the honest more than he did, counted it the best art and policy to suppress the righteous, and to give way to his courtiers so to gripe, grind, oppress and overreach the free people of the land, that he might do what he list (the remembrance whereof would pierce his soul, if he knew the preciousness of it) but all sins to an infinite mercy are equally pardonable, therefore my prayer for this poor wretch shall be, That God would so give him repentance to life, that he may believe in that Christ whom he hath imprisoned, persecuted and murdered in the saints; that he which hath lived a tyrant, and hated nothing so much as holiness may die a convert, and in love to the saints in England, that so the tears of the oppressed and the afflicted, may not be as so many fiery stinging serpents, causing an eternal despairing, continual horror to this miserable man, when all tyrants shall be astonished, and innocent blood will affright more than twelve legions of devils. All the hurt that I wish to him is, that he may look the saints in the face with comfort, for the saints must judge the world; and however it may be he or his adherents may think it a brave Roman spirit, not to repent of any thing, nor express any sorrow for any sin, though never so horrid, taking more care and fear not to change their countenance upon the scaffold than what shall become them after death; yet I beseech your lordship that I may tell him and all the malignants now living but this, "Charles Stuart, unless you depart this life in love and reconciliation to all those saints and godly men whom you have either ignorantly or maliciously opposed, mocked and persecuted, and still scorn and jeer at, as hereticks and sectaries, there is no more hopes for you ever to see God in comfort, than for me to touch the heavens with my finger, or with a word to annihilate this great building, or for the Devil to be saved, which he might be if he could love a saint as such: no, Sir, it will be too late for you to say to those saints, whom you have defied, Give me some of your holiness, that I may behold God's angry countenance: you can expect no answer, but, Go, buy Sir of those soul-hucksters, your bishops, which fed you with chaff and poison, and now you must feed upon fire and brimstone to all eternity."

2. CONCERNING myself, I bear no more malice to the man's person, than I do to my dear father; but I hate that cursed principle of tyranny, that has so long lodged and harboured within him, which has turned our waters of law into blood; and therefore upon that malignant principle, I hope this high court (which is an habitation of justice, and a royal palace of principles of freedom) will do speedy justice, that this lyon which has devoured so many sheep, may not only be removed out of the way, but that this iron scepter, which hath been lifted up to break this poor nation in pieces like a potter's vessel, may be wrested out of the hands of tyrants; that my honorable clients (for whom I am an unworthy advocate) the people of England, may not only taste, but drink abundantly of those sweet waters of that well of liberty, which this renowned army hath digg'd with their swords, which was stopped by the Philistines, the fierce Jew, and the uncircumcised Canaanite, the hopes whereof made me readily to hearken to the call to this service, as if it had been immediately from heaven, being fully satisfied, that the prisoner was long since condemned to die by God's law (which being more noble and antient than any law of man, if there had been a statute that he should not die, yet he ought to be put to death notwithstanding) and that this high court was but to pronounce the sentence and judgment written against him: and though I might have been sufficiently discouraged, in respect that my reason is far less than others of my profession; yet considering that there are but two things desireable, to make a dumb man eloquent, namely, A good cause, and good judges, the first whereof procures the justice of heaven, and the second justice upon earth; and thinking that happily God might make use of one mean man at the bar, amongst other learned

counsel,

counsel, that more of his mind might appear in it (for many times the less there is of man, the more God's glory doth appear, and hitherto very much of the mind of God hath appeared in this action) I went as cheerfully about it as to a wedding; and that the glory of this administration may be wholly given to God, I desire to observe to the praise of his great name, the work of God upon my own spirit, in his gracious assistance and presence with me, as a return of prayer and fruit of faith, believing that God never calls to the acting of any thing, so pleasing to him, as this most excellent court of justice is, but he is present with the honourable judges, and those that wait upon them: I have been sometimes of council against felons and prisoners, but I never moved the court to proceed to judgment against any felon, or to keep any man in prison, but I trembled at it in my thoughts, as thinking it would be easier to give an account of mercy and indulgence, than of any thing that might look like rigor; but now my spirits are quite of another temper, and I hope it is meat and drink to good men, to have justice done, and recreation to think what benefit this nation will receive by it.

AND now, my lord, I must, as the truth is, conclude him guilty of more transcendent treasons, and enormous crimes, than all the kings in this part of the world have ever been. And as he that would picture Venus, must take the eyes of one, the cheeks of another beautiful woman, and so other parts to make a compleat beauty: so to delineate an absolute tyrant, the cruelty of Richard the third, and all the subtilty, treachery, dissimulation, abominable projects, and dishonourable shifts, that ever were separately in any that swayed the English scepter, conspired together to make their habitation in this whited-wall; therefore I humbly pray, That as he has made himself a president in committing such horrid acts, which former kings and ages knew not, and have been afraid to think of, that your lordship, and this high court, out of your sublime wisdoms, and for justice sake, would make him an example for other kingdoms for the time to come, that the kings of the earth may hear, and fear, and do no more so wickedly; that he which would not be a pattern of virtue, and an example of justice in his life, may be a president of justice to others by his death.

COURTEOUS reader, for thy full satisfaction in matter of law, how the late king was by the law of the land accountable for his tyrannous, and traitorous exorbitancies, I refer thee to my lord president's most learned and judicious speech, before the sentence read: and I have one word to add, That high court was a resemblance and representation of the great day of judgment, when the saints shall judge all worldly powers, and where this judgment will be confirmed and admired, for it was not only bonum but bene; not only good for the matter but the manner of proceeding: this high court did not only consult with heaven for wisdom and direction (a president for other courts to begin every solemn action with prayer) but examined witnesses several days, upon oath, to inform their consciences, and received abundant satisfaction in a judicial way (which by the law of the land was not requisite in treason, the prisoner standing mute) as judges, which before was most notorious and known to them, as private persons, and having most perspicuously discerned, and weighed the merits of the cause in the ballances of the sanctuary, law and right reason, pronounced as righteous a sentence as ever was given by mortal men. And yet what action was ever so good, but was traduced? Not only by unholy men, but by the holy men of the world; that professors should pray for justice, and then repine at the execution of it: blessed Lord! how does the God of this world storm, now his kingdom is shaking? An enlightened eye must needs see that it is the design of heaven to break all human glory with an iron scepter, that will not kiss his golden scepter, and to exalt justice and mercy in the earth. I confess, if the greater part of the world should approve such high and noble acts of justice, it might be suspected, because the most people will judge erroneously; but that Christians that have fasted and prayed many years for justice, should now be angry to see it done, what is it? but like foolish passengers that having been long at sea in dangerous storms, as they are entering into the quiet haven, to be mad with the pilot because he will not return into the angry seas. But I shall observe one passage in the lord president's speech, as a scholar may presume to say a word after his master, concerning the many menaces and minatory dangerous speeches which are given forth concerning this high court: if men must be killed for the faithful discharge of their duties to God and their country, I am sure the murderer will have the worst of it in conclusion, if he should not be known here (though murder is a sin that seldom goes unpunished in this world; and never did any Jesuit hold it meritorious to kill men for bringing tyrants and murderers to justice, or to do such horrid acts in the sight of the sun) it was a noble saying of the lord president, That he was afraid of nothing so much as the not doing of justice; and when he was called to that high place which was put upon him, he sought it not, but desired to be excused more than once: not to decline

decline a duty to God and the people for fear of any loss or danger (being above such thoughts by many stories, as actions testify) but alleging, that of himself, out of an humble spirit, which if others had said of him, I am sure they had done him a great deal of wrong: and though he might have been sufficiently discouraged, because it was a new unprecedented tribunal of condemning a king (because never did any king so tyrannize and butcher the people, find me but that in any history, and on the other side the leaf you shall find him more than beheaded, even to be quartered, and given to be meat to the fowls of the air) yet the glory of God, and the love of justice, constrained him to accept it, and with what great wisdom and undauntedness of resolution, joined with a sweet meekness of spirit he hath performed it, is most evident to all, the malignants themselves being judges. Concerning this high court, to speak any thing of this glorious administration of justice, is but to shew the sun with a candle (the sun of justice now shines most gloriously, and it will be fair weather in the nation; but alas, the poor mole is blind still, and cannot see it, but none so blind as they that will not see it) however, it is not proper or convenient for me at present, to speak all the truth that I know (the generations that are to come will call them blessed) concerning the integrity and justice of their proceedings, lest I that am a servant should be counted a sycophant, which I abhor in my soul, as my body does poison; and this I will be bold to say (which I hope God guides my hand to write) This high court hath cut off the head of a tyrant, and they have done well; undoubtedly it is the best action that they ever did in all their lives, a matter of pure envy, not hatred, for never shall or can any men in this nation promerit so much honour as these have done, by any execution of justice comparable to this; and in so doing, they have pronounced sentence not only against one tyrant, but tyranny itself; therefore if any of them shall turn tyrants, or consent to set up any kind of tyranny by a law, or suffer any unmerciful domineering over the consciences, persons and estates of the free people of this land, they have pronounced sentence against themselves: but good trees cannot bring forth bad fruits; therefore let all desperate malignants repent ere it be too late, of any such ungodly purposes, and fight no longer against God. Every man is sown here as a seed or grain, and grows up to be a tree, it behoves us all to see in what ground we stand: holy and righteous men will be found to be timber for the great building of God in his love, when tyrants and enemies to holiness and justice, will be for a threshold or footstool to be trodden upon, or fit for the fire.

LASTLY, for myself, I bless God, I have not so much fear as comes to the thousandth part of a grain; it is for Cain to be afraid, that "every man that meets him will slay him!" I am not much solicitous, whether I die of a consumption, or by the hand of Ravilliacks, I leave that to my heavenly father: if it be his will that I shall fall by the hand of violence, "It is the Lord, let him do what he pleaseth:" if my indentures be given in before the term of my apprenticeship be expired, and that I be at my father's house before it be night, I am sure there is no hurt in all this: if I have but so much time left, I shall pray my father to forgive the murderer; the blood of Christ can wash away sins of the deepest stain, but when he sees his children's blood sprinkled upon the bloody wretch, he loves every member as he loves himself. But know this, ye that have conceived any desperate intentions against those honourable justices, who made you freemen, unless you will return to Egypt: if God, in wroth to you, and love to any of his people, should suffer you to imbrow your hands in any of their innocent blood, either you will repent or not; if you repent, it will cost you ten times more anguish and grief of heart, than the pleasure of the sin can cause delight; and what a base thing it is to do that which must be repented of at the best? but if you repent not, it had been better for you to have never been born. But let every man be faithful in doing his duty, and trust God with the success, and rejoice in Christ in the testimony of a good conscience; for he that hath not a soul to lose, hath nothing to lose: but blessed be God, I have no soul to lose, therefore I desire only to fear him, whom to fear, "is the beginning of wisdom:" and for all malignants to come in, and join with honest men in settling this nation upon noble principles of justice, freedom, and mercy to the poor, will be their best and greatest understanding.

A N

I N D E X

Of the principal matters contained in these Memoirs.

A

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>A BINGDON fortified by the parliament, 57</p> <p>Act of indemnity, prepared, 284</p> <p>Passed, 286</p> <p>Addresses brought to Richard Cromwell, 259</p> <p>Admirals of England attack the Dutch fleet, 197. Put them to flight, <i>ibid.</i> Take and destroy many ships, 198. Take several prizes on their coast, <i>ibid.</i> Obtain another signal victory, <i>ibid.</i></p> <p>Aghur made a garrison for the parliament, 181</p> <p>Agnizing, that word proposed to be put for recognizing, 264</p> <p>Allen (Alderman) imprisoned by O. Cromwell, 194. Chosen mayor of London, 296</p> <p>Alured (Col.) commander of the parliament's guards, 283. Musters his men in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 341. Nominated one of the commissioners of their forces, 351. Put in possession of Hull, 363</p> <p>Anglesey-Isle surrendered to the parliament, 68</p> <p>Annesly (Arthur) made a member of the new council of state, 359. Appointed one of the commissioners for trial of the king's judges, 401</p> <p>Antego-Island delivered to the parliament, 165</p> <p>Antrim (Earl of) committed to the Tower, 393</p> <p>Sent prisoner to Ireland, 423. Set at liberty, <i>ibid.</i></p> <p>Argyle (Marquiss of) committed to the Tower, 391, 393</p> <p>Arlington (Earl of) secretary of state, 455.</p> <p>Promotes the interest of the prince of Orange. <i>ibid.</i></p> <p>Armies, those of England and Scotland, paid and dismissed, 8</p> <p>Arms of the commonwealth burnt, 384</p> | <p>Army of England, their petition to the parliament, 81. Another petition prepared by them, <i>ibid.</i> Their charge of high-treason against 11 members of the house of commons, 83. They march from Reading to Bedford, 86. They rendezvous upon Hounslow Heath, 89. March through the city, <i>ibid.</i> Draw up a declaration at St. Albans, 113. March to Colebrook, 114. Order guards to be placed in Westminster Hall, 116. They expel divers members of parliament, <i>ibid.</i> Their message to the house, <i>ibid.</i> They are for bringing the king to a tryal, 117</p> <p>Army, commanded by Col. Venables, 209. Their arrival at Hispaniola, <i>ibid.</i> Put to flight, <i>ibid.</i> They come to Jamaica, 210. Plunder that island, <i>ibid.</i></p> <p>—of England, resolves against the restoration of the parliament, 259. Place guards about the house, 271. Assume the civil power, 307. Resolve to call a new parliament, 323</p> <p>—Under general Monk, drawn up at Blackheath, 384. Wholly disbanded, 414</p> <p>Army Officers; see Officers of the army.</p> <p>Arnheim taken by the Marechal de Turenne, 476</p> <p>Articles of high-treason exhibited against some members of the house of commons, 10, 11</p> <p>Arundel (Earl of) made lord high steward at the Earl of Strafford's tryal, 7. Commissioned to sign the warrant for his execution, <i>ibid.</i> Ld. Arundel junior summons Warder-Castle, 26</p> <p>Arundel town and castle taken by Sir W. Waller, 36</p> <p>Ascham (Mr.) murdered at Madrid, 125</p> <p>Ashburnham (Mr.) his transactions with the king and the army, 87, and seq.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Ashfield</p> |
|---|--|

I N D E X.

- Ashfield (Col.) his contest with commissary general Whatley, 267. Summoned before Rich. Cromwell, *ibid.* Enjoined to ask Whatley's pardon, *ibid.* He refuses to do it, *ibid.*
- Ashley (Sir Jacob) defeated by Sir W. Brereton, 74. His forces entirely defeated, *ibid.* Taken prisoner, *ibid.*
- Ashley Cooper (Sir Anthony) chosen one of O. Cromwell's council, 202. One of the Council of State, 277. And a member of the new council, 359
- Ashton (Sir Arthur) governor of Reading, disabled, 25. Made governor of Tredagh, 129. Killed at that siege, 130
- Assembly of the nobility held at York, 5. Their advice to the king, *ibid.*—Called by O. Cromwell. See Parliament.
- Aubogny (Lady) brings a commission from the king made up in the hair of her head, 36. She is apprehended by order of parliament, *ibid.*
- Axtel (Col. Dan.) commands a party sent from Ireland, 292. Trapped by a Cavalier, 393. Sent prisoner to the Tower, *ibid.* Excepted from the indemnity act, *ibid.* 394. Brought to trial, 410. The heads of his indictment, *ibid.* His defence, *ibid.* Declared guilty of high treason, 412. His character and employment, *ibid.*
- Ayre in Scotland fortified, 237. The garrison there discharge their governor, 313
- Ayscue (Sir George) sent to the western islands, 164. Reduces Barbadoes to the obedience of the parliament, 165. Takes and disperses a fleet of Hollanders, 180
- B.
- Balfour (Sir William) lieutenant of the Tower, 8. Why dismissed from his charge, *ibid.* He commands a party of horse for the parliament, 21. His conduct in Cornwall, *ibid.*
- Ballishannon-fort taken by the Irish, 176. Retaken by the parliament forces, *ibid.*
- Bampffield (Col.) sent with a regiment of foot into Cologne, 474
- Bansted-downs fight, 110
- Barbadoes reduced by Sir George Ayscue, 165
- Barkley (Sir John) his negotiations between the king and the army, 84, *seq.* He advises the king to dissemble with the army, 85. His conference with O. Cromwell, 86. Persuades the king to accept of the army's propositions, *ibid.*
- Barkstead (Col.) excepted out of the indemnity act, 386. Escapes into Germany, 417.
- Made a burghers of Hanaw, *ibid.* Is seized in Holland, *ibid.* His employments, 418. His execution, *ibid.*
- Barnstable taken by the parliament, 166
- Barrington (Maj.) dismissed from his command, 354
- Basing-house, besieged by Sir Will. Waller, 36. The siege turned into a blockade, 50, 57. The blockade broken up, *ibid.* Stormed and taken by O. Cromwell, 67. The works thereabout levelled, *ibid.*
- Bath taken by Sir Tho. Fairfax, 67
- Baxter (Richard) appointed one of the king's chaplains, 389
- Beavize surrendered to the French, 476
- Bellievre sent ambassador into England by the French king, 80. Endeavours a reconciliation between the king and the parliament, *ibid.*
- Bern, the publick buildings of that town described, 429
- Berners (Josiah) admitted into the council of state, 278
- Berry, (Col.) a member of both the committees of safety, 275 and 302. And of the council of state, 277
- Bethel (Elingsby) Esq; retires to Laufanna, 423
- Beuningen (Heer-van) sent on an embassy from the States-General into England, 469
- Beverning (Mynheer) ambassador from the States of Holland, 213. Professors to sign the articles between both nations, *ibid.*
- Bill of indemnity prepared, 383. Persons to be excepted out of it, *ibid.* Passed, 396
- Birch (Col. John) chosen one of the new council of state, 359
- Bisco (Col.) arrives at Laufanna, 423
- Bishops excluded out of the house of lords, 7
- Blake (Col. Rob.) appointed to cruise upon the Irish coast, 124. Defeats Van Tromp the Dutch admiral, 174. Takes and sinks a Dutch convoy, 179, 180. Takes and disperses several French ships, *ibid.* Is appointed one of the four chief commanders of the fleet, 199. Sent into the Mediterranean, 215. Renders the English formidable to Italy, *ibid.* Col. Montague and Col. Desborough joined in commission with him, 255. His death, *ibid.*
- Blank left for the title of single person, 247. Filled up with the name of king, *ibid.* Those left for the two houses how filled up, *ibid.* The word king changed into that of protector, 250
- Bommel surrendered to the French, 477
- Bonfires made for roasting the rump, 355
- At

I N D E X.

- At the proclamation of K. Charles II. 377
 On the road at his landing, 384
 Book of sports published, 2
 Boon (Mr.) a merchant, one of the plenipoten-
 tiaries to Holland, 282
 Booth (Sir George) appears in arms, 289. De-
 feated by Col. Lamber, 293. Escapes in a
 woman's habit, *ibid.* Discovered and sent up to
 London, and committed to the Tower, *ibid.*
 Examined by a committee, 294. Discharged
 from his imprisonment, 362
 Bouchier (Sir John) one of the king's judges,
 395. Surrenders himself, *ibid.* Falls dan-
 gerously sick, *ibid.* Justifies the proceedings
 against K. Charles the first, *ibid.* Dies in his
 chair, *ibid.*
 Bovy Tracy encounter, 71
 Bowyer (Col.) seizes on major-general Harrison,
 381
 Bradshaw (Serj.) chosen president of the high
 court of justice, 118. Commands the charge
 against the king to be read, *ibid.* Enlarges
 on the crimes of which he was accused, 120.
 Commands the clerk to read the sentence, 121.
 Chosen a member of parliament, 211. Sum-
 moned to O. Cromwell's council, 240. Re-
 quired to take out a new commission for his
 office of judge, *ibid.* He refuses to do it, *ibid.*
 Goes his circuit, 244. Returned for a mem-
 ber of Rich. Cromwell's parliament, 261.
 Chosen one of the council of state, 277. One
 of the commissioners of the broad seal, 282.
 He inveighs against Col. Sydenham's speech,
 307. Withdraws himself from publick em-
 ployment, *ibid.*
 Brentford fight, 23
 Bridgeman (Sir Orlando) manages the tryal of the
 king's judges, 401. His charge to the grand
 jury, *ibid.* Made Lord keeper of the great
 seal, 460
 Bridgwater taken by general Fairfax, 67
 Bristol, taken by the king's party, 27. Sur-
 rendered to the parliament's forces, 67
 — Castle governed by Col. Adrian Scroop,
 213. Slighted by Cromwell's order, *ibid.*
 — (Earl of,) his speech to the house of lords,
 391
 Broghill (Lord) defeats the lord Muskerry, 154.
 A yearly revenue of 1000 l. settled upon him,
 159. Made president of the council in Scot-
 land, 213. A yearly revenue of 2000 l. set-
 tled upon him, *ibid.* Desirous to return to
 Ireland, 238. His request denied, *ibid.* He
 persuades the house to debate the new form of
 government, 247. Chosen one of Rich.
 Cromwell's cabinet council, 267. Sent into
 Munster, 272
 Broughton (Andrew) clerk to the high court of
 justice, excepted out of the bill of in-
 demnity, 386. Retires to Laufanna, 423
 Brown (Sir John) defeated and killed by major-
 general Lambert, 155
 — (Col.) a member of the new council of
 state, 359
 Buat, a Frenchman, seized in Holland, 455.
 Prosecuted for treason, *ibid.* Condemned to
 lose his head, *ibid.*
 Buckingham (Duke of) with the earl of Hol-
 land raises forces for the king, 109. Defeated
 by Sir Mich. Lewesey, 110. Escapes to
 France, *ibid.* Sent ambassador into France,
 469. His negociation and entertainment
 there, *ibid.* He returns to England, 470
 Bullion, three millions of it taken from the
 Spaniards, 237. Brought to the Tower of
 London, *ibid.*
 Burick, besieged by the Marshal de Turenne,
 475. Surrendered, *ibid.*
 Burleigh (Capt.) causes a drum to beat at New-
 port for the rescuing of the king, 101. Tried
 for the fact, 109. Condemned and executed,
ibid.
- C.
- Calamy (Edmund) appointed one of the king's
 chaplains, 389
 Capel (Lord) taken at Colchester, 113. Sent
 prisoner to the Tower of London, *ibid.* Es-
 capes thence and is seized again, 123. Be-
 headed, *ibid.*
 Cardiff Castle receives a garrison from the king,
 68. Taken by Col. Pritchard, *ibid.*
 Carew (Sir Alexander) made governor of Ply-
 mouth by the parliament, 36. Afterward
 beheaded by their order, *ibid.*
 — (John) summoned to O. Cromwell's coun-
 cil, 207. Sent prisoner to Pendennis, *ibid.*
 removed to his own house, 238
 Carew (John) one of the king's judges, appre-
 hended, 394. Excepted from the indemnity
 both in life and estate, *ibid.* His character,
 402. Brought to his tryal, *ibid.* His de-
 fence, *ibid.* Declared guilty, *ibid.* Executed
 at Charing Cross, 404
 Carlo besieged by the parliament forces, 139.
 Surrendered to major-general Ireton, 142
 Carmarthen Castle surrendered to the parliament,
 69
 Carrick-fergus, put into the hands of the Scotch,
 9. Reduced by the parliament forces, 132
 Carrick-goholt, taken by lieutenant-general Lud-
 low, 162
 Carrick-mac-Ross fortified and made a garrison, 180
 Castelvechio

I N D E X.

- Ashfield (Col.) his contest with commissary general Whatley, 267. Summoned before Rich. Cromwell, *ibid.* Enjoined to ask Whatley's pardon, *ibid.* He refuses to do it, *ibid.*
- Ashley (Sir Jacob) defeated by Sir W. Brereton, 74. His forces entirely defeated, *ibid.* Taken prisoner, *ibid.*
- Ashley Cooper (Sir Anthony) chosen one of O. Cromwell's council, 202. One of the Council of State, 277. And a member of the new council, 359
- Ashton (Sir Arthur) governor of Reading, disabled, 25. Made governor of Tredagh, 129. Killed at that siege, 130
- Assembly of the nobility held at York, 5. Their advice to the king, *ibid.*—Called by O. Cromwell. See Parliament.
- Aubogny (Lady) brings a commission from the king made up in the hair of her head, 36. She is apprehended by order of parliament, *ibid.*
- Axtel (Col. Dan.) commands a party sent from Ireland, 292. Trapped by a Cavalier, 393. Sent prisoner to the Tower, *ibid.* Excepted from the indemnity act, *ibid.* 394. Brought to trial, 410. The heads of his indictment, *ibid.* His defence, *ibid.* Declared guilty of high treason, 412. His character and employment, *ibid.*
- Ayre in Scotland fortified, 237. The garrison there discharge their governor, 313
- Ayscue (Sir George) sent to the western islands, 164. Reduces Barbadoes to the obedience of the parliament, 165. Takes and disperses a fleet of Hollanders, 180
- B.
- Balfour (Sir William) lieutenant of the Tower, 8. Why dismissed from his charge, *ibid.* He commands a party of horse for the parliament, 21. His conduct in Cornwall, *ibid.*
- Ballishannon-fort taken by the Irish, 176. Retaken by the parliament forces, *ibid.*
- Bampfild (Col.) sent with a regiment of foot into Cologne, 474
- Bansted-downs fight, 110
- Barbadoes reduced by Sir George Ayscue, 165
- Barkley (Sir John) his negotiations between the king and the army, 84, *seq.* He advises the king to dissemble with the army, 85. His conference with O. Cromwell, 86. Persuades the king to accept of the army's propositions, *ibid.*
- Barkstead (Col.) excepted out of the indemnity act, 386. Escapes into Germany, 417.
- Made a burghess of Hanaw, *ibid.* Is seized in Holland, *ibid.* His employments, 418. His execution, *ibid.*
- Barnstable taken by the parliament, 166
- Barrington (Maj) dismissed from his command, 354
- Basing-house, besieged by Sir Will. Waller, 36. The siege turned into a blockade, 50, 57. The blockade broken up, *ibid.* Stormed and taken by O. Cromwell, 67. The works thereabout levelled, *ibid.*
- Bath taken by Sir Tho. Fairfax, 67
- Baxter (Richard) appointed one of the king's chaplains, 389
- Beavize surrendered to the French, 476
- Bellievre sent ambassador into England by the French king, 80. Endeavours a reconciliation between the king and the parliament, *ibid.*
- Bern, the publick buildings of that town described, 429
- Berners (Josiah) admitted into the council of state, 278
- Berry, (Col.) a member of both the committees of safety, 275 and 302. And of the council of state, 277
- Bethel (Elingsby) Esq; retires to Laufanna, 423
- Beuningen (Heer-van) sent on an embassy from the States-General into England, 469
- Beverning (Mynheer) ambassador from the States of Holland, 213. Professors to sign the articles between both nations, *ibid.*
- Bill of indemnity prepared, 383. Persons to be excepted out of it, *ibid.* Passed, 396
- Birch (Col. John) chosen one of the new council of state, 359
- Bisco (Col.) arrives at Laufanna, 423
- Bishops excluded out of the house of lords, 7
- Blake (Col. Rob.) appointed to cruise upon the Irish coast, 124. Defeats Van Tromp the Dutch admiral, 174. Takes and sinks a Dutch convoy, 179, 180. Takes and disperses several French ships, *ibid.* Is appointed one of the four chief commanders of the fleet, 199. Sent into the Mediterranean, 215. Renders the English formidable to Italy, *ibid.* Col. Montague and Col. Desborough joined in commission with him, 255. His death, *ibid.*
- Blank left for the title of single person, 247. Filled up with the name of king, *ibid.* Those left for the two houses how filled up, *ibid.* The word king changed into that of protector, 250
- Bommel surrendered to the French, 477
- Bonfires made for roasting the rump, 355
- At

I N D E X.

- At the proclamation of K. Charles II. 377
 On the road at his landing, 384
 Book of sports published, 2
 Boon (Mr.) a merchant, one of the plenipotentiaries to Holland, 282
 Booth (Sir George) appears in arms, 289. Defeated by Col. Lamber, 293. Escapes in a woman's habit, *ibid.* Discovered and sent up to London, and committed to the Tower, *ibid.* Examined by a committee, 294. Discharged from his imprisonment, 362
 Bouchier (Sir John) one of the king's judges, 395. Surrenders himself, *ibid.* Falls dangerously sick, *ibid.* Justifies the proceedings against K. Charles the first, *ibid.* Dies in his chair, *ibid.*
 Bovy Tracy encounter, 71
 Bowyer (Col.) seizes on major-general Harrison, 381
 Bradshaw (Serj.) chosen president of the high court of justice, 118. Commands the charge against the king to be read, *ibid.* Enlarges on the crimes of which he was accused, 120. Commands the clerk to read the sentence, 121. Chosen a member of parliament, 211. Summoned to O. Cromwell's council, 240. Required to take out a new commission for his office of judge, *ibid.* He refuses to do it, *ibid.* Goes his circuit, 244. Returned for a member of Rich. Cromwell's parliament, 261. Chosen one of the council of state, 277. One of the commissioners of the broad seal, 282. He inveighs against Col. Sydenham's speech, 307. Withdraws himself from publick employment, *ibid.*
 Brentford fight, 23
 Bridgeman (Sir Orlando) manages the tryal of the king's judges, 401. His charge to the grand jury, *ibid.* Made Lord keeper of the great seal, 460
 Bridgwater taken by general Fairfax, 67
 Bristol, taken by the king's party, 27. Surrendered to the parliament's forces, 67
 — Castle governed by Col. Adrian Scroop, 213. Slighted by Cromwell's order, *ibid.*
 — (Earl of,) his speech to the house of lords, 391
 Broghill (Lord) defeats the lord Muskerry, 154. A yearly revenue of 1000 l. settled upon him, 159. Made president of the council in Scotland, 213. A yearly revenue of 2000 l. settled upon him, *ibid.* Desirous to return to Ireland, 238. His request denied, *ibid.* He persuades the house to debate the new form of government, 247. Chosen one of Rich. Cromwell's cabinet council, 267. Sent into Munster, 272
 Broughton (Andrew) clerk to the high court of justice, excepted out of the bill of indemnity, 386. Retires to Laufanna, 423
 Brown (Sir John) defeated and killed by major-general Lambert, 155
 — (Col.) a member of the new council of state, 359
 Buat, a Frenchman, seized in Holland, 455. Prosecuted for treason, *ibid.* Condemned to lose his head, *ibid.*
 Buckingham (Duke of) with the earl of Holland raises forces for the king, 109. Defeated by Sir Mich. Lewesey, 110. Escapes to France, *ibid.* Sent ambassador into France, 469. His negociation and entertainment there, *ibid.* He returns to England, 470
 Bullion, three millions of it taken from the Spaniards, 237. Brought to the Tower of London, *ibid.*
 Burick, besieged by the Marshal de Turenne, 475. Surrendered, *ibid.*
 Burleigh (Capt.) causes a drum to beat at Newport for the rescuing of the king, 101. Tried for the fact, 109. Condemned and executed, *ibid.*
- C.
- Calamy (Edmund) appointed one of the king's chaplains, 389
 Capel (Lord) taken at Colchester, 113. Sent prisoner to the Tower of London, *ibid.* Escapes thence and is seized again, 123. Beheaded, *ibid.*
 Cardiff Castle receives a garrison from the king, 68. Taken by Col. Pritchard, *ibid.*
 Carew (Sir Alexander) made governor of Plymouth by the parliament, 36. Afterward beheaded by their order, *ibid.*
 — (John) summoned to O. Cromwell's council, 207. Sent prisoner to Pendennis, *ibid.* removed to his own house, 238
 Carew (John) one of the king's judges, apprehended, 394. Excepted from the indemnity both in life and estate, *ibid.* His character, 402. Brought to his tryal, *ibid.* His defence, *ibid.* Declared guilty, *ibid.* Executed at Charing Cross, 404
 Carlo besieged by the parliament forces, 139. Surrendered to major-general Ireton, 142
 Carmarthen Castle surrendered to the parliament, 69
 Carrick-fergus, put into the hands of the Scotch, 9. Reduced by the parliament forces, 132
 Carrick-goholt, taken by lieutenant-general Ludlow, 162
 Carrick-mac-Rofs fortified and made a garrison, 180
 Castelvechio

I N D E X.

Castelvecchio taken by the Genoese, 479
 Cavaliers imprisoned, 218. Their arms seized, ibid. A party of them appear at Salisbury, ibid. They proclaim king Charles II. ibid. Seize on the judges, ibid. Take away their commissions, ibid. March to Blandford, ibid. Pursued into Devonshire, ibid. Defeated by Maj. Crook, ibid. A tenth part of their estates seized, 219. Their conspiracy against the army, 325. Excite the apprentices to petition for a free parliament, 326 and 355. Cause the names of the king's judges to be printed, 368
 Cavendish (Col.) summons Gainborough, 29. Killed by Oliver Cromwell, ibid.
 Cawfield (Lord) treacherously murdered by Sir Phelim O'Neal, 188
 Chaloner (Tho.) chosen one of the council of state, 277
 — (James) condemned to lose his estate, 394
 — (Tho.) one of the king's judges, 394. Put into the exception from the indemnity act, ibid.
 Chamilly (Count of) commands a flying camp of 10,000 men, 475. Hovers about Tongeron, ibid.
 Charles I. married, 1. His design to enlarge his power, ibid. Concludes an agreement with the Scots, 4. Summons a parliament April 3. 1640, ibid. Puts a period to their sitting, ibid. Marches at the head of an army against the Scots, 5. Summons a parliament Nov. 3. 1640. ibid. Passes an act for their continual sitting, 6. Takes a journey to Scotland, 8. Returns to London, ibid. Accuses some members of the house of commons of high-treason, 10. Demands them to be delivered up to him, 11. Retires to Hampton-court, 12. Thence to York, ibid. Endeavours to surprize Hull, ibid. Demands entrance of Sir J. Hotham, ibid. Causes him to be proclaimed traitor, 13. Sets up his standard at Nottingham, 17. Marches toward Worcester, ibid. Retires to Shrewsbury, 19. Advances to Banbury, 23. And gets it surrendered to him, ibid. He goes to Oxford, ibid. Thence to Maidenhead, ibid. And marches to Brentford, ibid. Assists at the siege of Gloucester, 28. Marches towards Worcestershire, 49. Returns towards Oxford, 52. Skirmishes with Sir W. Waller, ibid. Marches into the west, ibid. Draws out his forces from Oxford, 49. Leaves the western counties, 54. Sends his artillery from Dennington Castle, 57. Makes prince Rupert general of his forces, 63. Takes Leicester by

storm, 65. Engages Sir Tho. Fairfax at Naseby, ibid. Retires to Leicester, 66. Marches with the horse towards North-Wales, 68. Worsted by major-general Pointz, ibid. Leaves a garrison in Cardiff-Castle, ibid. Desires a safe-conduct for his coming to London, 75. Makes his escape from Oxford, ibid. Retreats to the Scots army, ibid. Orders Newark to be surrendered to the Scots, 76. Rejects the parliament's proposals, 78. Delivered by the Scots into the hands of the parliament's commissioners, 79. Brought from Newcastle to Holmby, 80. Insists upon going to Windsor, 85. Conveyed to Woburn, 86. Resides at Hampton-court, 90. Withdraws to the isle of Wight, 92, 93. Goes to Carisbrook, 94. Endeavours to make his escape, 101, 109. His answer to the commissioners of parliament, 115. Conducted to Hurst-castle and thence to Windsor, 117. He endeavours to escape, ibid. A charge of high-treason drawn up against him, ibid. He is conveyed to St. James's, 118. Brought before the high court of justice, ibid. He demands by what authority they had brought him thither, ibid. Required to give his answer to the charge, 119. He demurs to the jurisdiction of the court, ibid. Convened twice more before them, ibid. Persists in his demurrer, ibid. His proposition to them, 120. He receives sentence, 121. Brought to Whitehall, ibid. Makes a speech on the scaffold, ibid. Beheaded, ibid.
 Charles (Prince) blocks up the mouth of the river, 102. Concludes an agreement with the Irish, 124. Engages to take the covenant, 134. Crowned in Scotland, 143. Concealed after Worcester fight, 156. Escapes into France, ibid. Obtains succours for Scotland, 213. Sends commissioners for the raising of forces, 217. Leaves the Spanish territories, 371. Goes to Breda, ibid. Sends letters to the parliament, ibid. Voted king of England, &c. ibid.
 — II. proclaimed, 377. His remark on the conduct of some gentlemen, ibid. Lands at Dover, 384. embraces general Monk, ibid. Presents him with the George and Garter, ibid. Lodges at Colonel Gibbon's, ibid. The ceremonies at his reception, ibid. His cavalcade through the city, ibid. His answer to the speaker's compliments, 384. His proclamation against the drinking of healths, 385. His speech in the house of lords, 392. He meets the Dutchess of Orleans his sister at Dover, 469. Their conference there ibid. He

I N D E X.

- He shews much concern at her death, *ibid.*
 Sends the Duke of Buckingham ambassador
 into France, *ibid.*
 Cherrington fight, 48
 Chester, besieged by the parliament-forces, 67.
 Surrendered to them upon terms, 72. Seized
 by Sir George Booth, 289. Surrendered to
 Colonel Lambert, 293
 Cholmely (Sir Hugh) besieges Pomfret castle, 110
 Christiana, queen of Sweden, receives the lord
 Whitlock ambassador from England, 206.
 Signs the articles agreed upon by both nations.
ibid.
 St. Christopher's island submits to the parlia-
 ment, 165
 Cirencester, a skirmish there, 28
 Clanrickard (Earl of) his letter to general Lud-
 low, 169. Takes Ballishannon-fort, 176.
 Retires to Carrick-isle, 179. Obtains liberty
 to transport himself, *ibid.*
 Clare-castle taken by lieutenant-general Lud-
 low, 161
 Clark (Col.) refuses to be one of the commis-
 sioners for the admiralty, 276
 Clemens (Gregory) discovered by a blind man,
 383. Committed to the Tower, *ibid.* Ex-
 cepted from the indemnity-act, 394. Brought
 to a tryal, 400. His plea, 404. Found
 guilty, *ibid.* His character, 409. His de-
 claration at the place of execution, *ibid.*
 Clergy of England, how employed, 3. Main-
 tain the royal prerogative, *ibid.* Promote new
 levies without the Scots, 4. Frame canons,
 oaths, &c. 5. Impose 4s. per pound on ec-
 clesiastical benefices, *ibid.*
 Cleypool (Mr.) O. Cromwell's son in law, stands
 up in the house, 246. Declares against the
 Major-generals, *ibid.* His wife intercedes for
 Dr. Hewet, 257. The cause of her death,
ibid.
 Cloghar (Bishop of) heads a party of the old
 Irish, 141. Defeated by Sir Charles Coot,
 142. His head set on Londonderry gates,
ibid.
 Clonmel taken by general Cromwell, 132
 Coat and conduct money, 3. Pressed to the
 height, 5
 Cobbet (Col.) seized in Scotland, 307. Sent
 prisoner into one of the islands, 308. Com-
 mitted to the Tower, 370
 Coke (John) chose solicitor for the H. Court of
 justice, 118. Presses the charge against the
 king, 119. Demands sentence against him,
ibid. Made chief justice of Munster, 133.
 Seized, 359. 381. Committed to the Tower,
 382. A short account of his life and character,
 405. Brought to his tryal, *ibid.* The charge
 laid against him, *ibid.* His defence, 406.
 Found guilty of high-treason, *ibid.* Carried
 to the place of execution, 407. Major-gene-
 ral Harrison's head fixed on the sledge, *ibid.*
 His speech, 408
 Colchester, besieged by the parliament forces,
 109. Surrendered upon articles, 113
 Coleman-street conventicle dispersed, 255. Some-
 of them seized, 256
 Commission given out for the tryal of the king's
 judges, 400, 401
 Commissioners of the great seal attend O. Crom-
 well, 258. Press him to sign the declaration
 of his successor, *ibid.* Admitted too late,
ibid.
 — of parliament ordered to pay the king's
 debts, 400
 Committe of safety appointed by the parliament,
 275. Their authority, *ibid.* Persons consti-
 tuted to be of it, *ibid.* 276. The time
 limited for their duration, *ibid.* Matters re-
 ferred to them, *ibid.*
 — established by the army, 302, and 307.
 The names of the members, 302. They
 nominate certain persons to consider of a form
 of government, 311. Their report to the
 army touching a new parliament, 323, 324
 Conde (Prince of) placed at the head of 40000
 men, 475. Besieges Wesel, *ibid.* Wounded
 in the wrist, 476
 Conference between the episcopal and presby-
 terian parties, 399, 400
 Conservators of liberty, who, 324. Matters to
 be referred to their judgment, *ibid.*
 Conspiracy to seize the king, 416. Another
 pretended conspiracy, 422, 423
 Convention, summoned by O. Cromwell and his
 council of officers, 196. They vote them-
 selves to be the parliament of the common-
 wealth, *ibid.* Pass several acts, *ibid.* Issue
 forth orders for regulating the excise, 199.
 Nominate commanders of the fleet, *ibid.*
 Their act against those who should proclaim
 any king, *ibid.* Their answer to the invecti-
 ves against them, 200. Some of them sign
 a writing for the resignation of their power,
 201. The rest removed and dissolved, *ibid.*
 Cony (Geo.) a merchant refuses to pay custom,
 223. Violently taken from him, *ibid.* He
 sues the collector, *ibid.* His council sent to
 the Tower, *ibid.* forced to plead for him-
 self, *ibid.* The tryal deserted, *ibid.* The
 business accomodated, *ibid.*
 Coyners (Sir John) made lieutenant of the
 Tower, 8
 Coot (Sir Charles) besieged in Londonderry, 126.
 Defeats the bishop of Cloghar, 142. Goes
 post

I N D E X.

- post for Ireland, 271. Acquaints Col. Henr. Cromwell with the revolution in England, *ibid.* Sent into Connaught, 272. He acts according to general Monk's orders, 343. Declares for a free parliament, 354. Gets possession of Dublin castle, *ibid.* Seizes on chief Justice Cooke, 359. Seizes on general Ludlow's stock, 380
- Corbet (Miles) accused of high treason, 340. Goes to the parliament, 346. Summoned to the new council of state, 366. Compelled to sign an engagement, 367. Seized in Holland, 417. Sent over into England, *ibid.* Committed to the Tower, *ibid.* His character and employments, *ibid.* His declaration the day before his death, *ibid.*
- Council of war held at Putney, 91
 — chosen by Oliver Cromwell, 210. Their resolutions after his death, 259. They order the civil officers to act by their old commissions, *ibid.* Take care of his funeral, *ibid.* Their debates about calling a parliament, *ibid.* 260
- Council of officers, called by Rich. Cromwell, 269. Their meetings and debates, *ibid.* seq. They endeavour to bring over the protector to their party, 270. Admit major-general Lambert into their society, 271. Resolve upon the restoration of the long parliament, 274. Summoned to Col. Desborough's, 280. Their debates, *ibid.* Meet at Wallingford-house, 303. Their address to the parliament, *ibid.* 305. Assembled at Whitehall, 316. Their answer to a paper presented by the aldermen of London, 326, 327
 — of state, send orders to general Monk to hasten his march, 346. To advance into the city, 348. To break their gates and portcullices, *ibid.* To pull up the posts and chains, *ibid.* Require him to prevent the admission of the secluded members, 357. They are forbidden to sit any longer, 359. A new council appointed, *ibid.* A List of the members, *ibid.* They send out warrants for seizing divers officers, 362. Order copies of the covenant to be fairly drawn, *ibid.* And to be hung up in every parish church, *ibid.*
 — of state send out orders for seizing general Ludlow, 377
- Courts, arbitrary ones erected, 3. Their power enlarged, *ibid.* Abolished in parliament, 6
 — of justice erected at Dublin, 187. Make inquisition after murderers, *ibid.*
- Covenant between the English and Scots, 34
 Creaght, what, 150, 181
- Creed (Maj.) taken prisoner, 370. Committed to the Tower, *ibid.*
- Crequi (Marshal de) enters Lorrain, 470. Seizes Nancy and other places, *ibid.* Drives the Duke out of his territories, *ibid.* Publishes an order against him, *ibid.* The contents of it, *ibid.*
- Crew (Mr.) chosen one of the new council of state, 359. Moves the parliament to bear witness against the horrid murder of the king, 364
- Cromwell (Col. Henry) sent into Ireland, 207. The design of his journey, *ibid.* Conducted to Dublin, *ibid.* Entertained by general Ludlow, *ibid.* His conference with him, *ibid.* He returns to Chester, *ibid.* attended by many of the late king's party, 208. Sent again into Ireland, 223. Accompanied with his wife and family, 225. Cared for on the road by the Cavalier party, 226. Arrives in Dublin-bay, *ibid.* Calls a council of officers, 272. Proposes to them to assist R. Cromwell, *ibid.* They decline it, *ibid.* Required to come over into England, 281. And to give an account of the affairs in Ireland, *ibid.* He retires to the Phoenix-house, 286. Departs for London, *ibid.*
 — (Oliver) defeats 24 of the king's troops, 29. Relieves Gainsborough, *ibid.* Marches to Boston, 30. Engages prince Rupert at Marston moor, 53. Commands the horse under Sir Tho. Fairfax, 64. Defeats the Queen's regiment and others, *ibid.* Summons and takes Blechington-house, *ibid.* Also Winchester-castle, 67. He storms and enters Basing-house, *ibid.* Langford-house yielded to him upon articles, 68. His conference with Sir J. Barkley, 86. Besieges Pembroke town and castle, 107. Makes himself master of both, 110. Defeats the Scots at Preston, 111. Marches to Edinburgh, 112. Puts the power into the hands of the presbyterians, *ibid.* Made lieutenant of Ireland, 129. Takes Clonmel, 132. Returns to England, 133. A revenue of 2000 l. per annum settled upon him, 134. Made Capt. general of the land-forces, 135. His conference with Col. Ludlow, *ibid.* 136. Obtains a great victory over the Scots, 141. Entirely defeats them at Worcester, 156. A yearly revenue of 4000 l. settled upon him, 159. Constituted commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, 177. His designs suspected by many, 189. Forms the army to his humour, *ibid.* Gets an act of oblivion passed, *ibid.* Asperses the parliament, 190. His crafty and hypocritical practices, *ibid.* His demeanour in the parliament house, 192. His speech there, 193. He turns out all the members,

I N D E X.

bers, 194. Seizes on the records, *ibid.* Commands the doors to be locked up, *ibid.* Goes to Whitehall, *ibid.* Disperses the council of state, 195. Appoints a meeting of the army officers, *ibid.* His harangue to his new convention, 196. Takes upon him the office as it were of a high-constable, 199. And the title of protector, 202. The first persons nominated to be of his council, *ibid.* He allots 1000*l.* a year to each of them, 203. Establishes a commission for viewing all forests and royal demesns, *ibid.* The ceremonies of his inauguration, *ibid.* Takes a certain oath, *ibid.* Proclaimed protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, *ibid.* Proclaimed likewise in Ireland, 204. Makes peace with the Dutch, 206. The articles of that peace, *ibid.* His cash in the treasuries of England and Ireland, *ibid.* Removes from the Cock pit to Whitehall, *ibid.* His expences at his mother's funeral, *ibid.* He directs the judges to favour the cavalier party, 207. Restores Colonel Grace to his estate, *ibid.* Summons major-general Harrison and others to the council, *ibid.* Takes away their commissions, *ibid.* Sends his son Henry into Ireland, *ibid.* Invited by the city to dinner, 208. His cavalcade there, *ibid.* Harangued by the Recorder, *ibid.* Confers knighthood upon Thomas Viner mayor, *ibid.* Resolves upon a foreign expedition, 209. His demands of the Spanish ambassadors, *ibid.* The ambassadors reply, *ibid.* Issues out warrants for the election of a parliament, 210. Sends letters to Scotland and Ireland for that purpose, *ibid.* His speech in the painted chamber, 211. He causes several members to be excluded, *ibid.* And a guard to be set upon the door of the house, *ibid.* Requires their attendance in the painted chamber, *ibid.* His declaration to them, *ibid.* 212. Declared protector during his life, *ibid.* Constitutes lieutenant-general Fleetwood deputy of Ireland, 213. Entrusts general Monk with the command of the Scotch forces, *ibid.* Takes upon him to drive a coach in the Park, 215. Thrown out of the box, *ibid.* His pistol fired in his pocket with the fall, *ibid.* His charge against the parliament, *ibid.* 216. He dissolves them, 217. Seizes on the tenth part of the Cavaliers estates, 219. Divides England into cantons for that purpose, *ibid.* Places a major-general in each of them, *ibid.* Transports whole droves of those that opposed his interest, 225. Enters into an alliance with the French, 236. They are obliged to banish the sons of the late king, *ibid.* Sends

forces to the siege of Dunkirk, 237. Causes divers places in Scotland to be fortified, 214. Attempts the succession of his family to the crown, 240. And to make himself king, *ibid.* Calls a parliament for that purpose, *ibid.* Scruples to take upon him that title, 247. The reasons offered to him for accepting of it, *ibid.* He rejects them, *ibid.* His conference with lieutenant-general Fleetwood and col. Desborough, *ibid.* Requires the attendance of the house, in the painted chamber, 248. Puts off their meeting, 249. Appoints them to meet at Whitehall, 250. Peremptorily refuses the title of king, *ibid.* Accepts of that of protector, *ibid.* The solemnity at his investiture, *ibid.* Forms a new house of lords, 251, 252. Dissolves both houses, 253. Discovers a plot carried on by the royalists, 255. Refers their tryal to the high court of justice, *ibid.* Grows melancholy, 257. Distempered with divers infirmities, *ibid.* Falls desperately sick, *ibid.* Importuned to nominate his successor, 258. His demeanour at the point of death, *ibid.* The purport of his last words, *ibid.* the time of his death, *ibid.* The different effects of it, *ibid.* 260. His body laid in Somerset-house, *ibid.* The magnificence of that state, *ibid.* Represented in effigie, *ibid.* Dirt thrown on his escutcheon, *ibid.*

— (Rich.) proclaimed protector, 259. His imprudent and irreligious expressions, 268. Startled at the proceedings of the council of officers, 270. Voted general of the army, *ibid.* Disperses the officers, *ibid.* Sends for lieutenant-general Fleetwood, *ibid.* Appoints a rendezvous at Whitehall, *ibid.* Most part of the officers repair to St. James's, *ibid.* He is left destitute of an army, *ibid.* Persuaded to dissolve his parliament, *ibid.* Ordered to remove from Whitehall, 277, 281. Required to give a positive answer about that matter, *ibid.* He submits to the parliament, *ibid.* Receives a gratuity of 2000*l.* *ibid.*

Crook and Hutton (judges) declare against ship-money, 3

— (Maj. Unton) defeats a party of cavaliers, 218. Ordered to have 200*l.* a year for his good service, 219

Cropredy-bridge, a skirmish there, 52

Custom forbidden to be paid without the authority of parliament, 2

D.

Derbyshire, an insurrection in those parts dispersed, 290

4 F

Dart-

I N D E X.

- Dartmouth delivered to the parliament forces, 71
 Day (Cornet) charged with calling Cromwell
 rogue and traitor, 256. Confesses the words,
ibid. Offers to produce witness against the
 protector, *ibid.* Fined and imprisoned, *ibid.*
 Deal-Castle, declares for the king, 102. Taken
 for the parliament, 104
 Dean (Col. Rich.) made one of the admirals of
 the fleet, 124. Ordered for the service of the
 channel, *ibid.* Killed in a sea-fight with the
 Dutch, 197
 Debates in the house of commons, 76, 77
 Declaration of war against the French king, 450
 Dedekom taken by the French, 476
 Deering (Sir Edw.) leaves the king's quarters,
 46. Surrenders himself at Westminster, *ibid.*
 Examined in the house of Commons, *ibid.*
 Admitted to composition, *ibid.*
 Dendy (Serj. Edw.) proclaims the court for the
 king's tryal, 118. Takes lieutenant-general
 Ludlow into custody, 243. Excepted from
 the indemnity act, 386. Escapes to Lau-
 fanna, 423
 Denmark (king of) re-enforces Cronenburgh
 and Elsenore, 184. Causes the goods of 22
 English ships to be sold, *ibid.* Declares openly
 for the Hollanders, *ibid.* Promises to assist
 them, 185
 Derby (Earl of) defeated by Col. Lilburn, 155.
 Escapes to Worcester, *ibid.*
 Desborough (Maj. general) constituted one of
 the chief commanders of the fleet, 199. And
 one of the commissioners of the treasury, 202.
 His conference with colonel Pride, 248. De-
 livers a petition from the officers to the house,
ibid. Joined in commission with admiral
 Blake, 255. He persuades Rich. Cromwell
 to dissolve his parliament, 271. Made one of
 both the committees of safety, 275, 302. And
 a member of the council of state, 277. Seized,
 416. Required to return into England, 453.
 And to surrender himself, *ibid.*
 D'Estrades (Count) made governor of Wesel,
 476
 Deventer, taken by the bishop of Munster, 477
 Devereux (Colonel) Governor of Marlborough
 taken prisoner, 64
 De Wit (Henry Cornelius) made commissioner
 at sea for the States General, 474
 — (Cornelius) burger master of Dort, 477.
 Brought prisoner to the Hague, *ibid.* The
 accusation and sentence against him, *ibid.*
 Put to the rack, *ibid.* Assassinated by the
 rabble, 478
 — (John) Pensionary, wounded and left for
 dead, 478. Comes to take his brother Cor-
 nelius out of prison, *ibid.* Assassinated and
 murdered with him, *ibid.*
 Digby (Geo. Lord) Appointed one of the ma-
 nagers of the charge against the E. of Strafford,
 7. His speech in favour of that earl ordered
 to be burnt, *ibid.* Appears at the head
 of the king's party, 12. Required to
 attend in the house, *ibid.* His advice to the
 king, 66. Betakes himself to flight and is pro-
 claimed a traitor by the parliament, *ibid.* Sent
 into Scotland by the king, 68. Routed by
 colonel Copley and others, 69. Escapes into
 Ireland, *ibid.*
 Dixwell (Col.) one of the king's judges, 417.
 Escapes into Germany, *ibid.* Made a burges
 of Hanaw, *ibid.*
 Doddington (Sir Francis) sent to reduce War-
 der castle, 37. Gets it surrendered upon ar-
 ticles, 42. Takes Woodhouse, 51
 Doesburg taken by the French king, 476
 Doily (Colonel) commander of the forces in Ja-
 maica, 225. Gets a subsistence by planting,
ibid.
 Doleman (Col.) commands 4000 land-men on
 board the Dutch fleet, 457
 Door of the house of commons kept locked. 2
 Dorislaus (Dr.) one of the council against the
 king, 106. Sent by the parliament as their
 agent into Holland, 125. Killed there by
 ten assassins, 126
 Downing (George) the king's agent in Holland,
 417. Some time chaplain to colonel Okey's
 regiment, *ibid.* Causes him to be appre-
 hended, *ibid.* Sent to supply Sir William
 Temple's place, 473
 Downs (Colonel) a member of the council of
 state, 278
 Drogheda besieged, 9
 Drummond, (Major-general) his conduct at the
 siege of Dunkirk, 237
 Dublin besieged, 127
 Duckenfield (lieutenant-colonel) receives a gra-
 tuity of 200 l. 296. Stops the speaker in his
 coach, 306. Imprisoned, 416
 Dunbar fight between the English and Scots,
 141
 Duncannon besieged and taken by the parliament
 army, 139
 Dundalk besieged by lord Inchequin, 126
 Dundee stormed by lieutenant-gen. Monk, 157
 Dungan (Sir Walt.) routed by col. Throgmor-
 ton, 175
 Dungarvan reduced by the parliament forces,
 132
 Dunkirk, besieged by the Spaniards, 180. Sur-
 rendered, *ibid.* Besieged, 237. Surrendered,
 to the French, *ibid.* Afterwards delivered up
 to the English, *ibid.* Colonel Lockhart en-
 trusted

I N D E X.

trusted with the government of it, 283. Ordered to be fortified, 284. Surrendered to the French, 422
 Dunstar-Castle taken for the parliament, 73
 Du Pre a Savoyard, employed in a design against the English refugees at Vevay, his attempt frustrated, 435. His estate seized by the council of Bern, *ibid.* Murders M. de la Fleschere his kinsman, 442. Ordered to be apprehended, 443. Makes his escape, *ibid.* Degraded and broken on the wheel in effigie, 446. His estate in Savoy confiscated, *ibid.* Flies for protection to Friibourg, *ibid.* His person seized, 448. Sent prisoner to Yverden, *ibid.* Sentenced there to be banished, *ibid.* And to pay 100 l. *ibid.* His cause heard before the council of Bern, 449. Condemned to lose his head, *ibid.* The crimes laid to his charge, *ibid.* His defence, *ibid.* His refractoriness at the place of execution, *ibid.*
 Dutch ambassador sues for peace, 198. Demands Te Deum to be sung at Paris for their victory over the English, 453. His proposals rejected, *ibid.*

E.

Edge-hill fight described, 20, 21. Persons killed and taken prisoners in that engagement, 22
 Elliot (Sir John) imprisoned in the Tower, 2. Dies there, *ibid.*
 Emerick taken by the French, 476
 Encounter between the English and Scots, 5. The former defeated, 5. Between the army and the parliament's guards, 305, 306
 Engagement between general Blake and admiral Van Tromp, 174. Other engagements between the English and Dutch fleets, 182, 185, 197, 198, 455, 474, 475
 England, the court there declare against the Hollanders, 443. Recall Sir William Temple, 473
 Episcopacy abolished in Scotland, 3
 Esmond (lord of) governor of Duncannon, 139
 Essex (earl of) made general of the parliament forces, 18. Advances with his army to Worcester, 20. Besieges Reading, 25. Makes himself master of it, *ibid.* Relieves Gloucester, and marches to London, 28, 29. Takes Weymouth, 48. Raises the siege of Lyme, *ibid.* Marches into Cornwall, 54. Discharged from his office by the parliament, 63. His death, 79
 Exeter surrendered to the king's party, 27. Blocked up by the parliament army, 69, 71. Delivered to them upon articles, 73

F.

St. Faggon's fight, 106
 Fairfax (Ferdinando lord) retires to Hull, 29. Valiently expels the earl of Newcastle, 34
 — (Thomas lord) chosen one of the council of state, 277
 — (Sir Tho.) brings a party of horse from Hull, 30. Made general by the parliament, 63. Orders Cromwell to besiege Oxford, 65. Defeats the king at Naseby, *ibid.* Marches to Taunton, 67. Takes Highworth, Bridgewater, Bath, Sherburn-castle and Bristol, *ibid.* Defeats lord Goring's forces, *ibid.* Takes Maidstone by storm, 107. Routs the lord Goring's forces again, *ibid.* Refuses to march into Scotland, 134. Gives up his commission, 135. A yearly revenue of 5000 l. settled upon him, *ibid.*
 Falston-house, a garrison for the parliament, 63. Demolished, 68
 Farrington, blocked up by the parliament-forces, 75. Delivered to them, 77
 Feather corporation submits to general Cromwell, 132
 Fielding (Col.) made governor of Reading for the king, 25. Retires to Oxford, and is there condemned to die, *ibid.*
 Fifth monarchy men, plot to dethrone O. Cromwell, 255. The principal of them seized, *ibid.* Their standard taken, *ibid.* Sent prisoners to the Gatehouse, *ibid.*
 Finch (Lord keeper) the inventor of ship-money, 3. Accused of high treason, 5
 Fines (colonel Nath.) sent to reinforce Bristol garrison, 25
 Fitz (Col.) lieutenant of the Tower, seized by Col. Desborough, 322
 Fitz-Harris boldly affirms the Irish to be the king's best subjects, 392. Committed to the Gatehouse, *ibid.* Set at liberty, *ibid.*
 Fitz Patrick (Col.) submits to the parliament, 172. Transported with his regiment into Spain, *ibid.* His mother accused of committing murder, 184. Found guilty and condemned to be burnt, 187. Executed accordingly, *ibid.*
 Fleetwood (Lieut. Gen.) made commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, 179. Arrives at Waterford, 182. And at Dublin, 186. Causes O. Cromwell to be proclaimed protector in Ireland, 204. Holds a private junto for the choice of parliament men, 210. Made deputy of Ireland, 213. Departs thence for England, 227. Retires to St. James's, 270. Chosen one of the committee of safety, 275.
 4 F 2 And

I N D E X.

And one of the council of state, 277. Made commander in chief, 279. Receives three commissions from the speaker, 281. Made ranger of St. James's Park, 284. Nominated one of the army committee of safety, 302. His consults at Wallingford house, *ibid.* He sends the keys of the house to the speaker, 341. Fleschere (M. de la) gives notice of the designs against the English refugees in Switzerland, 437, 442. Assassinated by Du Pre his kinsman, *ibid.*
 Forbes (Lord) sent with a party into Munster, 9
 Forces, those about town mustered in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 341. Declare for the parliament, *ibid.* March by the Speaker's house, *ibid.* Salute him as their general, *ibid.*
 Form of government, a new one presented to the house, 246. By whom opposed, *ibid.* Debated and confirmed, *ibid.*
 Fortescue (Col.) made governor of Jamaica, 225. His death, *ibid.*
 Fotherby (Col.) refuses to act for the parliament, 291
 Fountain (Serj.) made one of the commissioners of the broad seal, 282
 French, become masters of the sea, 2. Shut up the mouth of Rochel harbour, *ibid.*

G.

Gainsborough, summoned by Col. Cavendish, 29. Invested by the king's forces, *ibid.* Relieved by O. Cromwell, *ibid.*
 Galen (Bern. Van) bishop of Munster takes Grol and Deventer, 477
 Galway besieged by the parliament forces, 168. Surrendered upon articles, 171
 Gascoin (Sir Bern.) made prisoner at Colchester, 113. Condemned to death, *ibid.* Obtains a pardon, *ibid.*
 Genoesse, frustrate the duke of Savoy's designs, 479. Possess themselves of Castle Vecchio, *ibid.* And Oneglia, *ibid.*
 Gerard (Sir Gilbert) summoned to Cromwell's house of lords, 252. Brings an action against colonel Alured, 355. Chosen one of the new council of state, 359
 Ghent (Baron de) appointed to succeed Van Tromp in his command at sea, 456. Sails into Chatham river, 458. Breaks the chain there, *ibid.* Passes by Upnor castle, *ibid.* Burns several ships, *ibid.* Takes the royal Charles, *ibid.* Exacts a sum of money from the inhabitants of Shepway, *ibid.* Killed in a sea-fight, 475
 Gladman (Captain) commander of Cromwell's Troop, 253. Discharged from his office, *ibid.*

Restored by the council of officers, 271
 Glasgow, an assembly held there, 4. Their transactions ratified by K. Charles I. 8
 Glenham (Sir Tho.) made governor of Oxford by the king, 71. Seizes upon Carlisle, 104
 Gloucester, besieged by the king's party, 28. Relieved by the earl of Essex, 29
 Goodwin (Dr.) Cromwell's trencher chaplain, 258. An expression in his prayer during his sickness, *ibid.*
 Goran surrendered to the parliament forces, 131. The officers of that place shot to death, *ibid.*
 Goring (Lord) his conspiracy, 7. He besieges Taunton, 62. Defeated by Sir Tho. Fairfax, 67. Appears at the head of a party, 106. Routed again by general Fairfax, 107. Taken prisoner at Colchester, 113. Committed to the Tower of London, *ibid.* Sentenced to lose his head, 123. Reprieved, *ibid.*
 Gourtinshegore-Castle, besieged by Lieut. Gen. Ludlow, 150. Taken by storm, 151
 Grace (Col.) defeated by Col. Ingoldsbey, 178. Restored to his estate, 207
 Graef (Jacob Vander) executed for assaulting John De Witt, 477
 Graven abandoned by the Dutch, *ibid.*
 Greenville (Sir Bevil) and others raise forces for the king, 25. Killed in Lansdown-fight, 27
 — (Sir John) carries the king's letters to the parliament, 371
 Grey (Lord) of Grooby, sent prisoner to Windsor-Castle, 224. Sues for a habeas corpus, *ibid.* Granted him by the chief justice, *ibid.* Rejected by the governor of the castle, *ibid.* Obtains his liberty upon a pecuniary security, *ibid.*
 Grimstone (Sir Harbottle) a member of the new council of state, 359. Speaker of the house of commons, 386. Makes a speech to the king, 416
 Grifler, governor of Ury and Sultz, 429. Shot dead by Will. Tel, 430
 Grol taken by the Munster forces, 477
 Grove (Captain Hugh) engaged in a cavalier plot, 218. Taken prisoner, *ibid.* Beheaded, 219
 — (Major John) required to return into England, 453. And to surrender himself, *ibid.*
 Gumble (Thomas) chaplain to general Monk, 342. Dispatched with letters to the parliament, *ibid.*

H.

Hacker (Col. Francis) receives a commission from the speaker, 280. Excepted from the act of indemnity, 394. Brought to the bar, 412.

I N D E X.

412. The heads of his indictment, *ibid.*
 His defence, *ibid.* Found guilty of high treason, *ibid.* An account of his life and conversation, *ibid.*
- Haines (Maj. Gen.) killed in a fight, 209
- Hamden (John) opposes the project of ship-money, 3. Impeached of high treason, by the king, 10. Killed in a skirmish, 26
- Hamilton (Marq. of) commissioned to treat with the Scots, 4. Imprisoned in St. Michael Mount, 73. Gives thanks to the house of commons for his deliverance, *ibid.* Made general of the Scotch army, 108. Marches at their head into England, 111. Is entirely defeated by O. Cromwell, *ibid.* Surrenders himself to Col. Wayte, 112. Carried prisoner to Windsor castle, *ibid.* Escapes to Southwark, 122. Seized and sent to the Tower, *ibid.* His plea at the high court of justice, *ibid.* 123. Their answer, *ibid.* Sentenced and beheaded, *ibid.*
- Hammond (Col.) governor of the isle of Wight receives the king, 94. His conferences with him, 96. Commands the guards to be doubled to hinder his escape, 101. Delivers the king to major-general Harrison, 117
- Hampton-Court, ordered to be sold, 286. The sale of it prevented, *ibid.*
- Harlow (Major) one of the secluded members, 355. His bold saying in Westminster-hall, *ibid.*
- Harrington (Sir James) chosen one of the council of state, 277. And of the army committee of safety, 302. Excepted from the benefit of his estate, 394
- Harrison (Maj. Gen.) sent to bring the king from the Isle of Wight, 117. Conducts him to Hurst-castle and Windsor, *ibid.* Carries on the design of Oliver Cromwell. 192. Forces the speaker in parliament to leave the chair, 193. Summoned before the council, 207. Upbraided by Cromwell, *ibid.* Sent prisoner to Carisbrook castle, *ibid.* Removed to his house at Highgate, 238. His conference with lieutenant-general Ludlow, *ibid.* Seized by colonel Bower, 381. Committed to the Tower, 382. Excepted out of the act of indemnity, 385. Arraigned at the Old Bailey, 401. His defence, *ibid.* Sentenced to death, *ibid.* Executed accordingly, 402, 404
- Hasslerig (Sir Arth.) one of the five members of parliament impeached by the king, 10. Commands a regiment of horse under Sir W. Waller, 48. Takes Tinmouth-castle by storm, 106. Chosen a member of Oliver Cromwell's parliament, 211. Excluded from sitting, 211. Summoned to the new house of lords, 252. Comes privately to London, *ibid.* Takes his place in the house of commons, *ibid.* Chosen again under Richard Cromwell, 261. Made one of the committee of safety, 275. Obtains col. Howard's regiment of horse, 277. Chosen one of the council of state, *ibid.* His character, 303. Communicates the Darby petition to the house, 304. Moves that Col. Lambert might be committed to the Tower, *ibid.* Retires to Portsmouth, 323. Comes to London, 341. His extraordinary transports, *ibid.* His regiment of horse removed from London, 344. Nominated one of the commissioners of the parliament forces, 351. Required to take his place in the house, 360. Deserted by general Monk, 366. Committed to the Tower, 390. The cause of his seizure, 394. Excepted from the indemnity act, *ibid.* excused as to his life, *ibid.*
- Henly engagement, 24
- Hereford, besieged by the Scots, 67. Surprized by Col. Birch, and Col. Morgan, 72
- Heveningham (Will.) one of the king's judges, 386. Surrenders himself, *ibid.* In custody of the serjeant at arms, *ibid.* Arraigned at the Old Bailey, 401
- Hewet (Dr.) imprisoned for conspiring against Cromwell, 256. The charge exhibited against him, *ibid.* Brought before the high court of justice, *ibid.* Demurs to its jurisdiction, *ibid.* His demurrer overruled, thrice arraigned, *ibid.* Condemned to death, 257. Beheaded, *ibid.*
- Hewetson (Col.) his arrears ordered to be paid, 217. Chosen one of the army committee of safety, 302
- Hewlet (Will.) tried for cutting off the king's head, 413. Found guilty of the indictment, *ibid.* Reprieved, *ibid.*
- High court of justice, erected, 118. The members and officers of, *ibid.* The king brought to their bar, *ibid.* They adjourn into the painted chamber, 119. Examine witnesses against the king, *ibid.* Declare him to be a tyrant, traitor, &c. *ibid.* Condemn him to death, *ibid.* order a sentence to be prepared, *ibid.* Cause it to be read, 120. Testify their assent by standing up, 121. Sign a warrant for his execution, *ibid.* A report of their proceedings made to the parliament, 122
- High commission court erected, 3. Abolished by act of parliament, 6
- Highworth taken by Sir Tho. Fairfax, 67
- Hispaniola, the fruitless expedition against that island, 209, 210
- Holland (earl of) forms a party of horse, 109. Declares

I N D E X.

- Declares against the parliament, *ibid.* Taken and sent prisoner to Warwick castle, 110. Beheaded, 123
- (Corn.) made one of the committee of safety, 302. One of the king's judges, 383. Makes his escape, *ibid.* Excepted out of the indemnity act, 385. Arrives at Laufanna, 423
- Hollis (Mr. Denzil) a member of the new council, 359. Sent on a message to the king, 382. Sworn one of his privy council, 390. One of the commissioners for the tryal of the king's judges, 401. Sent ambassador into France, 456. Made a lord, *ibid.* and commissioner for treating with the Dutch, 457
- Holstein (Duke of) makes a present to O. Cromwell, 215
- Holy days several new ones introduced, 3
- Honywood (Sir Robert) chosen one of the council of state, 278. One of the plenipotentiaries to Holland, 282
- Jun. required to return to England, 453. And to surrender himself, *ibid.*
- (Sir Thomas) summoned to Cromwell's house of lords, 252
- Hopton (Sir Ralph) employed in raising forces for the king, 25. Defeated by Sir W. Waller, 47. Summoned by general Fairfax to lay down his arms, 72. He goes beyond sea, *ibid.* His army dispersed, *ibid.*
- Horton (Col.) defeats the South-wales men, 106
- Hotham (Sir John) made governor of Hull by the parliament, 12. Summoned and declared traitor by the king, *ibid.* Afterwards beheaded with his son by order of parliament, 36
- Howard (Edward lord) of Escrick accused of taking bribes, 143. Sent to the Tower and fined, 144
- (Col. Philip) made commander of general Monk's guard, 358
- Hull seized by Sir John Hotham, 12. Besieged by the earl of Newcastle, 34. Defended by Ferdinando lord Fairfax, *ibid.* The siege raised, *ibid.*
- Hunks (Col. Hercules) a principal evidence against Col. Axtel, 410
- Hungerford (Sir Edw.) obtains the command of the Wiltshire forces for the parliament, 25. Besieges and takes Warder-castle, 26
- Huntington (Maj.) draws up a charge of high treason against O. Cromwell, 109
- Hurst-castle secured for the parliament, 323
- Hutchinson (Col.) a member of the high court of justice, 347. Exceeded the rest in zeal for executing the king, *ibid.* He presses the house to proceed against Sir Henry Vane, *ibid.* Obtains a pardon, 391
- Hyde (Edward) Lord Chancellor, 416. Endeavours used to remove him from the king's council, *ibid.* He delivers the great seal into his hands, 460
- I.
- Jamiaca, taken by Col. Venables, 210. A reinforcement of 3000 men sent thither, 235
- James I. his design to make himself absolute, 1
- Duke of York, brought to St. James's, 102. Makes his escape thence, *ibid.* Assists the Spaniards at the siege of Dunkirk, 237. Commands the red squadron, 474. Engages admiral de Ruyter, *ibid.*
- Jephson (Col. William) moves the house that Cromwell might be made king, 246. Reproved by him upon that account, *ibid.* He obtains a troop of horse for himself, *ibid.* And a foot company for his son, *ibid.* Sent agent to Sweden, *ibid.*
- Jermyn (Lord) accompanies Queen Henrietta Maria into France, 416. Sent ambassador thither, 452. The effects of his negotiation, 453
- Jersey island submits to the parliament, 147
- Inch surrendered to Col. Zanchey, 179
- Inchequin (Lord) made president of Munster by the parliament, 45. His services against the Irish, *ibid.* He storms a church and puts 3000 men therein to the sword, *ibid.* Obtains a victory over the Irish, 108. Declares against the parliament, *ibid.* Joins the rebels, *ibid.* Besieges and takes Dundalk, 126
- Incumbrance, that term how managed by the lawyers, 184
- Informations against the Irish, *ibid.*
- Ingoldsby (Col.) defeats Col. Grace, 178. Much in favour with Rich. Cromwell, 268. Goes to Ireland, 271. Consults with Hen. Cromwell, *ibid.* Obtains Col. Rich's Regiment, 358. Takes major-general Lambert prisoner, 370. Obtains the benefit of the act of indemnity, 391
- Instrument of government presented to the council of officers, 201. The purport of it, 202. Examined by the parliament, 212. The confirmation of it pressed, 245. Many objections made against it, 246. A new form drawn up and presented, *ibid.* Debated and approved, *ibid.* Another new instrument established, 251. A particular clause therein, 258
- Inverness-fort erected, 175
- Jones (Col. John) a member of the parliament committee of safety, 275. And one of the council of state, 277. Succeeds general Ludlow in the command of the forces in Ireland, 299.

I N D E X.

299. Accused of high treason, 340. The particulars of his charge, 345. Summoned to the new council of state, 366. Obligated to sign an engagement, 367. Apprehended, 383. Sent prisoner to the Tower, *ibid.* Excepted out of the indemnity bill, 385. Brought to a trial, 404. His plea, *ibid.* declared guilty, *ibid.* His character and employments, 409. Executed at Charing-crofs, *ibid.*
- Jones (Col. Mich.) defeats the Irish rebels, 105. Obtains a reward of 500*l.* per Ann. of the parliament, *ibid.* Obtains a signal victory near Baggatrath, 127. Made Lieutenant-general of the horse, 130. Dies at Wexford, *ibid.*
- (Col. Theophilus) defeats a party of Irish, 179
- (Mr.) of Newton engaged in a cavalier plot, 218. Taken prisoner, *ibid.* Condemned and pardoned, 219
- Joyce (Cornet) takes the king out of the hands of the parliament's commissioners, 82. Retires to Rotterdam, 471. The surrender of him demanded, *ibid.* The charge against him, *ibid.* The magistrates ordered to seize him, *ibid.* Permitted to make his escape, *ibid.*
- Ireland, some forces disbanded there, 196
- Ireton (Maj. General) entrusted with the command of the forces in Ireland, 133. A yearly revenue of 2000*l.* settled upon him, 159. Gets Limerick surrendered upon articles, *ibid.* His death, 163. His body transported into England, 164. Interred at Westminster, *ibid.*
- mayor of London, a motion made to continue him another year in that office, 296. Chosen one of the army committee of safety, 302
- Irish rebellion, the news of it brought to king Charles I. 8. The rebels pretend a commission from the king, 9
- Irish brigade resolve not to engage against general Monk, 313. Enter into an association, *ibid.*
- men tried for murdering the English, 186
- officers, their present to general Monk, 362
- Islip-bridge fight, 64
- Judges of Westminster Hall declare for ship money, 3. Their opinions condemned in parliament, 5
- ## K.
- Keepers of the liberty of England, who, 122
- Kelsey (Col. Tho.) invites general Ludlow to Wallingford-house, 268. Made one of the commissioners of the admiralty, 276. Required to return into England, 453. And to surrender himself, *ibid.*
- Kempstone (Col.) Brother in law to lieutenant-general Ludlow, 231. Committed to prison, *ibid.*
- Kentish-men rise and declare for the king, 30. dispersed by the London forces, *ibid.*
- Kilkenny taken by the parliament army, 131. A general meeting of the officers there, 167
- King's forces have their head quarters at Kingston, 24. They retire to Oxford, *ibid.* Worsted near Lansdown, 27. Defeat the parliament army on Roundway hill, *ibid.* They besiege and take Bristol, *ibid.* Exeter surrendered to them, *ibid.* They besiege Gloucester, 28. Obligated to raise the siege, *ibid.* They attack Hull and retire to York, 34. Possessed of Newbury, 55. Retreat thence towards Oxford, 56. Get into Colchester, 109. Forced to surrender upon articles, 113
- King's judges ordered to be seized, 381. Their estates confiscated, 383. Many pass beyond seas, *ibid.* Required to surrender themselves, 386. Those of them in custody of the serjeant at arms, sent to the Tower, 396. A list of their names, *ibid.* A commission given out for their trial, 401. See further under their respective names.
- Kingsale delivered to the parliament forces, 131
- Kinnersley (M.) master of the wardrobe consulted about Oliver Cromwell's funeral, 259. His report as to that matter, *ibid.*
- Knighthood purchased for money, 3
- Knightly (Mr.) chosen one of the new council of state, 359
- Knights made during the king's journey, 384
- Knotsamburg-fort delivered to the Marshal de Turenne, 476
- Kuivoit (Myn Heer) brother in law to Van Tromp, 455. Removed from his employment, *ibid.*
- ## L.
- Lambert (Major-General) left in Scotland with a body of horse, 112. Defeats and kills Sir John Brown, 155. A yearly revenue of 1000*l.* settled upon him, 159. He refuses to go to Ireland without the character of deputy, 177. Presents an instrument of government to the council of officers, 201. Opposes Cromwell's Design to assume the title of king, 226, 251. Refuses to take an oath to him, *ibid.* Surrenders his commission, *ibid.* Allowed a yearly pension of 2000*l.* *ibid.* Restored to his command by the council of officers,

I N D E X.

- officers, 271. Admitted into both the committees of safety, 275. Chosen one of the council of state, 277. Obtains a regiment of horse and one of foot, 283. Exclaims against the act of indemnity, 286. Commands the forces sent against Sir George Booth, 292. Marches from London, 293. Defeats the enemy, *ibid.* Receives a gratuity of 1000 l. 294. He makes an attempt against the parliament's guards, 305. Goes post for Newcastle, 312. Ordered to surrender himself at a set time, 350. Appears before the new council of state, 360. Committed to the Tower, *ibid.* Makes his escape thence, 369. Appears at the head of 1000 horse, *ibid.* His party dispersed, 370. Taken prisoner, *ibid.* Sent to the Tower again, *ibid.* Put into the exception from the indemnity act, 393. Excused as to his life, 394. Brought to tryal, 421. His plea, *ibid.* Condemned and pardoned, *ibid.*
- Landstown fight, 27
- Langdale (Sir Marmaduke) joins with the Scots to restore the king, 104. Joins with Duke Hamilton's forces, 111. Makes his escape, *ibid.*
- Langford-house taken by O. Cromwell, 68. The government of it is committed to major Ludlow, *ibid.*
- Laud (William) arch bishop of Canterbury, beset in his house, 5. Makes his escape by water, *ibid.* Impeached in parliament of high treason, *ibid.* Condemned and beheaded, 36
- Lauderdale (Lord of) taken prisoner at Worcester fight, 362. Set at liberty, *ibid.*
- Lawson (Rear Admiral) charges through the Dutch fleet, 197. Made vice-admiral, 281. Sent to the Sound, *ibid.* His expression with respect to general Monk's proceedings, 347
- Legg (Col.) governor of Oxford turned out of that command, 71
- Leicester stormed by the king, 65. Surrendered to the parliament forces, 67
- Leith fortified, 237
- Lenthall (Will.) speaker of the long parliament, 252. Made master of the Rolls, *ibid.* Summoned to Cromwell's house of lords, *ibid.* His transports upon that occasion, *ibid.* Importuned to reassume the chair, 274. His frivolous excuses, 275. He goes to the house *ibid.* Stopped by lieutenant colonel Duckenfield, 306. His coachman forced to drive back, *ibid.* The keys of the house sent to him, 341. Returns to the exercise of his office, *ibid.* Refuses to sign a warrant to the commissioners of the Seal, 356. Makes a present to the king, 383. Appears as evidence against Tho. Scot, 403
- Lesley (Dav.) defeats the earl of Montrose, 71. Routed by Colonel Alured and Colonel Morgan, 157
- L'Estrange (Sir Ham.) surprizes Lynn for the king, 30. Surrenders it soon after upon articles, *ibid.*
- Letter, pretended, from the court of England to the council of Bern, 464
- Leviston (Mr.) entertains the king in Bagshot park, 117. Provides a horse for his escape, *ibid.*
- Lewis (Sir William) a member of the new council of state, 359
- Lewesey (Sir Mich.) defeats the Earl of Holland, 110
- Lewis XIV. king of France, makes great preparations for war, 469. Obtains a new levy of Switzers, 473. Procures 6000 men in England, *ibid.* Encourages the malecontents in Hungary, *ibid.* Causes the duke of Orleans to marry the elector Palatine's daughter, *ibid.* His promises to the canton of Bern, 474. Draws together an army of 120,000 men, 475. Marches towards Maestricht, *ibid.* Besieges Orsoy, *ibid.* Lays a bridge of boats over the Rhine, 476. Passes the Yffel, *ibid.* Takes Doesburg, *ibid.* and Utrecht, *ibid.* Receives the Dutch ambassadors, *ibid.*
- Lilburn (Capt. Henry) governor of Tinmouth castle, declares for the king, 106. Attacked and killed by Sir A. Haslerig, *ibid.*
- (Lieutenant Col. John) tryed and acquitted by a jury, 225. Banished, *ibid.*
- (Col. Rob.) defeats the Earl of Derby, 155
- Limerick besieged by the parliament army, 149. Surrendered upon articles, 159
- Lindesay, (Earl of) general of the king's army taken prisoner, 22. Dies of his wounds, *ibid.*
- Lisle (Lord Viscount) made Lieutenant for Ireland by the parliament, 73. Procures Col. Monk's liberty, *ibid.* His commission expires, 107
- (Sir Geo.) taken prisoner at Colchester, 113. Shot to death, *ibid.*
- (John Esq;) excepted out of the bill of indemnity, 385. Assassinated at Laufanna, 440. The circumstances of his death, *ibid.* His employments, *ibid.*
- List of lords and commons who engaged with the parliament, 18
- Litchfield taken for the parliament, 77
- Liturgy suppressed in Scotland, 3
- Lockhart (Col.) made governor of Dunkirk, 283. Ordered to fortify that place, *ibid.* Sent

I N D E X.

Sent agent to France, *ibid.* Courtied by the Spaniards, 295. Returns to England, 323.
 Lockyer (Nicholas) appointed to preach before Oliver Cromwell, 250.
 London, the citizens refuse to pay some taxes, 5. The mayor and commoncouncil their address to the parliament, 77. The mayor and aldermen of that city required to attend at Whitehall, 203. They accompany Oliver Cromwell to attend at Westminster-hall, *ibid.* Invite him to dinner, 208. Their mayor knighted, *ibid.* The aldermen and commoncouncil present a paper to the council of officers, 326. They invite general Monk to call a free parliament, 342. Receive petitions from the counties, 348. Encourage the petitioners, *ibid.* Vote that no taxes be paid unless imposed by a free parliament, *ibid.* The city gates and portcullices taken down, *ibid.* The posts and chains pulled up, *ibid.* They assemble by general Monk's order, 355. The companies make a great entertainment for him, 361. The lord mayor, &c. treat the king in St. George's fields, 384. The accoutrements of the citizens, *ibid.*
 London-derry, besieged by the Irish, 126.
 Long (Col. Thomas) left by Henry Cromwell in Dublin castle, 286. Surrenders it to Sir Hardress Waller, *ibid.*
 Longueville (Duke of) killed in fight, 476.
 Lord's day profaned, 3.
 Lorrain (Duke of) dispossessed of his dutchy, 470. Fills all Europe with complaints, *ibid.* Dispatches a minister to the king of England, *ibid.* The answer given to him, *ibid.*
 Love (Chaplain) calls the king a man of blood, 64.
 Love (Nich.) one of the king's judges, 366. Escapes to Laufanna, 423.
 Lucas (Sir Charles) taken prisoner at Marston Moor, 54. Made prisoner again at Colchester, 113. Condemned by a court martial, *ibid.* Shot to death, *ibid.*
 Ludlow (Maj. William) shot through the body, 37. Wonderfully recovered, *ibid.*
 — (Edmund, Esq;) enters into the parliament's service, 18. Made Capt. of a troop of horse, 25. Entrusted with the government of Warder castle, 26. Forced to surrender the castle after a long siege, 42. Set at liberty with some other prisoners, 47. Appointed sheriff of Wilts, *ibid.* Made major of horse under Sir A. Haslerig, *ibid.* Receives a commission to raise a regiment of horse, 49. Advances to Salisbury, 51. Puts that city to contribution, *ibid.* Sets fire to Sturton house, 52. Turns out the garrison at Sir R. Hop-

ton's, *ibid.* Marches into Surry, 62. Chosen one of the knights of the shire for Wilts, 73. Made one of the council of state, 123. Purchases the manors of East-kniel and Upton, 131. His conference with general Cromwell, 136, 137. Appointed lieutenant general of the horse, 143. Takes Gourtenshegore castle, 150. Also Clare castle, 161. And Carrigobolt, 162. Impowered to act as general, 164. Fortifies Talbot's town, 168. His answer to the earl of Clanrickard's letter, 170. He takes Ross in Kerry upon terms, 178. Puts garrisons into several places, 180. *seq.* Receives a kind message from Oliver Cromwell, 201. Obstructs the proclaiming of him in Ireland, 204. And of the instrument of government, *ibid.* His conference with the commissioners of parliament, *ibid.* 205. The arguments used to persuade him to continue his service under Cromwell, *ibid.* His answer to them, *ibid.* He resolves to retain his office of lieutenant-general of the horse, *ibid.* Entertains Colonel Henry Cromwell, 207. His conference with him, *ibid.* Acquaints him with his resolution, *ibid.* Disperses the army's petition to Oliver Cromwell, 220. Questioned about that matter, *ibid.* Required to surrender his commission, 221. His discourse with lieutenant general Fleetwood, *ibid.* He asks the judgment of some officers, *ibid.* The result of that conference, *ibid.* His answers to general Fleetwood's demands, 222. Required to give his word to appear before Cromwell, 223. His regiment disbanded, 224. Required to stay in Ireland, 227. His conferences with lieutenant-general Fleetwood, *ibid.* His proposals to him, *ibid.* He obtains a passport for England, 228. Writes a letter to colonel Henry Cromwell, 229. Arrives at Beaumaris, *ibid.* Detained there, *ibid.* Sends a letter to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, 230. Ordered to be kept in strict custody, *ibid.* Signs an engagement for his liberty, 232. Sets forward for London, *ibid.* Comes to Westminster, 233. His conference with Oliver Cromwell, *ibid.* 234. His discourse with major-general Lambert, 235. With major-general Harrison, 238. 239. With Hugh Peters, *ibid.* Summoned before the council, 240. Charged with dispersing treasonable books, *ibid.* And other crimes, *ibid.* His defence, *ibid.* His discourse with Mr. Strickland, 242. Required to give 5000*l.* security, *ibid.* Taken into custody by serj. Dandy, 243. Retires into Essex, *ibid.* Sets forward from thence for London, 258. Arrives at Westminster, *ibid.*

I N D E X.

ibid. Ordered to attend lieutenant-general Fleetwood, *ibid.* His discourse with him, *ibid.* Chosen a member of Rich. Cromwell's convention, 262. Invited to Wallingford house, 268. His consultation with that party, *ibid.* His discourse with Col. Sydenham, 269. He gives a list of the members of the long parliament, 273. Chosen one of the committee of safety, 275. Obtains Col. Gough's regiment of horse, 277. Appointed one of the council of state, *ibid.* Made commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, 282, 284. prevents the sale of Hampton-court, 287. Receives four commissions from the speaker, *ibid.* Sets forward for Ireland, *ibid.* Arrives at the Rings end, 288. His management of affairs in Ireland, 294. Appoints Col. Jones to command the forces in his absence, 297, 298. Imbarks for England, 299. His discourse with Col. Barrow, 300. His conference with the officers of the Irish Brigads, *ibid.* Arrives at London, 302. His conference with lieutenant-general Fleetwood, *ibid.* With some of the officers at Whitehall, 308. With some of the parliament party, *ibid.* With Mr. Lenthall the speaker, *ibid.* His discourse in the council of officers, 319. His proposals to the army, 324. His remonstrance to the aldermen of London, 327. His arrival at Bullocks bay, 332. His letters to several commanders of garrisons, 333, 336. Dispatches letters for the parliament, 335. Lands at Duncannon, 336. The calumnies raised against him, 337, 338. His answer to a libel, 338. Ordered to attend the parliament, 339. Sets sail for England, *ibid.* Accused of high treason, 340. Required to deliver Duncannon fort, 344. He resolves to take his place in parliament, 345. Goes to the house accordingly, *ibid.* The heads of the charge brought against him, *ibid.* seq. He moves the house for a hearing, 345. Goes to general Monk, 346. His conference with him, *ibid.* 347. Moves the house again for a hearing, 350. His discourse with Sir Henry Vane, *ibid.* He gives general Monk another visit, 351. His conference with him, 352. He advises the adjourning of the parliament to the Tower, 356. Presses a third time for a hearing, *ibid.* Withdraws himself from the house, 357. His proposals to some of the commonwealth party, 360, 361. He departs from London, 366. Summoned to the new council of state, *ibid.* His journeys up and down the countries, 367. Holds a court at Yarden field, *ibid.* Returned at the election for Hindon borough, 368.

Supplanted by the agents of Sir Thomas Thynne, *ibid.* Receives a message from general Lambert, 369. His conference with major Whitby, *ibid.* 370. Arrives at London, *ibid.* An order sent out for the seizing his person, 377. Summoned to sit in parliament, 378. An unusual clause in that order, *ibid.* His conference with Mr. Annesley, *ibid.* He goes to the house, *ibid.* Orders his stock in Ireland to be sold, 380. Withdraws himself, 382. Accused of being in arms against the parliament, 385. Inclines to surrender himself, 387. Draws up a petition to the parliament, *ibid.* Gives security to the serjeant at arms, 388. Ordered to continue in his custody, *ibid.* The ill offices done him by Sir Charles Coote, 389. Retires to Richmond, 395. Comes privately to London, 396. Persuaded to withdraw out of England, *ibid.* Arrives at Lewes, *ibid.* Goes on board a small vessel, *ibid.* Lands at Diepe, 398. The sum of 300 l. set upon his head, *ibid.* Sets forward for Geneva, *ibid.* Arrives at Paris, *ibid.* At Lyons, *ibid.* And at Geneva, 399. False accusations brought against him, 417. His writings seized, *ibid.* His entertainment and transactions at Geneva, 419, 420. His departure thence, *ibid.* He obtains protection from the Lords of Bern, *ibid.* Accused of conspiring against the king, 423. Agents employed to cause him to be assassinated, *ibid.* He goes to Vevay, 424. His reception there, *ibid.* His address to the council of Bern in French, 426. The same in English, 427. The council's order in answer thereto, 430. Entertains some of the senators, *ibid.* He gives them a short account of the revolution in England, *ibid.* 431. Returns to Vevay, 433. Several attempts against his life, *ibid.* seq. Receives letters from Mr. Say, 444. His conference with Mr. Stuppa, 450. With M. Constance, *ibid.* He receives a letter from Holland, 454. Obtains a passport from the count D'Estrades, *ibid.* Declared to be a fugitive and a rebel, 459.
 Lyme relieved by the earl of Essex, 48.
 Lynn reduced to the parliament's obedience, 30.

M

Maccarty (Reagh) accused of committing murder, 187. Acquitted, *ibid.* Macquire and Macmahon (Lord) sent into England, 8. Executed for the Irish rebellion, *ibid.* Major-generals placed in several counties, 219. How employed, *ibid.* Their insolence, 236. They

I N D E X.

- They decimate whom they please, *ibid.* Stop proceedings at law, *ibid.* Threaten those that oppose them with transportation, *ibid.* Accused in parliament, 245. They insist on the confirmation of the instrument of government, *ibid.* And of their power, *ibid.* Their authority abrogated, 246
- Man Island submits to the parliament, 164
- Manchester (Earl of) commissioned from the parliament to raise forces, 29. Takes Lynn in Norfolk, 30. Marches to Boston, *ibid.* Discharged from his office of general, 63
- Manning (Henry) employed by Oliver Cromwell as a spy, 257. Betrays K. Charles II. *ibid.* His treachery discovered, *ibid.*
- Markham (Major) caressed by Henry Cromwell, 255
- Marlborough garrisoned by the parliament army, 145
- Marston Moor fight, 53
- Martin (Col.) his witty allegory with respect to general Monk's proceedings, 342. One of the king's judges, brought to trial, 413. The charge against him, *ibid.* His defence, *ibid.* 414. Brought in guilty and condemned, *ibid.*
- Massey (Col.) made commander of the western forces, 63. His brigade disbanded, 78. Dangerously wounded in Worcester fight, 156. Delivers himself to the countess of Stamford, *ibid.* Committed to the Tower of London, *ibid.*
- Maurice (Prince) made general of the king's forces, 26
- Mayne (Sim.) one of the king's judges, 386. Surrenders himself, *ibid.* In custody of the serjeant at arms, *ibid.*
- Mayo (Lord) charged with committing murder, 184. Declared guilty and executed, 187
- Meldrum (Sir John) defeated by prince Rupert, 47
- Members of parliament, their studies searched, 2. Their papers seized, *ibid.*
- Memento, a writing against Cromwell's usurpation, 220. Dispersed in Ireland, *ibid.*
- Mevis-Island surrendered to the parliament, 165
- Michael's Mount surrendered to the parliament forces, 73
- Middleton (Lieutenant-general) lands in the North of Scotland, 214. Routed by Col. Morgan, *ibid.* Wounded in the fight, *ibid.* Makes his escape on foot, *ibid.*
- (Sir Thomas) heads the cavalier party at Wrexham, 290. Caused Charles Stuart to be proclaimed king, *ibid.*
- Mildmay (Captain) takes the Dutch rear admiral, 182
- (Sir Henry) deprived of the benefit of his estate, 394
- Miller (Col.) made lieutenant of the Tower, 322. Submits himself and his garrison to the speaker, 341
- Ministers of state corrupted, 1
- publicly declare against Cromwell's usurpation, 207. Imprisoned on that account, *ibid.*
- Monk (Col. George) sent by the parliament into Ireland, 33. Secured on ship-board by the earl of Ormond, *ibid.* Adhere's to the king's interest, *ibid.* Taken prisoner and committed to the Tower, 34. Set at liberty, 73. Forced to surrender Dundalk, 126. Returns to England, *ibid.* Obtains a regiment in Scotland, 140. By whom made lieutenant-general, 157. Takes Stirling castle and Dundee, *ibid.* Succeeds Col. Popham in the command of the fleet, 186. Appointed one of the four chief admirals, 199. Made general of the Scotch forces, 214. And one of the commissioners for the civil affairs, *ibid.* Ordered to leave the fleet, *ibid.* And to repair to Scotland, *ibid.* Divides his army into several bodies, *ibid.* Defeats lieutenant-general Middleton's forces, *ibid.* His character, 272. Suspected by the Wallingford-house party, *ibid.* Nominated one of the army committee of safety, 302. Declares against their proceedings, *ibid.* And for the parliament, 308. His letter to the speaker, *ibid.* To lieutenant-general Fleetwood and to Col. Lambert, *ibid.* Resolves to march to London, 311. New models his men, *ibid.* Begins his march for England, 342. Solicited to use his interest for a free parliament, *ibid.* Enters Newcastle, *ibid.* Advances to Nottingham, *ibid.* Insists upon the removal of the sectaries out of the army, 342, 343. Presses to have the forces about London removed, *ibid.* Comes to Barnet, 346. Marches to London, *ibid.* Takes up his lodgings at Whitehall, *ibid.* His arrival congratulated by some members, *ibid.* His conference with general Ludlow, *ibid.* He goes to the parliament, 347. Receives the thanks of the house, *ibid.* His answer, *ibid.* His wife entertains those of the members, *ibid.* He takes down the city gates and portcullices, 348. Pulls up the posts and chains, *ibid.* Sends a letters to the speaker, 349. The contents of it, *ibid.* Receives new orders from the parliament, *ibid.* Lies in the city, 350. Returns with his forces to Whitehall, *ibid.* Sends another letter to the house, *ibid.* The particulars of it, *ibid.* He musters his forces

I N D E X.

forces in the city, *ibid.* Splendidly entertained by the mayor, *ibid.* Voted to be one of the commissioners of the parliament forces, *ibid.* Forms a militia in the city, 351. His protestations to live and die for and with a commonwealth, *ibid.* 352. Promotes a meeting between the sitting and secluded members, 353. Causes the common council to be assembled, 355. His speech to them, *ibid.* Quarters again at Whitehall, 357. His excuses for bringing in the secluded members, 358. Chooses 200 horse for his own guard, *ibid.* Made a member of the new council, 359. His protestation to colonel Okey, 361. Solicited by the lords to be admitted into their house, 362. Gives them a positive denial, *ibid.* Places a guard upon their house, *ibid.* Sends a letter to the house about the militia act, 364. Calls a new parliament, 370. Sends to the lords to come to their house, *ibid.* Marches to Dover, 384. Receives the king at his landing, *ibid.* Presented with the george and garter, *ibid.* His army drawn up at Blackheath, *ibid.* Continued general of all the forces, 390. Created Duke of Albemarle, *ibid.* Master of the horse, *ibid.* One of the commissioners for the trial of the king's judges, 401. Employed to demand the seal of chancellor Hyde, 460. Monmouth surrendered to the parliament, 69. Monopolies, to whom granted, 3. Declared against, 5. Montros (Marquiss of) in arms for the king, 69. Becomes master of a great part of Scotland, 70. Defeated by David Lesly, 71. He disbands his forces by the king's order, 76. Goes beyond sea, *ibid.* Defeated and taken prisoner, 133. Hanged on a gibbet 30 feet high, *ibid.* Moor (Col. Lewis) hanged for murder, 187. Mordaunt (Mr.) imprisoned for plotting against Cromwell, 256. Tried by the high court of justice, *ibid.* Acquitted by one voice, *ibid.* Morgan (Col.) pursues and routs Lieutenant-general Middleton, 214. — (Maj. Anth.) imprisoned, 416. Morley (Col.) one of the council of state, 277. Nominated one of the commissioners of the parliament forces, 351. One of the new council of state, 359. Morris, governor of Pomfret castle, 110. Makes his way through the besiegers, *ibid.* Afterwards taken and put to death, *ibid.* Mossion (Col.) entertains Henry Cromwell, 226. Drinks to his father's health, *ibid.* Munster (bishop of) takes Grol and Deventer, 477.

Muskerry (Lord) defeated by the lord Broghill, 154. Prosecuted for putting Englishmen to death, *ibid.* Brought to trial, 187. Acquitted, *ibid.* Permitted to pass into Spain, *ibid.* Puts himself and men into the Venetian service, *ibid.*

N.

Naerden surrendered to the Marquiss de Rocheford, 477. Nantwich invested by captain Sandford, 33. Naseby fight, 65. St. Neots, an engagement there, 110. Nevil (Henry) sues the sheriff of Berks, 254. The sum of 1500 l. adjudged to him for damages, *ibid.* Defrauded of his damages, *ibid.* Admitted into the council of state, 277. Newbury fight, 29. A description of that town, 55. Attacked by the parliament forces, *ibid.* Some small skirmishes there, *ibid.* Newcastle (Earl of) marches to Gainsborough, 29. Sends a detachment to Boston, 30. His forces routed at Winsby field, *ibid.* Besieges Hull, 34. Obligated to raise the siege, *ibid.* Made governor of York, 53. His dispute with prince Rupert, 54. He leaves England, *ibid.* — the town of, taken by the Scots, 36. Possessed by Col. Lambert's forces, 313. Newdigate (judge) refuses to grant a habeas corpus to Sir Robert Pye, 356. His declaration upon that occasion, *ibid.* Nicholas (Captain John) required to return to England, 453. And to surrender himself, *ibid.* Nieupoort (Myn Heer) sent ambassador from Holland, 194. Promotes Oliver Cromwell's designs, *ibid.* A treaty between him and a committee of parliament, 282. Nimeguen taken by the Marechal de Turenne, 476. Northumberland (Earl of) high admiral for the parliament, 18. Norton (Col.) governor of Portsmouth, discharged from that office, 276. Chosen a member of the new council of state, 359.

O.

Oath, enjoyed with an, &c. 3. Administered to the members of Richard Cromwell's convention, 262. An oath enjoyed for the abjuration of the Stuarts family, 342. Odower (Col. Edm.) submits to the parliament upon articles, 172, 173. Officers of the army, their consultations at Sion-house, 8.

I N D E X.

- house, 89. Prefs for a personal treaty with the king, 96. Their conference with some members of parliament, 114. Gratified by the parliament, 116. Meet at Kilkenny, 167. Solicited to petition the parliament to put an end to their sitting, 191. That motion stifled for a while, *ibid.* A meeting of the officers appointed by O. Cromwell, 195. They summon a kind of parliament, *ibid.* Presented with an instrument of government, 201. Their propositions to major-general Lambert, 202. Some of them refuse to submit to Cromwell's government, 207. Required to surrender their commissions, *ibid.* Sent to several prisons, *ibid.* They sign a petition to Cromwell, 220. Present another to the parliament, 248. The contents of it, *ibid.* 249. A triple faction among them, 267. Their insolence, 278. They refuse to take the oath appointed by parliament, *ibid.* Ordered to receive their commissions from the speaker, 280. Resolve to destroy the parliament, 294. A declaration drawn in their Name, 359. They prefs for the calling of a council of war, *ibid.* Dispersed to their several commands, 360. Their declaration for K. Charles II. 377. They form themselves into troops, 384.
- Okey (Col.) his conference with the officers of his regiment, 228. Cashiered by O. Cromwell, 272. Restored by the Wallingford-house officers, *ibid.* He endeavours to seize the Tower for the parliament, 322. Retires to the Fleet, 326. Musters a party in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 341. Makes his escape into Germany, 417. Chosen a burges of Hanaw, *ibid.* Seized there, *ibid.* Sent over into England, *ibid.* Committed to the Tower, *ibid.* His employments, 418. His execution, *ibid.* His body bestowed upon his wife, *ibid.* Ordered to be buried at Stepney, *ibid.* The great preparations for his funeral, *ibid.* Interred in the Tower by the king's command, *ibid.*
- Old Bailey, the court assembled there for the tryal of the king's judges, 401.
- O Neal (Col. Hugh) governor of Clonmel, marches out in the night, 132. Obtains the government of Limerick, 158. Delivers the keys of that city to deputy Ireton, 159. Committed to custody, *ibid.* Is executed, 161.
- (Sir Phelim) a principal actor in the rebellion, 188. Surprizes and murders the lord Cawfield, *ibid.* The sum of 100 l. set upon his head, *ibid.* Taken and condemned to death, *ibid.* His head set upon one of the gates, *ibid.*
- Oneglia, surrendered to the Genoese, 479.
- Onslow (Sir Richard) summoned to O. Cromwell's house of lords, 252. Chosen one of the new council of state, 359.
- Orleans (Duke of) takes Zutphen in Guelderland, 476.
- (Dutchess of) sister to K. Charles II. meets him at Dover, 469. The purport of her negociation, *ibid.* She returns to Paris, *ibid.* Retires to a palace at St. Cloud, *ibid.* Suddenly seized with violent convulsions, *ibid.* The cause of her death, *ibid.*
- Ormond (Earl of) commander in chief at Dublin, 9. Presented with a jewel by the parliament, 28. Ordered by the king to conclude a peace with the Irish, 69. They seize all his plate, 70. He surrenders Dublin, and his forces to the parliament, 96. Comes to London, *ibid.* Retires to France, *ibid.*
- Orsoy, besieged by the French king, 475. Taken in 24 hours, *ibid.*
- Other house what, 247. By whom filled up, 251.
- Overbury (Mr.) of Gloucester receives a chest full of arms, 278. Gives notice to captain Crofts, *ibid.*
- Overton (Col.) signalizes himself at Hull, 34. A yearly revenue of 300 l. settled upon him, 143.
- (Major-general) accused of a treacherous design, 220. Sent prisoner to London, *ibid.* Committed to the Tower, *ibid.* Sent into custody to Jersey, 225. Removed from the government of Hull, 363. Seized, 376.
- Owen (Sir John) Tried by the high court of justice, 123. Condemned to be beheaded, *ibid.* Reprieved, *ibid.*
- (Dr. John) draws up a petition for colonel Pride, 248. Desires a list of the members of the long parliament, 272, 273. Carries it to those at Wallingford house, *ibid.*
- Owen-Row O Neal, heads a party of old Irish, 108. His death, 141.
- Oxford, blocked up by the parliament forces, 76. Surrendered to them upon terms, *ibid.*
- P.
- Pack (Mr.) alderman of London, presents a new form of government to the house, 246. By whom opposed; *ibid.* Born down from the speaker's chair to the bar, 247.
- Packer (Col.) Major of Cromwell's regiment of

I N D E X.

of horse, 253. Dismissed from his command, ibid. Restored by the council of officers, 271.
 Parella, (Marquis of) taken at Oneglia, 479, 480. Carried prisoner to Genoa, ibid.
 Parliament at Westminster Apr. 3. 1640. 4. Why called the short parliament, ibid. They refuse to grant any subsidies, ibid. When and by whose advice dissolved, ibid. Meet Nov. 3. 1640. 5. They declare against Monopolies, ibid. Vote ship-money illegal, ibid. They impeach the earl of Strafford, and archbishop of Canterbury of high treason, ibid. Obtain an act to sit till they should think fit to dissolve themselves, ibid. And another act for the holding a parliament every year, ibid. They take away the court of star-chamber and others, ibid. Their protestation to maintain their privileges, &c. 6. They pass a bill for the condemnation of the earl of Strafford, ibid. Procure an act for the exclusion of the bishops out of the house of lords, 7. Undertake to reduce the Irish rebels, 8. They demand a guard of the king, 9. Forbid the seizing of any of their members, 11. Accompanied with guards from the city, ibid. Importune the king to put the militia into their hands, 12. They justify Sir John Hotham's proceedings against the king, 13. Invite the king to return to Westminster, ibid. Give commissions for three companies of foot, ibid. Send down proposals to the king, 14. Raise some horse under the command of the earl of Bedford, 16. Their preparations for the raising of an army, 17. They vote the earl of Essex to be their general, 18. They order garrisons to be put into several places, 25. Send recruits into Ireland, 28. Solicit the Scots to assist them, ibid. Cause Abingdon to be fortified, 57. Agree upon a self-denying ordinance, 62. Enact that all members should surrender their offices in the army, ibid. And vote Sir Thomas Fairfax general, 63. Order a new seal to be made, 66. Order a jewel to be presented to general Fairfax, 71. Issue out writs for the election of new members, ibid. Command the army to besiege Oxford, 75. Their ordinance against those that should conceal the king's person, ibid. They demand him of the Scots, ibid. Their answer to the mayor of London's address, 77. Their proposals to the king, 78. Their answer to the army's petition, 81. Their votes against the proceedings of the army, 82. They vote that the king should be brought to Richmond, 85. Send commissioners to

him with offers of a personal treaty, 99. Vote that no farther address be made to the king, 101. Raise the militia to oppose the Scots, 109. Declare them to be enemies, 111. Drive on the personal treaty with the king, ibid. Revoke the votes for non-addresses, ibid. Send commissioners to the isle of Wight, 113. Vote that the king's concessions were grounds for a future settlement, 115. Divers members excluded by the army, ibid. The votes of the house of commons against the king, 117. They pass an act for his tryal, 118. Their proceedings after his execution, 122. They abolish the house of peers, ibid. And the office of a king, ibid. Their declaration against Charles II. ibid. They order the king's seals to be defaced, ibid. Appoint new ones to be made, ibid. They constitute a high court of justice, ibid. And a council of state, 123. Appoint commanders for the fleet, 124. Some lords chosen members of the house of commons, 125. They order the selling of dean and chapter lands, 128. Send forces to Ireland, 129. Debate about the manner of assembling future parliaments, 134. Constitute commissioners for the government of Ireland, 138, 142. Bestow yearly revenues upon the army officers, 158. Treat about the union of England and Scotland in one commonwealth, 166. Declare the demesns of the crown of Scotland to be confiscated, 172. Pass an act for the incorporation of England and Scotland, ibid. Another for a general pardon, ibid. Appoint a committee for the reformation of the law, 175. Appoint Oliver Cromwell commander in chief of their forces in Ireland, 177. Confer the same character on lieutenant-general Fleetwood, 179. Order general Blake to fall upon the Hollanders, ibid. Pass an act for confiscating the estates of the Irish, 180. Give audience to ambassadors from Venice and Portugal, 183.

—— (called the long) correct the unequal representation of the people, 184. Pass an act for the sale of delinquents estates, 185. Appoint commissioners for the regulating of sea affairs, ibid. Declare the war in Ireland to be concluded, 186. Pass an act for the dividing of lands in Ireland, ibid. Order the sale of Hampton court, &c. 190. Resolve to pass the act for their own dissolution, 192. Establish the government of a commonwealth, ibid. Dissolved and turned out of doors by O. Cromwell, 193.

—— summoned by the council of officers. See Convention.

—— under

I N D E X.

— under O. Cromwell, 210. Resolve to lay a claim to their liberties, 211. Refer the consideration of the instrument of government to a committee, *ibid.* Their debate about the government by a single person and a parliament, *ibid.* Required to attend in the painted chamber, *ibid.* Cromwell's speech to them there, *ibid.* 212. Several members withdraw themselves, *ibid.* Others subscribe the recognition, *ibid.* Their declaration about it, *ibid.* They nominate him protector during his life, *ibid.* Limit the number of forces and ships, *ibid.* Settle his revenues, *ibid.* Appoint the salaries of his council, judges, &c. *ibid.* Vote a clause to declare the people's rights, *ibid.* And that no money shall be raised but by authority of parliament, *ibid.* Ordered to attend in the painted chamber, 215. Cromwell's charge against them, 216. dissolved soon after, *ibid.* Another parliament called by Cromwell, 240. Many of the members chosen excluded, 245. They petition the sitting members, *ibid.* The answer returned to them, *ibid.* divers bills prepared to gratify the soldiery, *ibid.* A new form of government presented to the house, 246. Supreme power to be in a single person and two houses, *ibid.* The other house of whom to be composed, *ibid.* 247. They press Cromwell to assume the title of king, *ibid.* He refuses their offer, *ibid.* They receive a petition from the officers, 248. The contents of it, *ibid.* 249. The debate of it put off, *ibid.* Their attendance required at Whitehall, *ibid.* They declare against the family of the Stuarts, 250. Their humble petition and advice to O. Cromwell, 251. A feast prepared for them, *ibid.* They take an oath to be true to the protector, *ibid.* Provide supplies for the army, *ibid.* Adjourn themselves for some months, *ibid.* The excluded members admitted, 252. They take an oath to the protector, *ibid.* Call in question the acts of the former sessions, *ibid.* Required to attend in the house of lords, 253. Dissolved, *ibid.* Parliament under Rich. Cromwell, 260. Debates about the administration of an oath, 262. The recognition of Rich. Cromwell brought into the house, 263. Contentions between the court and commonwealth parties, *ibid.* seq. Debates about the Scotch and Irish members, 264. 265. About the house of lords, *ibid.* That house established, 266. They vote against the council of officers, 270. Authorize Rich. Cromwell to disperse them, *ibid.* Declare him general of the army, *ibid.* Suddenly dissolved, 271. A padlock set on

the door of the house, *ibid.* A guard placed in the court of requests, *ibid.* Long parliament restored, 274. Some of the members repair to the speaker's house, *ibid.* He makes several excuses, *ibid.* They order the clerks to draw directions for summoning the other members, 275. Take their places in the house, *ibid.* The speaker leads the way, *ibid.* They appoint a committee of safety, *ibid.* Writs, &c. to run in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, 276. Resolve that no member shall be a judge, *ibid.* Appoint a committee for sea affairs, *ibid.* Declare how the nation shall be governed, 277. Order Whitehall to be cleared, *ibid.* And that Rich. Cromwell have notice of it, *ibid.* Constitute a council of state, *ibid.* The members chosen for that office, *ibid.* Their answer to an address from Wallingford-house, 279. Appoint commissioners for the nomination of officers, *ibid.* Make lieutenant-general Fleetwood commander in chief, *ibid.* Order that the officers shall receive their commissions from the speaker, 280. That 2000*l.* be paid to Rich. Cromwell, 281. Pass a resolution to pay his debts, *ibid.* Inspect the affairs of Ireland, *ibid.* Their agreement with the States of Holland, 282. They establish their judges in all the courts, *ibid.* Appoint general Ludlow commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, *ibid.* Raise a troop of horse for their own guard, 283. Settle a trade with Spain, 284. Debate about a form of government, 285. Pass an act of indemnity, *ibid.* Disapprove the Darby petition, 298, 304. Their answer to the address by the council of officers, 305. They vote lieutenant-general Fleetwood's commission to be void, *ibid.* Their meeting obstructed by the army, 306. Guards placed about the house, *ibid.* The members consult about proper means for their restitution, 314. Reinstated in their authority, 341. They appoint an oath for the abjuration of the Stuarts family, 342. Send two members as their commissioners to general Monk, 343. And others to congratulate his arrival, 346. Desire his attendance at the house, 347. Order him the thanks of the house, *ibid.* Vote 1000*l.* per annum to be settled upon him, *ibid.* Many alarms given to the parliament, *ibid.* They proceed on the bill for filling up the house, 348. Approve what the general had done in the city, *ibid.* Order 50*l.* for his dinner, *ibid.* Receive a letter from him, 349. Require of him the exact performance of their orders, *ibid.*

I N D E X.

- ibid. They receive another letter from general Monk, *ibid.* Order Sir Henry Vane to depart by a certain day, *ibid.* Set a time for colonel Lambert to surrender himself, 350. Issue out writs for recruiting the house, *ibid.* Vote that their armies shall be governed by commissioners, 351. Nominate general Monk to be one of them, *ibid.* Order the forces in Ireland to be included in that commission, *ibid.* Receive an insolent letter from Ireland, 353. The contents of it, *ibid.* The secluded members admitted into the house, 357. They assume the authority of a parliament, 358. Constitute Monk general of all the parliament forces both by sea and land, *ibid.* Joyn colonel Montague with him in the office of admiral, *ibid.* Continue the customs and excise, *ibid.* Choose a new council of state, 359. Prepare an act for settling the militia, 361, and 1000 l. a year on general Monk, 362. A debate whether the king's party should be admitted to elections, 363. Carried in the affirmative, *ibid.* Pass the militia act, 364. Desired by Monk to forbear the execution of it, *ibid.* Their answer to his letter touching that business, *ibid.* They authorise the council of state to act till the meeting of the next parliament, *ibid.* Pass the act for their dissolution, *ibid.*
- Parliament under general Monk meet at Westminster, 370. The lords readmitted to their house, *ibid.* They vote that the government should be by a king, lords and commons, 371. And that Charles Stuart should be proclaimed king of England, &c. *ibid.* Bestow a gratuity on Sir John Greenville, 377. Depute commissioners for Breda, *ibid.* Pass an act for inviting the king over, 381. Resolve on the seizing of the late king's judges, *ibid.* Order their estates to be confiscated, 383. Receive the king at Whitehall, 384. Contests between the two houses about the indemnity bill, 393. That act passed, 396. They settle the customs and excise on the king for his life, 415. Pass a bill of attainder against several persons, *ibid.* Congratulate Queen Henrietta Maria, *ibid.* Present her daughter with 10,000 l. *ibid.* The speaker makes a speech to the king, 416. Their dissolution. *ibid.*
- assembled on the 25th of July, 460. Resolved to break the army, *ibid.* Adjourned to the 29th of the same month, *ibid.* Adjourned again to the 10th of October, *ibid.* Desired to consider the king's debts, *ibid.* Exhorted to union, *ibid.*
- Parliament forces defeated near Worcester, 19. They return to London, 23. Get the advantage in Landsdown fight, 27. Defeated on Roundway Hill, *ibid.* Their rendezvous on Hounslow heath, 28. They retreat to Lincoln, 30. Defeated under Sir John Meldrum, 47. Routed near Woodhouse, 49. They march toward Tadcaster, 53. Defeat the royalists at Marston Moor, *ibid.* 54. Attack Newbury, 55. Worsted at Pomfret, 64. They surprize Shrewsbury, *ibid.* Besiege Chester, 67. Invest Colchester, 109. Take Wexford, 130. Infected with the plague, *ibid.* Reduce Ross, 131. Also Youghall, Cork and Kingsale, *ibid.* And Waterford, 139. They rendezvous at Cashil, 148. Obtain an absolute victory over the Scots, 156. Besiege Gallway, 161. Reduce Dunotter, 175
- Patents and Monopolies to whom granted, 3
- Pembroke castle and town besieged by Oliver Cromwell, 107. Surrender upon articles, 110
- Pendennis castle surrendered to the parliament army, 77
- Penn (vice-admiral) one of the four chief commanders of the fleet, 199. Obtains the command of a transport fleet, 209. They arrive at Barbadoes, *ibid.* At Hispaniola, *ibid.* He returns to England, 210. Accused by Col. Venables, *ibid.* Committed to the Tower, *ibid.*
- Pennington (Sir John) commander of a squadron of ships, 2. His orders received from king Charles I. *ibid.*
- Penruddock (Col.) heads a party of Cavaliers, 218. Taken prisoner, *ibid.* Condemned to death, 219. Beheaded, *ibid.*
- Peters (Hugh) keeps fair with the court party, 239. His conference with lieutenant-general Ludlow, *ibid.* Excepted from the act of indemnity, 394. The charge against him, 406. His defence, *ibid.* 407. Brought in guilty, *ibid.* A short account of his life, *ibid.* Brought to see Mr. Cook's execution, *ibid.* His last words on the ladder, 408
- Petition of right passed, 1. How broken, *ibid.* To Cromwell signed by the army, 220. Another petition presented to the house by the officers, 248. The contents of it, *ibid.* The humble petition and advice of the house to Cromwell, 250, 251. A particular clause therein, 258. A petition from Col. Lambert's officers to the parliament, 295. Disapproved by the officers of Ireland, 296
- Phelps (John) his estate confiscated, 394
- Pickering

I N D E X.

Pickering (Sir Gilb.) one of the army committee of safety, 302
 Pieve seized by the duke of Savoy's forces, 479.
 They quit the place, *ibid.*
 Plot, contrived by the court, 422, 423. An account of it printed, *ibid.*
 Pointz (Maj. General) commissioned to command the northern forces, 63. Gives the king a defeat, 68. His forces disbanded, 78
 Pomfret, an engagement thereabouts, 64.
 Pomfret-castle seized by the king's party, 110. Besieged by Sir Hugh Cholmely, *ibid.*
 Popham (Col. Edward) made one of the admirals of the fleet, 124. Sent towards Lisbon, *ibid.* Takes 18 Portuguese ships, 131
 — (Alex.) summoned to O. Cromwell's house of lords, 251
 Portsmouth secured for the parliament, 17. Reduced by the king's forces, *ibid.* Some of the parliament party admitted there, 315
 Portumna house taken by Sir Charles Coote, 150
 Prerogative wound up to a great height, 3
 Presbyterians ejected their benefices, 443
 Preston, a battle there between the English and Scots, 111
 — (General) governor of Gallway summoned, 161. Rejects the proposal, *ibid.* Goes beyond sea, *ibid.*
 Pride (Col.) knighted with a faggot-stick, 248. His conference with Col. Desborough, *ibid.* Causes a petition to the house to be drawn up, *ibid.*
 Privy-seals sent for the loan of monies, 4
 Proclamation for the readmission of monarchy, 377. Against the drinking of healths, 385. To require the king's judges to surrender themselves, 386. Against lieutenant-general Ludlow, 398. To require several old officers to return to England, 453. And to surrender themselves, *ibid.*
 Projects concerning a form of government, 285
 Proposals sent by the parliament to the king, 14, seq.
 Protector, a title given to the chief magistrate, 202. The legislative power, declared to be in the parliament and the protector, *ibid.* The consent of the latter requisite in all acts, *ibid.* Writs to be issued out in his name, *ibid.* Invested with the power of the militia, *ibid.* The nation to be governed by him and his council, *ibid.* Oliver Cromwell vested with that authority, 250
 Prynne (William) brings in a clause against those who had taken an oath for abjuring the Stuart family, 386

Purefoy (Col.) keeps Warwickshire in the obedience of the parliament, 291
 Pye (Sir Rob.) takes Taunton for the parliament, 49. Committed to the Tower by the parliament, 355. Sues for a habeas corpus, 356. Denied it, *ibid.*
 Pym (John) one of the five members of the house of commons impeached by the king, 10. His death, 34. His body why exposed to publick view, 35

Q.

Queen Henrietta Maria, withdraws herself out of the kingdom, 12. Pawns the crown jewels in Holland, *ibid.* Lands with an army of French, &c. 34. Retires to Exeter, 48. Delivered of a daughter, *ibid.* Returns to France, *ibid.* Arrives in England, 415. Her return congratulated, *ibid.* Her daughter presented with 10,000 l. *ibid.* They return to France, *ibid.* Dies at Paris, 469. The cause of her death, *ibid.*
 — of Sweden signs the articles agreed upon between the English and Swedes, 206
 Queroualle (Madam) one of the dutchesss of Orleans's train, 469. Presented to the king, *ibid.*

R.

Rabble cry out for a free parliament, 355.
 Make bonfires for roasting the rump, *ibid.*
 Ragland-castle taken for the parliament, 77
 Rainborough (Col.) made admiral by the parliament, 101. The seamen refuse to receive him, *ibid.* Appointed to command at the siege of Pomfret castle, 110. Killed at Doncaster, *ibid.*
 Rathfarnham taken by storm, 127
 Reading besieged by the E. of Essex, 26. Surrendered upon articles, *ibid.*
 Recognizing, that word proposed to be changed for Agnising, 264
 Reez taken by the French, 476
 Reynolds (commissioner general) a yearly revenue of 500 l. settled upon him, 159. Besieges Gallway, 161. Disperses the Irish at Letrim, 182. Leads a troop of 300 officers to Grocers hall, 208. Chosen one of the council of state, 277
 Rhee, the expedition against that island, 2. The English forces repulsed thence, *ibid.*
 Riardo, an Irish ruffian, forms a design against the English refugees in Switzerland, 433. He attempts to put it in execution, 434. Prevented, *ibid.* He goes to the court of England, 4 H

I N D E X.

- land, 436. Dispatch'd thence with new orders, *ibid.* His true name, 472. An account of his employments, 473
- Rich. (Col.) summoned before Cromwell's council, 207. Required to give up his commission, *ibid.* Put in custody of the serjeant at arms, *ibid.* Brought again before the council, 240. Pressed to give security for his good behaviour, *ibid.* Sent prisoner to Windsor-castle, *ibid.* Restored to his command, 276. His regiment given to Col. Ingoldsby, 358
- Rynberb, besieged by the French king, 476. Delivered without a shot, *ibid.* The governor beheaded, *ibid.*
- Roberts (Lord) nominated deputy of Ireland, 393. Desires to be recalled from that employment, *ibid.*
- Rochefort (Marquis of) takes Naerden and other places, 477
- Rochel delivered to the French king, 2
- Rochellers stand in defence of their rights, 2. By whom defeated, *ibid.* Forced to accept very disadvantageous terms, *ibid.* Assist the English with provisions, *ibid.* An army sent against them, *ibid.* Compelled to submit to their king, *ibid.*
- Rolfe (Major) accused of a design to kill the king, 109. Grand jury refuses to find the bill, *ibid.*
- Rolls (judge) defers George Cony's tryal, 223. Obtains his *Quietus*, *ibid.*
- Rofs in Kerry surrendered to general Ludlow, 178
- Roundway-hill engagement, 27
- Rouse (Mr. Francis) chairman to Oliver Cromwell's convention, 199. He endeavours to obtain a vote for their dissolution, 200. Goes out of the house and repairs to Whitehall, 201. Chosen one of his council, 202
- Routen-heath fight, 68
- Roux, a French emissary employed in a design against the English refugees at Vevay, 462. He pretends a commission from the king of England, 463. His proposal rejected, 465. Accused of sinister practices against the French king, 466. Seized by M. Martel, *ibid.* Imprisoned in the Bastile, *ibid.* He wounds himself in the guts, *ibid.* Brought to a tryal, 467. The charge against him, *ibid.* Condemned to be broken on the wheel, *ibid.* His body thrown into the common shore, *ibid.* His employments, *ibid.*
- Rupert (prince) seizes on Worcester for the king, 19. Enters Keinton with a party of horse, 23. Defeats Sir John Meldrum, 47. Raises the siege of York, 53. Forces the enemies to a battle, *ibid.* Defeated, 54. His standard taken, *ibid.* Retires to Bristol, *ibid.* Made general of the king's forces, 63. Forced to surrender Bristol, 67. Returns to Oxford, 71. Forbidden to wear a sword, *ibid.* Marches out of Oxford, *ibid.* Sets sail for Lisbon, 131
- De Ruyter (Mich. Adrian) appointed to command the Dutch fleet, 457. Makes sail for the river Thames, 458. Seizes Shepway island, *ibid.* Takes the fort of Sheerness, *ibid.* Carries off the guns and ammunition, *ibid.* Made admiral, 474
- S.
- St. John (lord chief justice) sent ambassador into Holland, 147. Affronted there by prince Edward, 148. Chose one of the council of state, 277. And a member of the new council, 359. Allowed the benefit of the indemnity act, 393
- St. John's Town in Scotland fortified, 237
- Salloway (Major) a member of both the committees of safety, 287, and 302. And of the council of state, 277. Committed to the Tower, 340
- Salmon (Col.) seized, 416
- Sandford (Captain) attacks Nantwich, 33. Shot dead there by a boy, *ibid.*
- Sandwith-castle declares for the king, 102. Reduced to the parliament's obedience, 103
- (Earl of) commands the blue squadron, 474. Engages admiral Van Ghent, *ibid.* Drowned and his ship burnt, *ibid.*
- Saunders (Col.) cashiered by Oliver Cromwell, 272. Restored by the Wallingford-house party, *ibid.*
- Savoy (duke of) his attempts upon Geneva, 478. Corrupts the governor of Savona, 479. Makes war against Genoa, and seizes on Pieve, *ibid.* Endeavours to fortify Castelvechia, *ibid.* His apology to the governors of Bern, 480
- Say (William) excepted out of the bill of indemnity, 385. Makes his escape to Laufanna, 423. Departs for Germany, 442. His letters to general Ludlow, 444
- Schugar (Thomas) employed against the English refugees in Switzerland, 467. His attempts frustrated, *ibid.* He departs from Vevay, 468
- Scilly island reduced to the obedience of the parliament, 164
- Sckincken-Scans fort delivered up to the French, 477
- Scotland, a new service-book sent thither, 3. By

I N D E X

- By whom first interrupted, *ibid.* The estates of that kingdom enter into a covenant, *ibid.* Episcopacy abolished there, *ibid.*
- Scots, preparations for the war against them, 4. They march into England, 36. Take Newcastle by storm, *ibid.* Besiege Hereford, 67. Surrender Newark to the English, 76. March with the king to Newcastle, *ibid.* Press the parliament to send proposals of peace to the king, *ibid.* Receive money for the payment of their army, 79. Deliver up the king to the parliament's commissioners, *ibid.* Surrender Newcastle to the English, *ibid.* Raise an army for the king's restitution, 104. March into England under duke Hamilton, 111. Defeated by Oliver Cromwell, *ibid.* They espouse prince Charles's Interest, 124. Defeated by general Cromwell, 141. They crown Charles II. 143. Fortify Worcester, 155. Totally defeated there, 156
- Scott (Thomas) chosen to serve in Oliver Cromwell's parliament, 211. Excluded from sitting, 245. Takes his place again in the house, 253. Chosen again under Richard Cromwell, 261. One of the committee of safety, 276. And one of the council of state, 277. Appointed one of the commissioners to general Monk, 343. Publishes some of his letters, *ibid.* The purport of them, *ibid.* He owns his having been concerned in the king's death, 365. The inscription he wished might be engraved on his tomb, *ibid.* He withdraws himself from the house, *ibid.* Retires into the country, 366. Excepted out of the bill of indemnity, 385. Brought to a trial, 403. The charge against him, *ibid.* His defence, *ibid.* Found guilty, 404. Executed, 408. A short account of his life, *ibid.* His last words, *ibid.*
- Scroop (Col. Adrian) removed from Bristol-castle, 213. Made one of the commissioners for the government of Scotland, *ibid.* Proposed to have the benefit of the act of indemnity, 391. To pay one year's rent of his estate, *ibid.* Added to the exception as to life and estate, 394. Brought to his trial, 403. His defence, *ibid.* seq. Found guilty of treason, *ibid.* His character and employments, 409. His speech at the place of execution, *ibid.*
- Sea-fight between the English and Dutch, 455, 474
- Seal of England sent to the king, 66. A new seal ordered to be made by the parliament, *ibid.*
- Secluded members have their meetings in the city, 347. A meeting proposed between them and the sitting members, 318. Admitted into the house, 353. They take upon them the authority of a parliament. 358
- Sexby (Col.) sent for to be secured, 224. Betakes himself to flight, *ibid.* He accepts of an employment at Bourdeaux, *ibid.* His business betrayed to the magistrates, *ibid.* They give order to seize him, *ibid.* He escapes by night, *ibid.* Departs from France, *ibid.*
- Sherburn-castle, surrendered to the parliament, 16. Stormed by Sir Thomas Fairfax, 67. Slighted, 68
- Ship-money, by whom invented, 3. Pressed to the height, 5
- Shrewsbury surprized for the parliament, 64
- Sidney (Col. Algernon) chose one of the council of state, 277. And one of the plenipotentiaries of Holland, 282. One of the plenipotentiaries to the northern crowns, 425. Arrives at Switzerland, *ibid.* His present to general Ludlow, *ibid.* Attempts made to assassinate him, 446
- Skippon (Phil.) surprized at Bodmin, 54. Made major-general of the foot by the parliament, 63. Carries money for the payment of the Scots army, 79. A revenue of 1000 l. per annum settled upon him, 134
- Slingsby (Sir Henry) imprisoned, 256. The charge brought against him, *ibid.* Pronounced guilty, *ibid.* Adjudged to die, *ibid.* Beheaded, 257
- Smith (Captain) knighted for recovering the king's standard, 21. Killed in Cherington fight, 47
- Somerset-house sold, 287. The chapel turned into a French church, *ibid.*
- Souldiery, divers bills prepared in their favour, 245. Their insolence, *ibid.* Ride with their swords drawn, 384
- Spanish ambassador, his application to O. Cromwell, 209
- Speakers of both houses compliment the king, 384
- Star-chamber court erected, 3. Taken away by the parliament, 6
- States General of the united provinces send ambassadors into England, 166. Equip a considerable fleet, *ibid.* Solicit the king of Denmark against the English, 179
- Stawell (Sir John) first draws a party together for the king, 16
- Steel (Serj.) one of the army committee of safety, 302. Arrives in England, 313. Refuses to act in the committee, *ibid.*
- Steiger (M.) treasurer to the canton of Bern, 430. The good offices he did for the English refugees

I N D E X.

- refugees in those parts, *ibid.* 432. His death, 471
- Sterling-castle taken by lieutenant-general Monk, 157. Sterling and St. John's town fortified, 237
- Sterrye (Mr.) His expression upon the news of Oliver Cromwell's death, 259
- Strafford (Earl of) His answer to king Charles I. 4. Made lieutenant-general, *ibid.* Impeached of high treason in parliament, 5. The chief articles of his accusation, 6. When beheaded, 7
- Strickland (Walt.) one of the army committee of safety, 302
- Suckling (Sir John) attempts to seize the Tower, 9
- Swinton (Laird of) sent to the Tower, 393. The cause of his seizure, *ibid.*
- Sydenham (Col.) chosen one of both the committees of safety, 275, 302. And of the council of state, 277
- T.
- Talbot town fortified by Col. Ludlow, 168
- Taunton reduced to the obedience of the parliament, 49. Besieged by the royalists, 58. The siege raised, *ibid.* Besieged again by the lord Goring, 62. Relieved by Col. Welden, 65. And by Sir Tho. Fairfax, 69
- Taxes not to be paid without the authority of parliament, 2
- Tell (Will.) founder of the Switzers commonwealth, 429. His statue erected in the arsenal of Bern, *ibid.* 430. A short account of his actions, *ibid.*
- Temple (Col. Edm.) seized at Chester, 289. Brought before Sir George Booth, *ibid.* Permitted to embark for Ireland, *ibid.* Possesses himself of Carlo, 333. Ordered to block up Duncannon fort, 336
- (Sir Will.) recalled from Holland, 473
- Thomlinson (Col.) accused of high treason, 340. Summoned to the new council of state, 366. Allowed the benefit of the indemnity bill, 391
- Thomond (Earl of) withdraws himself into England, 10
- Throgmorton (lieutenant-colonel) defeats Sir Walter Dungan, 175
- Thurloe (secretary) brings the recognition of Rich. Cromwell into the house, 263
- Tinmouth-castle revolts to the king, 106. Stormed by Sir Arth. Haslerig, *ibid.*
- Tichburn (Sir Rich.) Besieged at Drogheda, 9. Retreats to Dublin, *ibid.*
- (Col.) one of the army committee of safety, 302
- Tichburn (Alderman) withdraws himself from custody, 396. Comes in again, *ibid.*
- Tichelaar, a barber surgeon accuses John de Witt of a design against the prince of Orange, 477
- Tolhuys-castle taken by the French, 476
- Took (Luke) head of an Irish sept, submits to the parliament, 188. Accused of murder, *ibid.* Convicted and executed, *ibid.*
- Torneri (Signior) murdered by Du Fargis, 456
- Tower of London entrusted to the custody of the lord mayor, 9
- Townsend (Sir Horatio) chosen one of the council of state, 277
- Treaty between England and Holland, 422
- Tredagh, taken by the Irish, 127. Reinforced with a strong garrison, 129. Besieged by the English under general Cromwell, *ibid.* Taken by storm, *ibid.*
- Turenne (Marshal de) besieges and takes Burick, 475. Possesses himself of Arnheim, Knotsemburg fort and Nimeguen, *ibid.* Seizes on Graven, 476
- Tyrrel (Serj.) made one of the commissioners of the broad seal, 282
- V.
- Vane (Sir Henry) his expedient about a clause in the covenant, 34. Summoned before Oliver Cromwell's council, 240. Charged with disaffection to the government, 243. Required to give security, 244. Appears again before the council, *ibid.* Sent prisoner to Carisbrook-castle, *ibid.* Set at liberty, 251. His title to his estate called in question, *ibid.* Chosen a member of the convention under Rich. Cromwell, 262. One of the parliament committee of safety, 275. One of the council of state, 277. One of the army committee of safety, 302. Discharged from being a member of parliament, 340. Commanded to depart from London, *ibid.* 349. Prepares to leave the town, *ibid.* Sent to the Tower, 390. Upon what account apprehended, 393. Excepted from the act of indemnity, *ibid.* Excused as to his life, 394. Brought to his tryal, 421. His defence, *ibid.* The reason of his condemnation, *ibid.* His extraction and employments, *ibid.* 422. Imprisoned in the Tower, *ibid.* Put to death, *ibid.*
- Van Tromp (Dutch admiral) appears in the Downs, 173. Engaged and worsted by general Blake, 174. Convoys a fleet of merchant ships, 185. Engages the English fleet, *ibid.* Routed by them, 198. Killed with a musket ball, *ibid.*
- Van

I N D E X.

Van Tromp (Dutch adm.) confined to his house, 455. Removed from his command, *ibid.*
 Varney (Sir Edward) the king's standard-bearer killed, 21
 Venables (Col.) made commander of an army, 209. Defeat near Hispaniola, *ibid.* Lands at Jamaica, 210. Disabled by sickness, *ibid.* Returns to England, *ibid.* Accused by vice-admiral Pen, *ibid.* Confined to his lodgings, *ibid.*
 Virginia submits to the parliament, 166
 Utrecht surrendered to the French king, 476
 Uxbridge treaty set on foot, 64. Broken up, *ibid.*

W.

Wagstaff (Colonel) commands a party of Cavaliers, 218. Escapes after the defeat, *ibid.*
 Walcot (Captain) seized at Chester, 359. Makes his escape to London, *ibid.* His remonstrance to general Monk, *ibid.* Obtains a passport for Ireland, *ibid.*
 Waller (Sir William) commands a party for the parliament, 27. Reduces Higham-house, *ibid.* Hinders the march of the king's western army, *ibid.* Repulsed at Basing-house, 36. Takes Arundel-castle, *ibid.* Obtains a victory over Sir Ralph Hopton, 47. Discharged from his office by the parliament, 63. Chosen one of the new council of state, 359
 — (Sir Hardress) lays waste the country of Burren, 168. Assists at the proclaiming of Oliver Cromwell in Ireland, 204. Gets possession of Dublin-castle, 286. Summoned by Sir Charles Coote, 354. Delivered with the place into his hands, *ibid.* Obtains leave to go into England, 359. Discharged from custody, *ibid.* Returns from France, 396. Surrenders himself, *ibid.* Withdraws from the serjeant at arms, *ibid.* Comes in again, *ibid.* Arraigned at the Old Bailey, 401. Pleads guilty, *ibid.*
 Wallingford blocked up by the parliament party, 75. Surrendered to them, 77
 Wallingford-house party, their rise, 267. Abandoned by Rich. Cromwell, 268. Their conference with general Ludlow, *ibid.* 269. They possess themselves of the supreme power, 272. Pressed to restore the long parliament, *ibid.* Their debates about that matter, *ibid.* 273. They appoint a committee to treat with some members, *ibid.* Their demands, *ibid.* The answers to them, *ibid.* Their address to the parliament, 279. The principal heads of it, *ibid.* The parliament's answer, *ibid.* They agree upon the Darby

petition, 304. Their address to the house, *ibid.* They put an end to the sitting of the parliament, 306
 Wallop (Robert) a member of parliament under Oliver Cromwell, 211. Chosen one of the council of state, 277. His estate confiscated, 394
 Walton (Colonel) made one of the council of state, 277. Voted one of the commissioners of the parliament forces, 351. One of the king's judges, 417. Escapes into Germany, *ibid.* Admitted a burgess of Hannaw, *ibid.*
 Warder-castle besieged, 26. Surrendered to the parliament forces, *ibid.* Reinvested by the royalists, 31. Surrendered to them, 38
 Wards (court of wards,) erected, 3
 Waring (Captain) secures Wrexham for the parliament, 290
 Warrington, possessed by Sir George Booth's party, 293. The fight thereabouts, *ibid.*
 Warriston (Lord) chosen one of the council of state, 277. One of the committee of safety, 302
 Warwick (Earl of) made vice-admiral by the parliament, 18. Attends O. Cromwell at his investiture, 250. Refuses to sit in his house of lords, 252. His grandson married to Cromwell's daughter, *ibid.* 255.
 Waterford taken by the parliament forces, 139
 Weaver (John) receives a gratuity of 2000 l. 217. Chosen a member of Richard Cromwell's convention, 261
 Wentworth (Sir Peter) arrests and prosecutes a collector, 224. Brought before the council, *ibid.* Forced to withdraw his action, *ibid.*
 Wesel taken by the prince of Conde, 475. The governor sentenced to lose his head, 476. The sword only passed over him, *ibid.*
 Wexford, besieged by the parliament forces, 130. Taken by storm, *ibid.*
 Weymouth, taken by the earl of Essex, 48. Seized for the king, 64. Recovered by the parliament forces, *ibid.*
 Whalley (Col.) made commissary-general of the horse, 267. His contest with Col. Ashfield, *ibid.* His complaint to Richard Cromwell, *ibid.*
 Whetham (Col.) removed from the government of Portsmouth, 213. Made one of the commissioners for that of Scotland, *ibid.* Restored to that of Portsmouth, 276. Admits some of the parliament forces into the town, 315
 Whitby (Major) his conference with general Ludlow, 369, seq. Seized, 416
 White (Col. John) required to return into England, 453. And to surrender himself, *ibid.*
 Whitehall, a motion made for the sale of it, 287
 Whitlock

I N D E X.

- Whitlock (Lord commissioner) sent ambassador into Sweden, 206. He acquaints the queen with the revolution in England, *ibid.* Receives credentials from Oliver Cromwell, *ibid.* Chosen one of the council of state, 277. And one of the army committee of safety, 302
- Wildrington (Sir Thomas) speaker of Oliver Cromwell's parliament, 250. Assists at his investiture, *ibid.* Administers an oath to him, *ibid.* Presents him with a sword, scepter and bible, *ibid.*
- Wight-isle declares for the parliament, 62
- Wildman (Maj. John) seized upon, 225. The charge against him, *ibid.* Brought to London under a guard, *ibid.* Committed to the Tower, *ibid.*
- Willoughby (Sir Fr.) commander in chief under the earl of Ormond, 69. Engages to preserve Dublin castle for the parliament, 70
- (Lord) defeated by Sir George Ayscue, 165. Submits to the parliament, *ibid.* Restored to his estate, *ibid.*
- Winchester delivered to O. Cromwell, 68
- Windebank (Col.) shot to death at Oxford, 65
- Winsby-field encounter, 30
- Wolfely (Sir Charles) inveighs against Cromwell's convention, 200. Chosen one of the council, 202
- Woodhouse, besieged by the king's party, 49. Taken by Sir Fran. Doddington, 51
- Woodstock, blocked up by the parliament forces, 75. Delivered to them, 77
- Worcester, possessed by the king's party, 19. The fight thereabouts, *ibid.* Surrendered to the parliament forces, 77. Seized and fortified by the Scots, 155
- Wurtz (lieutenant-general) makes head against the French, 476
- Y.
- York, besieged by the lord Fairfax, 53. Relieved by prince Rupert, *ibid.*
- (Duke of) commands a party at the siege of Dunkirk, 237. Commands the red squadron, 474. Engages the Dutch admiral de Ruyter, *ibid.* Obligated to shift his ship, 475
- Youghall surrendered to the parliament forces, 131. Seized by Col Fowk, 333
- Z.
- Zanchez (Col.) takes Inch in Ireland, 179. Much suspected by Henry Cromwell, 254. Draws up a list of officers for Ireland, 282. Commands a party sent from thence, 292
- Zutphen taken by the duke of Orleans, 476

A
C A T A L O G U E
O F
LETTERS and other PAPERS
RELATING TO
Divers important Passages in the preceding Book.

ARTICLES of agreement between Edward Earl of Glamorgan and the confederate Roman Catholicks in Ireland,	556, seq.
King Charles, I. His letters to the queen, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490,	
491, 492, 493, 494.	
— his letters to the duke of Ormond,	494, 495, 496, 497.
— his letter to the duke of Richmond,	501
— his letter to the lord Jermin,	511
— his memorials for secretary Nicholas concerning the Uxbridge treaty,	502
— his directions for the commissioners at Uxbridge,	ibid.
— his instructions sent to the court of France concerning the queen's misdemeanour,	509
— his instructions to colonel Cockrain in his negociation in Denmark,	514
— his instructions to Daniel O Neal, groom of the bedchamber,	546
Charles II. his letter to pope Gregory XV. in Latin and English,	526, 527
— his letter concerning the marquiss of Antrim,	533
A copy of the commission produced by the Irish for a justification of their rebellion,	525
A declaration by the house of commons,	533
Digby (George lord) his letters to the lord Jermin,	547
Fairfax (Sir Thomas) his letter to William Lenthall speaker of the house of commons,	549
Form of a bill for a new coronation oath, pursuant to the treaty at the Isle of Wight,	531
Glamorgan (earl of) his instructions to be presented to king Charles I.	497
— his treaty with the Irish rebels,	551
Dr. Goff's letters to the lord Jermin,	537, 538
Jermin's (lord) letters to the lord Digby,	540, 542, 543, 544, 548.
	An

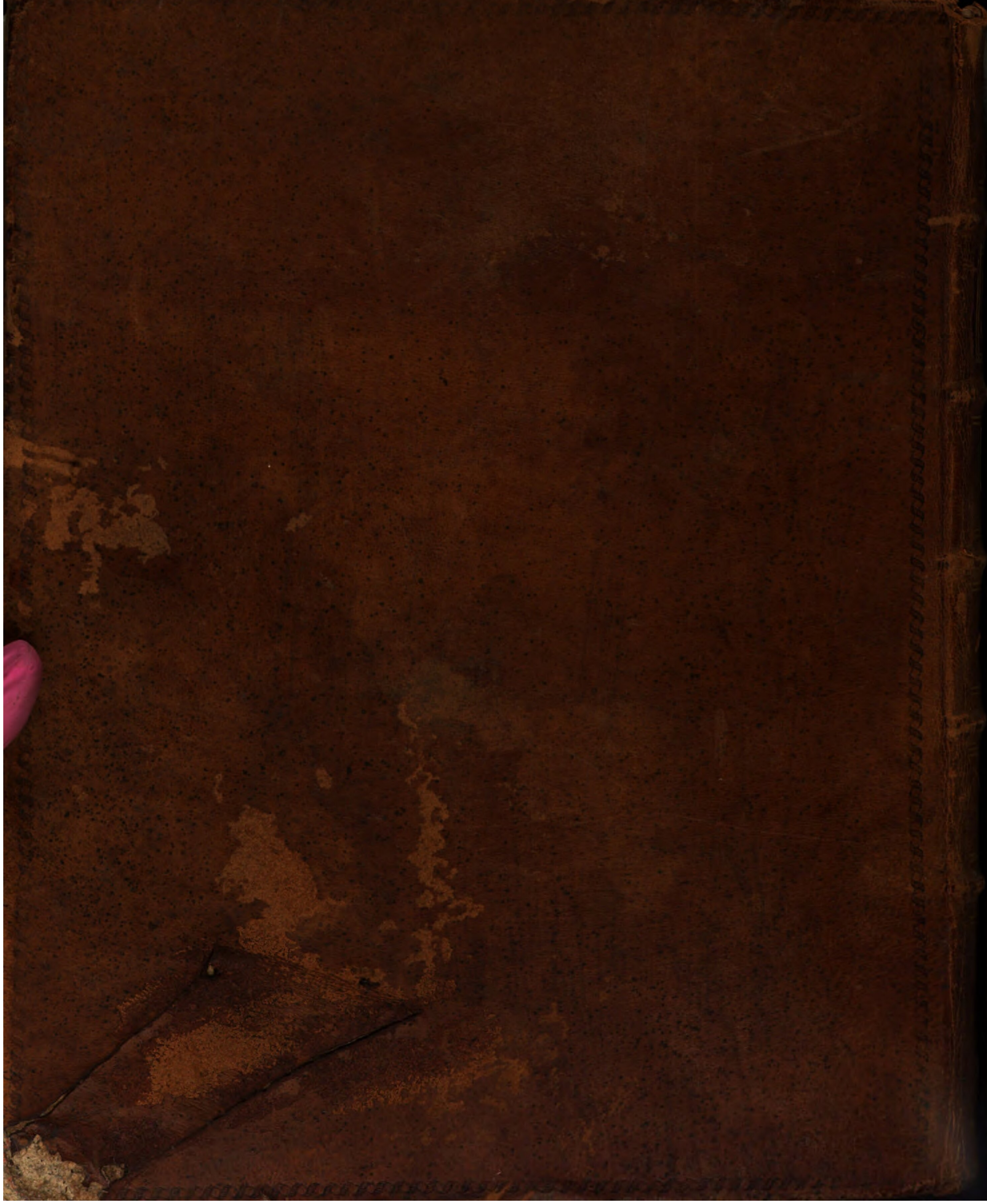
A C A T A L O G U E, &c.

An order to the king's printer with the proclamation against the Irish rebels,	518
A protestation taken by his majesty's commissioners at Uxbridge,	504
The queen's letters to the king,	504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509
— her letter to lord George Digby,	536
Rushworth (John Esq;) his letter to William Lenthall speaker to the house of commons,	550
Sidney (Robert earl of Leicester's) letter to Algernon Piercy earl of Northumberland, touching the service of Ireland,	527
Strafford's (earl of) proposals for securing of his Majesty's estate, bridling of parliaments and increasing his revenue,	518
A treaty concluded with the Irish rebels by the earl of Glamorgan,	551

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